Bihar District Gazetteers

SANTAL PARGANAS

2187

By

P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY, M. A., B. L.

Special Officer, Gazetteer Revision Section

Revenue Department, Bihar, Patna



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Gazetteer of India : Bihar

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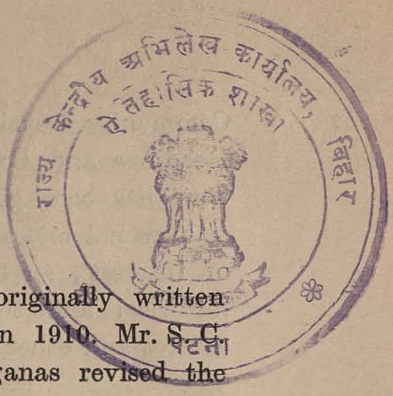
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PREFACE

The Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas was originally written by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I. C. S. and published in 1910. Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas revised the Gazetteer in 1938.

The State Government in the Revenue Department have undertaken the work of re-writing and publishing the entire series of Bihar District Gazetteers. The original District Gazetteers had been written from a particular angle and were meant to serve more as the administrators' handbook. The phenomenal changes in the district and in the country in the last few decades emphasise the need for a comprehensive reference book for a much wider range of readers. Today the need for a book like this, an investigation of the man and the district he lives in, is acute. This is my thirteenth re-written District Gazetteer. The re-written District Gazetteers of Hazaribagh, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Singhbhum, Saran, Champaran, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Palamau, Dhanbad, Darbhanga and Purnea have already been published.

Several years after the Revenue Department had taken up the work and entrusted it to me as the Editor, the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (now merged in the Ministry of Education—Science) took up the matter and a scheme was drawn up for the re-writing of the District Gazetteers throughout India on a similar pattern. The State Government of Bihar had agreed to follow the pattern laid down by India as far as possible. A major deviation has been the inclusion of a separate chapter on the Tribals. They form a very interesting section in the district and the district owes its name to them. Some independent field investigations were also done by the Gazetteers Revision Section and the results of some of the latest researches by others on the tribals have been included. The role of the district in the implementation of Government policies with reference to National Planning and

Community Development forms a particular item according to the Headings and Contents. A critical appraisal of some of the work done has been given and the observations made should be taken as personal and not at Government level. In the text on 'Places of Interest', an attempt has been made to include all places of historical and tourist interest, pilgrim, commercial and trading centres and other important villages.

The work has its own difficulties. There was no continuing section in the Government or at the district which kept a chronicle of events. It was even difficult to get copies of old reports and publications. There was an unfortunate fire in the Dumka Record Room which had destroyed many documents which might have been useful. There have been no Survey and Settlement Operations nor any comprehensive socio-economic survey. Most of the Government officials in key position are busy with their own other work and have little time to study the impact of the changes on the tribals and the other indigenous population or similar problems. Difficulties were also felt in obtaining reliable information and statistics from various sectors. It was strange that some of the corporate bodies and institutions could not supply correct and up-to-date information of their own departments. At the same time I am grateful in receiving help from other sources. Pandit Binodanand Jha who comes from this district and was the Chief Minister of Bihar for several years took personal interest in the compilation of this District Gazetteer and has given me ungrudging help even after he ceased to be the Chief Minister. Shri S. Roy, Deputy Director of National Archives has often gone out of his way to help me in tracing documents in the National Archives for building up the past story of the district. I have also got considerable help from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, W. G. Archer, I.C.S. (who was once the Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas) and Dr. S. C. Chatterji, Prof. and Head of the Department of Geology of Patna University. Mr. S. N. Chatterji, Superintendent, Government Printing Press and his staff have taken a good deal of interest in publishing the book.

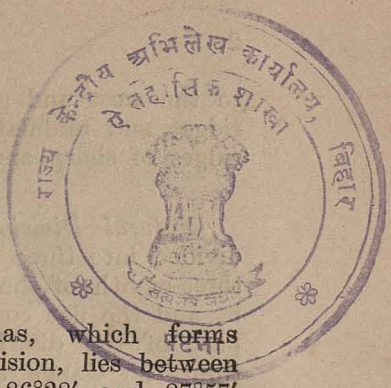
Shri S. K. Chakravarty, the present Revenue Secretary knows the district well and has often helped me with constructive suggestions. Shri B. C. Patel, Minister, Revenue, has taken keen interest in the work and has encouraged me in studying the problems of the district and particularly of the tribals. Shri K. B. Sahay, who as the Revenue Minister in 1952, had sponsored the re-writing of the District Gazetteers of Bihar, is now the Chief Minister and continues to take the same keen interest in this work. Their confidence in me has been an inspiration.

No one is more conscious than myself of the lacunae. It is needless to mention that a book of this type can only be possible by team work, the pooling of collaboration, extensive tours, exacting study and personal observation. As it is appreciated that seldom any one takes up a comprehensive book of this type to read from the first page to the last, there has to be a certain amount of repetition in order to make each chapter useful. I have tried to present the past and the present of this picturesque and very interesting district and an outline of the future. The enjoyment of doing the work has been my reward and it will be a great privilege if the book is of some help to the present and the coming generations.

PATNA : P. C. ROY CHAUDHURY.

The 18th January 1965.

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL

General Description*

The district known as the Santal Parganas, which forms the south-eastern portion of the Bhagalpur Division, lies between 23 40′ and 25 18′ north latitude, and between 86°28′ and 87°57′ east longitude. It contains a population of 26,75,203 persons as ascertained by the census of 1961, and it extends over 5,470 square miles. Its greatest length is 120 miles from the Ganga on the north-east to the river Barakar on the south-west; its average length from north to south is about 100 miles, and its breadth from west to east is nearly the same. Dumka, or Naya Dumka, is the administrative headquarters of the district.

Boundaries.—The Santal Parganas are bounded on the north by the districts of Bhagalpur and Purnea; on the east by Malda, Murshidabad and Birbhum; on the south by Burdwan and Dhanbad; and on the west by Hazaribagh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur. The boundary on the north and the east of the district is defined for some distance by the river Ganga, which separates the Santal Parganas from Purnea and Malda, while portions of the southern boundary coincide with the Barakar and Ajai rivers which separate it from Dhanbad and Burdwan.

Configuration.—The district is an upland tract with a hilly backbone running from north to south. To the north and east it is flanked by a long but narrow strip of alluvial soil hemmed in between the river Ganga and the Rajmahal Hills. These hills rise abruptly from the plains, forming a wall 1,000 to 2,000 feet high, which juts out into the Gangetic valley and forces the Ganga to bend to the east before it finally takes its southerly course to the sea. From Sahibganj they stretch southwards in an extensive range, which is divided into two portions by the Burhait or Manjhwa valley. This range and its outliers form a central block of hilly country, some 2,000 square miles in area, of which 1,338 square miles are included in the Damin-i-Koh.** To the north-west of the range lies a level fertile tract known as Tappa Manihari, and

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*The text is taken from the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* by S. C. Mukherji (1938) with necessary changes.

**The expression Damin-i-Koh still exists and is used for revenue and other administrative purposes.

to the west and south the hills give place to a series of rolling ridges and undulating uplands, from which rise isolated hills and ridges of sharp and often fantastic outline.

Natural Divisions.—Broadly speaking, the district may be divided into three parts, viz., the hilly portion, which covers about three-eighths of the entire area, the rolling country covering half of it, and the flat country, which occupies the remainder. The hilly part of the district stretches continuously for about 100 miles from the Ganga at Sahibganj to the southern boundary of the district a little north of Suri. It is made up of a medley of hill ranges and valleys, and includes the whole of the Damin-i-Koh and the southern and eastern portions of the Dumka subdivision. The hills are in many parts still covered with jungle, while in the valleys, some of which are of considerable size, are scattered small villages surrounded by cultivated clearings. The rolling country includes the whole of the west and south-west of the district. It contains long ridges with intervening depressions, in places rocky and in places covered with scrub jungle. The third division consists of a fringe of low land between the Ganga and the hills, which is largely cultivated with rice and liable to annual inundation. Beginning at the north-west corner of the district (Tappa Manihari) it forms a narrow and practically continuous strip of alluvial soil, about 120 miles long, lying for the most part along the Loop Line of the Eastern Railway in the Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions. Its total area is about 500 square miles.

Scenery.—In the alluvial tract to the south-east the scenery resembles that of the Gangetic valley, but is relieved from tameness by the background of hills. The scenery is far more picturesque in the hilly and undulating tracts which make up the rest of the district, and has been well described by H. McPherson, I.C.S. "The upland country, which is now a land of smiling cultivation, is not devoid of hills, but these are either isolated peaks like Phuljori or small ranges like Teor. Their isolation makes them prominent, and they stand up boldly, breaking the monotony of the landscape and making a striking addition to the prospect. Phuljori is 2,300 feet high, and Teor just under 2,000 feet. They are both in the subdivision of Deoghar, from every open point of which glimpses can be caught of distant Parasnath, the sacred mountain of the Jains, rising 4,500 feet into the western sky, some 30 miles across the Hazaribagh border. Although the western uplands contain many picturesque spots, they are for the most part tame and uninteresting, and most of the natural beauty of the district is confined to the hills on the east.

"Here the toil of clumbing up the steep hillsides is always rewarded with magnificent views. In the way of mountain pass and woodland scenery I know of nothing finer than the hill roads between Katikund and Amrapara in the southern hills, where the forests are protected by the State. In the deeper ranges of the northern hills, I have wandered over a tumbled confusion of lofty hills and deep valleys affording views which approach in beauty those of the lower Himalayas; and nothing can be nobler than the prospect from the crest of the north-eastern circle of hills between Sahibganj and Rajmahal, where one looks down the steep hillsides upon the silver stream of the Ganges and the fertile plains beyond, extending as far as the eye can reach."*

Hill system—Rajmahal Hills.—The principal range in the district is that of the Rajmahal Hills, which stretch from Sahibganj on the Ganga to Nangalbanga on the Rampur Hat road close to the south-eastern boundary of the district. They consist of a succession of hills, plateaux, valleys and ravines, the general elevation of which varies from 500 to 800 feet above sea level, though some hills have an altitude of 1,500 feet and a few are said to rise to the height of 2,000 feet. Among these loftier peaks may be mentioned Mahuagarhi (1,659 feet). The scenery of the Korcho hill in the Mahuagarhi range is simply superb and sublime. It is 6 miles from Narganj and Narganj is 6 miles from Katikund. The road from Narganj to Korcho hill is a fair-weather road. The ascent to the top of the hill is rather difficult as there is only a foot track and no road. When, however, one takes the trouble of going to the plateaux on the top of the hill, his labours are amply rewarded. An amphitheatre of ranges of hills covered with dense forests opens up before his eyes. The site has a commanding view. The Silingi Bungalow in Dumka Damin and Alubera Bungalow in Pakur Damin, both on the banks of the Bansloi river are clearly visible from it. The highest points in the range are clearly visible from it. The highest points in the range are believed to be Mori in Bungalow Kusma, a fine peak about 2,000 feet in altitude, and Sendgarsa in Bungalow Bokrabandh II, both of which overlook the Burhait valley. This, the central valley of the hills, extends over 24 miles from north to south with an average width of 5 miles. It is surrounded by hills, but there are five narrow passes leading to the plains—the Chaparbhita to the south-west on the Godda-Burhait road, the Manjhwa to the north-west in the direction of Bhagalpur on the Borio-Boarijore road, the Ghatiari to the east on the Burhait-Barharwa road, the Margo to the south-east of the Burhait-Litipara road and a fifth north-east to Rajmahal on the Borio-Tinpahar road. The valley is drained by the river Mor or

**Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Santal Parganas*, 1909.

Moral, which flowing from the north, has scoured out a long ravine, and by the Gumani coming from the south-west through the Chaparbhita pass. These rivers meet at Burhait, and the united stream, which is called the Gumani, flows along the Ghatiari pass, and thence through the plains to the Ganga. Further south the Bansloi, a fine broad stream, intersects the hills, flowing along the Pachwara or Kendwa pass, which runs through the range from east to west. There are also numerous small streams flowing down nearly every ravine and valley, which afford an abundance of pure fresh water. To the north-east the hills abut upon the Ganga, leaving only a narrow passage along which the Loop Line of the Eastern Railway passes. This belt contracts towards the north, leaving a still narrower passage, which was in Mughal times a pass of great strategic importance. It was known as the "Key of Bengal", and was defended by the fortresses of Teliagarhi and Sakrigali, of which the ruins may still be seen.

The interior of the range is not well known, but within its limits there are scenes of varied beauty, which contrast with its somewhat bluff exterior as seen from the railway on the east. Here there may be seen hills crowded one upon another, steep narrow ravines, wide valleys, sharp ridges and small plateaux. Among these the Santals and Paharias have their villages, which are often picturesquely situated on the brow of a steep hill, with cultivated fields and grass lands stretching beyond them. In the south and south-west there are broad table lands on the crests of the ridges, which contain stretches of arable land. Throughout the rest of the range rugged peaks and ridges prevail, but the slope of the interior valleys is gentle and affords scope for the plough and wherever a plough can work, the Santal settlements are found, whether on the summit or the slope. The villages of the Paharias are situated on the hill tops, the approach to which often consists of boulders piled one upon another. Millets, Sarguja (*Guizotia oleifera*), pulses, and even rice may be seen covering the hills, while mangoes, jack fruits, trees and palm trees thrive luxuriantly. The slopes yield large quantities of bamboos and firewood, and the spiked millet is grown in patches everywhere. About the year 1884, a large trade sprang up in *sabai* grass (*Ischaeemum angustifolium*), which is brought down from the hills to Sahibganj, Mirzachauki or Maharajpur where it is baled and despatched by rail to paper mills in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. This *sabai* cultivation has resulted in the denudation of the outer hills, and has given them that bluff appearance which the traveller observes from the railway.

A large portion of the range is included in the Damin-i-Koh, a Persian name meaning 'the skirts of the hills'. It has an area

of 1,338 square miles, the extreme length of which from north to south is 70 miles; its width near the centre of the hills is 30 miles, but to the north and south it contracts to 16 miles.

The Rajmahal Hills have been described as "classic ground for the study of Indian geology".* They consist of a succession of basaltic lava flows or traps with interstratifications of shale and sandstone. The sedimentary bands are held to have been deposited in the intervals of time which elapsed between the volcanic outbursts, by the circumstance that the different bands of shale and sandstone differ from each other in mineral character and also that the upper surface of the shaly beds has sometimes been hardened and altered by the contact of the overlying basalt, whilst the lower surface is never affected. The sedimentary bands are chiefly composed of hard white and grey shales, carbonated shales, white and grey sandstone and hard quartzose girt. The trap rocks are all dark coloured dolerites. They vary in character from a fine grained, very tough and hard rock (anamesite), ringing under the hammer, and with the edges of its fracture almost as sharp as those of a quartzite to a comparatively soft, coarsely crystalline basalt. The latter usually contains olivine in large quantities.

Very little light is thrown on the source of the basaltic rocks by any observations within the Rajmahal area. Dykes are rare, and there is only one instance known of an intrusive mass which may mark the site of an old volcanic outburst. This is close to the village of Simra, where a group of small conical hills occurs, composed of pinkish trachyte, prophyritic in places and surrounded by Damodar rocks. The surface of the ground is much obscured by superficial deposits, but there appears good reason for supposing that the core of a volcanic vent is here exposed. It appears not an unfrequent occurrence that the later outbursts from a volcano are more silicious than earlier eruptions, and that a volcanic core, even when the lava flows have been doleritic, should itself prove trachytic, when exposed by denudation. This may be due to the solution of the highly silicious metamorphic rocks through which the outburst took place by the molten lava remaining in the fissure after the eruption and the consequent conversion of that lava from a basic into an acid rock.

The bedded basaltic traps of these hills, with their associated sedimentary beds, attain a thickness of at least 2,000 feet, of which

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*V. Ball, *Geology of Rajmahal Hills, memoirs Geo. Survey of India,* Vol. XIII.

There is a separate section on the geology of the district contributed by an eminent geologist.

the non-volcanic portion never exceeds 100 feet in the aggregate. There is also an important bed of laterite in these hills, Muhuagarhi, the highest plateau in the range (1,659 feet above the sea), being capped by this formation. The laterite is, in places, as much as 200 feet thick, and it slopes gradually from the western scarp of the hills, where it attains its highest elevation, to the Gangetic plain on the east.

The Rajmahal Hills have given their name to a series of the Gondwara system, and there is also a group of sandstones and conglomerates called the Dubrajpur group after the village of that name.*

The following remarks of Sir T. H. Holdich are of interest as showing the great age of the Rajmahal Hills: "We are faced with the almost indisputable fact that the India of the Aravallis† and of the Rajmahal Hills was but an extension from South Africa. The evidence which has been collected to prove this ancient conection seems to be conclusive. Plants of Indian and African coal measures are identical, and not only plants, but the fauna of that period claim a similar affinity. Near the coast of South Africa a series of beds occur which is similar in all respects to an existing Rajmahal series ..... This land connection must have existed at the commencement of cretaceous times." Again he says, speaking of the pre-historic continent: "There was no Gangetic basin in those days, and it was probable that the Rajmahal Hills and the hills of Assam continued the land area to the Himalayas east of Sikkim." He then speaks of later earth movements and continues as: "Another result of this succession of earth movements was the formation of that great Indo-Gangetic depression which forms one of the natural geographical divisions of India. The break in the connection between the Rajmahal and Assam Hills, which gave an opening for the eastward flow of the Ganges, is comparatively recent. ‡

Ramgarh Hills.—In the south-east of the Dumka subdivision, south of the Brahmani river, there is a small range of hills known as the Ramgarh Hills. These hills are an extension of the Rajmahal range, but they are not so high and they have a more rounded and undulating outline. The highest peak is Karakata,

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*This account of the geology of the Rajmahal Hills is condensed from the notices of it contained in the *Manual of the Geology of India* by R. D. Oldham (pp. 174—6,376).

†"Oldest of all the physical features which intersect the continent is the range of mountains known as the Aravallis, which strikes across the Peninsula from north-east to south-west, overlooking the sandy wastes of Rajputana."

‡*India* (*Regions of the World Series*), pp. 8, 9, 10.

which is a landmark for all the country round, as it rises in domeshaped prominence from the block of hills consisting the group.

Geologically, the Ramgarh Hills are interesting, both the Dubrajpur and Barakar subdivisions of the Gondwara system being represented in them. The Dubrajpur subdivision is found in a narrow strip with faulted western boundary along the western border of the range. It consists of coarse grits and conglomerates, often ferruginous, containing quartz and gneiss pebbles, with occasionally hard and dark ferruginous bands. It is unconformably overlaid by the Rajmahal group, consisting chiefly of bedded basic volcanic lavas of the nature of dolerites and basalts. Basic dykes scattered through the gneiss area represent the underground portion of these eruptions. Intercalate between successive lava flows are aqueous, sedimentary layers containing fossil plants similar to those found near Jubbulpore and in Cutch.

Other Hill Ranges.—Further west two parallel ranges of hills stretch in an easterly direction from Mosanjor to Ranibahal. They present a landscape of considerable beauty as seen from the Mosanjor bungalow, which looks out on a picturesque grouping of hills and dales said to rival the hills of the Damin-i-Koh in its effects. These ranges after crossing the Mor at Ranibahal, form the Satgarh group or Satbor hills in *taluk* Muhammadabad, north of Jagdishpur. Tarani, one of the hills of the Satgarh group contains the remnants of a *pucca* house on the summit of the hill. It is said that this hill contained the fortified residence of the Raja of Nagore and had an underground passage up to Nagore in the district of Birbhum. A mango grove close to the remnants of the *pucca* house is called "Rani bag" or Rani's garden.* The Satgarh hills finally merge into the Sapchala hills, one of a group of ranges passing through the *taluks* Sapchala, Lakhanpur, Sankara and Kumrabad, which attain a considerable height in the two *taluks* first named. The Sapchala range breaks up into isolated hillocks after crossing the Nunbil river; and north of it, near Dumka, there are a number of other detached hills, which rise abruptly from the plains in sharp conical masses. The most important of these are the Lagwa hills near Nunihat and the Makra hills on the borders of the Deoghar subdivision.

In the latter subdivision there are no contiguous ranges, such hills as exist being isolated peaks in the middle of the plains. The most striking are (1) Phuljori (2,312 feet), 18 miles east of Madhupur Railway Station, (2) Degaria (1,716 feet), 3 miles west of Baidya nath junction, (3) Patharda (1,603 feet), 8 miles east of Madhupur

*Paragraph 95 of Mr. Sutherland's Report.

Railway Station, (4) Tirkut Parvat, commonly known as Tiur (or Teor) Pahar, 10 miles east of Baidyanath-Deoghar on the Dumka-Deoghar road, which is 1,505 feet above the plains and 2,470 feet above the sea level. Less important, though picturesque in appearance, are the peaks known as Jalwa midway between Madhupur and Baidyanath near Mathurapur blockhut, Belmi near Phuljori, Paboi 6 miles south-east of Tiur, and Makro 8 miles south-east of Paboi. With the exception of Phuljori, Tiur, Patharda, Degaria and Jalwa which contain *sal* and bamboo jungle, these hills are mere rocky excrescences. In the Jamtara subdivision also there are a few detached hills of no great size, the highest being Ghati (1,181 feet) and Malancha (863 feet) on which stand Government trigonometrical survey pillars.

River System.—The general slope of the country is from north-west to south-east, except in the small alluvial tract lying between the Rajmahal Hills and the Bhagalpur boundary, where the land slopes towards the north-west and sends its drainage to the Ganges. The valley of the Barakar separates the south-west of the district from the Chotanagpur plateau, but here also the inclination is to the south-east, and the Ajai and Mor, with their numerous tributaries, carry the drainage of the western half of the district not into the Barakar, but into the Bhagirathi below Murshidabad. The streams which rise within the Rajmahal Hills follow the same general direction as those of the south-western uplands, i.e., from north-west to south-east, and, issuing through passes in the hills, join the Ganga after it has made its great curve southwards below Sahibganj. With the exception of the Ganga, the rivers of the district are hill streams, with well-defined channels and high banks. In the rains they come down in flood and become rapid torrents, impassable owing to the velocity of the current, which gathers force as it sweeps down over rocky beds. In the hot season they are reduced to a mere thread of water not more than 2 feet deep, with a gentle stream trickling through the sand. The following is a brief account of the principal rivers :—

Ganga.—The Ganga first touches on this district a few miles west of Teliagarhi, and flows eastwards as far as Sakrigali, where it bends to the south-east leaving the district a short distance below Udhua Nullah. The average width of its bed is about 3 miles, but the stream does not fill its channel in the hot weather, and almost invariably overflows it in the rains. There have been considerable changes in this portion of its course within historic times. To the north it formerly ran under the walls of the fort at Teliagarhi, but the main stream is now far away and the Eastern Railway line runs along the alluvial deposit it has formed.

To the east the main stream formerly flowed close to Rajmahal, and about 1640 washed away many of the buildings in the city; but it is clear from Tavernier's account that by 1666 it had taken another course and was fully half a league away from Rajmahal. In 1860, when the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway was extended to this town, an arm of the Ganga ran immediately under the station, forming a navigable channel for steamers and boats of all sizes. In 1863-64 the river abandoned this channel, leaving an alluvial bank in its place, and Rajmahal was till 1879, 3 miles distant from the main stream of the Ganga, and could only be approached by large boats during the rains. In that year the Ganga returned to its old bed. In 1912, the main channel left Rajmahal and was on the Malda side. But in 1929, the river began eroding its right bank and was gradually approaching the railway line between Maharajpur and Sakrigali Junction and the Railway authorities had to acquire land for the diversion of the railway line. At present the main stream is on the Rajmahal side. In consequence of these changes in the course of the main stream, the bulk of trade has been transferred to Sahibganj. Rajmahal retains only the local traffic across the Ganga with the Malda district.

Gumani.—The most important river in the north of the district is the Gumani, which rises in the Rajmahal Hills in the extreme east of the Godda subdivision and makes its way north-east through the gorges which it has scoured out for itself. At Burhait it is joined by the Mor river coming down from the north, and from this point the Gumani flows a short distance to the east and then turns sharply to the south. Finally, after a winding course of some 30 or 40 miles, it emerges from the hills and flowing eastwards makes its way across the plains, falling into the Ganga a short distance beyond the boundary of this district.

Bansloi.—The Bansloi rises at a hill called Bans Pahar in the Godda subdivision, and flowing in a general easterly direction, forms the northern boundary of the Dumka subdivision separating it from the Godda and Pakaur subdivisions.

It emerges into the Dumka Damin through the Pachwara pass, and then meanders along its northern boundary past the Silingi and Kuskira bungalows. It leaves the district near Maheshpur, and flowing past Murarai Station on the Eastern Railway debouches in the Bhagirathi.

Brahmani.—The Brahmani rises in the west of the Dudhua hills in the north of the Dumka subdivision, and flowing through Pharasemul and Sankara forms the southern boundary of the

Dumka Damin. It passes by the Jhilimili and Mosnia bungalows in the Damin-i-Koh, and leaving the Dumka subdivision at Darin-Mauleshwar enters the Birbhum district and joins the Bhagirathi after crossing the Eastern Railway at Nalhati Station. Its main tributaries are the Gumro and Ero, which drain the watershed between the Ramgarh and the Damin hills.

Ajai.—The Ajai rises in the Monghyr district, and after draining the north-western corner of the Deoghar subdivision flows in a south-easterly direction through its centre, being joined from the west by the Pathro below Sarath, and further south by the Jainti. Both these tributaries rise in the Hazaribagh district. The Ajai enters the Jamtara subdivision at Kajra and flowing southwards forms the southern boundary of the district from Kusbedia, a few miles east of the railway station at Mihijam (Chittaranjan), to Afzalpur at the extreme southern point of the Santal Parganas.

Mor.—Regarding the river Mor the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* mentions as follows: :—

> "The Mor which drains the central portion of the Santal Parganas, rises in the Tiur hills at the extreme north-east corner of the Deoghar subdivision. Entering the Dumka subdivision at its north-western corner, it flows a winding south-easterly course through it, passing close to Dumka and Kumrabad, where a line of rocky boulders rises high from its bed. Leaving the subdivision at Amjora, it passes into the Birbhum district, and joins the Bhagirathi after crossing the East Indian Railway at Sainthia Station. It is known as the Motihara in its upper course, and it is only after its junction with the Bhurbhuri in *taluk* Nawada that it takes the name of Mor. Another name for the stream is Morakhi or Mayurakshi, the peacock-eyed, i.e., having water as lustrous as the eye of a peacock.
>
> "The following are the main tributaries of the Mor. The Bhurbhuri rises on the east of the Dudhua hills and joins it at Nawada. The Dhobai, which rises in the Godda subdivision, flows eastwards and southwards after crossing the Bhagalpur-Suri road, and skirting the base of the Lagwa hill, joins the Mor three miles above its confluence with the Bhurbhuri. The Tipra, coming from the west, joins the Mor at Phuljori two miles further south, the Pusaro joins it in *taluk* Dhuria, and the Bhamri in Beludabar. The Nunbil rises in the east of the Deoghar subdivision, and entering the subdivision in *taluk* Singro follows a south-easterly course. Then passing through

Goremala, it joins the river Sidh at Babupur. The Sidh rises in the south-east corner of the Deoghar subdivision, and flows south-east and then east through the Jamtara and Dumka subdivisions, joining the Mor a few miles north of the borders of Birbhum. The Dauna rises in *taluk* Sankara north of the Rampur Hat road, crosses it at the 8th mile, then meanders on the east of the Suri road, and falls into the Mor, after crossing the latter road at the 10th mile."

A dam known as the Canada dam has recently been constructed at Massanjore by the West Bengal Government. The details of this important River Valley Project have been covered in the chapter on 'Agriculture and Irrigation'.

Waterfalls.—The most picturesque waterfall in the district is that called Motijharna, i.e., the pearl cascade. This is situated about two miles south-west of the Maharajpur railway station at the head of a picturesque glen of the Rajmahal Hills. There are two falls, each 50 or 60 feet in height, by which the water of a small hill stream tumbles down over two ledges of rock. There are also two small falls or cascades on the Brahmani and Bansloi rivers. The first is at Singhpur, where the Brahmani river dashes over an extensive bed of basalt, which here crosses the stream at right angles and forms a fall of about 10 feet. The other is 18 miles to the north close to the village of Kuskira, where the bed of the Bansloi river is crossed by a broad belt of basalt causing a fall of about 12 feet in height. The action of the water has worn the rock into a number of deep cup-like depressions, some of which are of considerable size. In the centre of the stream, below the falls, stands an isolated group of colossal basaltic columns, one of which was measured by Captain Sherwill in 1851 and found to be 48 feet in circumference.

Hot Springs.—There are several hot springs in the Pakaur and Dumka subdivisions. In the former the hottest spring is one called simply Laulaudah (the Santal name for hot water), which is situated near the bank of a small stream called the Boru, about half a mile north-west of Sibpur village in the Maheshpur police-station. Another hot spring near Birki in the same police-station is called Baramasia by the Santals Bhumuk. In the Dumka subdivision six hot springs have been discovered, viz., (1) Jhariya Pani near Gopikandar, (2) Tatloi on the bank of the Bhurbhuri river near Palasi on the 63rd mile of the Bhagalpur-Suri road, (3) Nunbil near Kendghata on the 14th mile of the Dumka-Kundahit-Jamtara road, (4) Tapat Pani on the left bank of the Mor, 1¼ mile north of Kumrabad, (5) Susum Pani on the opposite bank of the Mor, close to the village of Baghmara, 3½

miles to the south-east of Tapat Pani and (6) Bhumka on the right bank of the same river ¼ mile from Ranibahal. Further particulars of the springs will be found in an article by Colonel Waddell published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1890. Since that date another spring called Patalganga made its appearance at Nunihat at the time of earthquake on 12th June, 1897.

"Most of the hot springs", writes Colonel Waddell, "are held in considerable repute by the natives in the neighbourhood as potent remedies, especially for itch, ulcers and other skin infections. But a most essential part of the process of cure consists in the preliminary worship which must be paid to the presiding deity of the spring. Nearly all of these springs are worshipped by the Hindu and semi-aboriginal villagers in the vicinity; for these strange outbursts of heated water are regarded by them as supernatural phenomena and the especial expression of the presence of a deity. The deity usually worshipped at the springs by the semi-aborigines is Mata or Mai, the 'mother' goddess—one of the forms of Kali—and large melas are held in her honour. She is especially worshipped by those suffering from itch and other skin diseases, also by the barren, both male and female, who all bathe in the water and drink some of it. Goats, etc., are sacrificed to her, and the rocks are daubed with vermilion or red-lead, and pieces of coloured rags are tied to the nearest bush or tree in her worship. At Nunbil the goddess is called Nunbil Devi, and she is believed to especially reside in a large sal tree over the spring. At Jhariya the Bhuiya *ghatwals* (of Dravidian type, with short frizzly hair) worship, with fowl sacrifice and offerings of rice, the spirit of Sonmon Pande, a Brahman priest, who is said to have died there. The more Hinduised worshippers, however, believe that their favourite god Mahadeva is especially present at all those hot springs, and to him they offer worship.

"Curiously enough, the thermal springs of relatively low temperature, which might perhaps be termed 'warmed' rather than hot springs, are believed by the villagers to be hotter in the very early morning, and to become cooler as the day advances. This opinion is evidently founded on the loose subjective sensation of the villagers, who in the cool of the morning remark that the spring, being hotter that the atmosphere, gives a sensation of decided heat : which contrast becomes less marked during the day when the sun has heated up the earth and air, causing these to approach the temperature of the spring."* The same phenomenon

**Some new and little known, hot springs in South Bihar, J. A. S. B.*, Part II, 1890, pages 224—35.

was noticed by Professor Ball, who wrote : "Cases of hot springs have been reported to occur in these (Rajmahal) hills, but I did not meet with any that were more than tepid. The natives say that in most of them the water is warm in the winter and cool in the summer. This is, of course, due to the contrast afforded by the temperature of the surrounding atmosphere at the different seasons. The principal springs which I have visited were near the villages of Ruksi, Rajbhita and Puraya, west of Burio. There is also one on the Chaparbhita range and another in the valley north-east of Burhait not far from the Mahadeo cave." *

Geology

The district of Santhal Parganas is mainly a dissected upland of ancient crystalline rocks which are covered with thick flows of volcanic lava in the east. The latter forms the Rajmahal Hills. In between these two main geological formations is a narrow strip of Lower Gondwana rocks which fringe the lava formation along its western margin.

The Rajmahal Hills form a series of flat-topped plateau and ridges which rise abruptly from the plains with escarpments 1,000 ft. to 2,000 ft. high and run south from near Sakrigali railway station for about 100 miles southwards along the border of the Birbhum district of West Bengal. Near Tinpahar there are three prominent conical hills. This massive formation of hard rocks is responsible for forcing the Ganga to flow farther east, before finally taking the southerly course to the sea, round the north-eastern edge of the lava plateau.

Along its northern margin the lavas extend for about 20 miles to Pirpainti railway station in the Bhagalpur district. A long but narrow strip of alluvial plain extends all round the edge of the plateau hemmed in between the river Ganga and the Rajmahal Hills.

The ancient crystalline rocks, collectively called the Archaean gneisses, cover the greater part of the district in the western and south-western parts. They stretch uninterruptedly from a few miles north of Godda in the north to about 20 miles south of Dumka, occasionally giving rise to low hills and ranges. The principal rock is a granitoid gneiss known as the Bengal gneiss with wide variation in mineralogical composition and texture. This not only contains inclusions of older dark hornblendic rocks but is also cut up by numerous dykes of a dark hornblendic and

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*Geology of the Rajmahal Hills, Memoirs, Geological Survey of India, Volume XIII.]

pyroxenic rock with a granulitic structure. The granitoid gneiss is often characterized by salmon-coloured feldspars but white feldspar gneiss is also common. Alternating with the gneisses are hornblendic and micaceous schists.

In the region around Deoghar the gneisses have been intruded by olivine-hypersthene-gabbros and dolerites. Similar dolerites have also been reported from the Trans-Ajai area near the Sahajuri coalfield. Among the gneisses are grey gneiss, pink gneiss, pyroxene-gneiss, which is often garnetiferous, all cut by pegmatites. The gneisses have inclusions of amphibolites, hornblende-schists and hornblende-hypersthene granulites. There are two types of pegmatites; one carrying white feldspar and the other pink, the former belonging to the grey gneiss and the latter to the pink gneiss. Hybrid streaky gneiss with streaks and bands of granulitic diopsideamphibolite in grey gneiss occurs at Rakudih (86° 38′ 30″ E; 24° 28′ 30″ N), Rohini, about three quarters of a mile to the east of Rakudih, and in Nandan Pahar near Deoghar. Both the pegmatite and aplite veins in these streaky gneisses have been ptygmatically folded.

Around Simra (25° 1′ 32″ N; 87° 20′ 45″ E), near the north-eastern border of the Godda Subdivision, the gneissic complex comprises granite gneisses, and composite-gneisses formed by the litpar-lit injection of older country rocks by a granitic magma. The older country rocks are represented by amphibolites, pyroxena granulites, and biotite-rocks.

The Jalwa or Jalva Pahar (24° 22′ 30″ N; 86° 37′E) to the western side of the Eastern railway between Madhupur and Jasidih stations, is a huge mass of basic igneous rocks enclosed in the gneisses. It is about 584 feet high above the level of the surrounding country. The rocks are meta-gabbros which are olivine-bearing in the west and colourless diopside-bearing in the east. In addition, there are amphibolites containing pyrosene and garnet as in the area to the north near Deoghar, and hornblende-schists including garnetiferous types. There are also lenses of basic rocks in the granite-gneiss having the same N.N.E.- S.S.W. trend as that of the larger boss. These show an apparent intrusive relation to the granite-gneiss as in the Deoghar area but are themselves cut by veins and apophyses of the acid gneisses. This may be due to a later rejuvenation of the gneisses (acid) which then developed an younger intrusive contact relation to the basic rocks which had earlier intruded them.

A very interesting group of rocks has recently been described from the Mor valley near Messanjor where a dam has been

constructed across the Mor or Mayurakshi river known as the Canada dam. These have a remarkable resemblance with the well-known Charncokite Series of rocks of South India, but appear to have resulted from the charnockitization of pre-existing rocks by the formation of hypersthene, blue quartz and microperthitic feldspar rather than from the direct crystalization of a charnockitic magma. The rocks grade into diopside-bearing gneisses. The Satgarh Hills, on the western side of the Mor river, have charnockitic rocks on their eastern slope. From Dumka southwards to Ranibahal there are isolated conical hills of granite-gneiss. Along the road to Rampurhat, before coming to the area covered by basalt, there is an extensive area of coarse-grained pink granitic rocks which weather typically into tors and rounded boulders.

The metamorphics of the west side of the Brahmani coal-field are highly granitoid gneisses with inclusions of hornblende-schists.

The Gondwana System

The strip of Gondwana beds runs for a distance of nearly 100 miles northwards from Suri in Bengal along the meridian of 87° 30′. The underlying crystalline rocks crop out in the west but to the east it is covered by the lavas which gently dip towards the east. There are small coalfields exposed in isolated patches. The coal measures are of Barakar age but the coal is of poor quality. Apart from the Barakar stage, the Talchir stage which forms the basal member of the Lower Gondwana System is represented in some of the areas of Gondwana rocks. The outcrops of the different members of the Gondwana System are discontinuous, owing partly to the faulted nature of the boundaries in some places and partly to erosion of the older members and subsequent overlap by the younger members.

The Barakars consist of friable feldspathic grits and soft white shales. The poorly represented Talchirs comprise the usual greenish silts and sandstones with local development of boulder beds. In the Rajmahal Hills, the Barakar stage also includes china-clays of good quality, specially at Mangal Hat and Patharghatta.

The Lower Gondwanas are overlain by a series of coarse sandstones, grits and conglomerates, known as the Dubrajpur Series, after a village of that name about 40 miles north of Suri in the Birbhum district of West Bengal. Shaly sandstones are occasionally found but the rocks are generally coarse-grained. The coarser members are ferruginous and a conglomerate consisting of quartz pebbles in a ferruginuous matrix which is also characteristic of

rocks of the same age in the Damodar Valley is commonly found. The rocks are exposed along the western scarp of the Rajmahal Hills and rest partly upon the Archaeans and partly upon the Barakars which they repeatedly overlap.

The Dubrajpur sandstones have lithological resemblance to the Barakars but the discovery of the fresh water gastropod fossil *Unio* in the Dubrajpurs has established their relationship to the Rajmahal Series of the Upper Gondwanas. The volcanic beds rest with general parallelism with the grits and sandstones of the Dubrajpur stage. They are, in fact, infratrappean to the Rajmahal Volcanic Series, although the boundary is an unconformable one, since at one place the lavas rest on the denuded surface of the Dubrajpurs and there are several instances of overlap by the lavas of the underlying Dubrajpurs. They have a maximum thickness of about 450 feet.

Near the northern end of the Hills is the Hura coalfield with two seams 4 feet and 16 feet thick respectively. The other fields are Jhilbari, where two seams of poor coal, 6 feet thick, have been worked sporadically in the past; Chuparbhita near Dumka where several seams up to 9 feet in thickness are known; pachwara where coal is won on a small-scale for local domestic purposes such as brick burning; the Mahuagarhi field and the Brahmani field. The south-western portion of the district contains the small Deoghar coalfields and the northern edge of the Raniganj coalfield which lies mainly in West Bengal, north of Gaurangdih. The Deoghar fields lie in the valleys of the Ajai and Barakar rivers which are tributaries to the Damodar. The Kundit Karaia field possesses two thin seams of very inferior coal.

The principal field of the Deoghar group is the Jainti field near Karon which lies between 86° 35′ E and 86° 45′ E and 24° 7′ N and 24° 15′ N, midway between Karmatar and Madhupur railway stations on the Eastern Railway which passes through the central part of the field. The total area is roughly 24 square miles of which the greater part is occupied by the Talchirs and only 5 square miles are occupied by the Barakars. The main part of the field is on the south-west of the Jainti river. The surrounding Archaeans consist mainly of granite gneiss with some quartz reefs and pegmatite veins. A notable feature is the development of very large almandine garnets over a small area on the south-eastern border of the village Tetriatan and north-west of Dhantaria.

The Talchir Series is represented by two facies; argillaceous and arenaceous, the former predominating. To the north-west of Bedda (86° 40′ E; 24° 10′ 30″ N) Talchir pebble beds are exposed

below fine-grained dark greenish shales which grade upwards to argillaceous sandstone through arenaceous type. The sandstones are again overlain by a distinct bed of shale weathering into fine needles and trappoid clays.

The Barakar stage of rocks which occupy an area of about 5 square miles form two separate exposures, the larger of which is centrally situated and the smaller is 3 miles to the west. Clear evidence of faulting is seen. In the case of the larger outcrop, the main boundary fault runs N.E.-S.W. with downthrow to the south-east. The larger exposure cont ins all the valuable coal seams. The Barakars consist chiefly of sandstone, and shales are conspicuous by their absence. A large fault running N.W.-S.E. divides the field into two halves.

In the Banaskupi basin of the field, four coal seams are met with which are dip at moderate angles towards the centre. The upper three seams are exposed at the surface. In the other, Bairanga basin, one seam 9 feet thick with a high dip is present.

Three large dolerite dykes cross the field, of which one has the shape of a ring. The largest dyke cuts through both the Gondwanas and the Archaeans. Another cuts through the Talchirs and the Archaeans. Sills of mica-peridotite occur along the bedding planes of the coal seams.

From the presence of banded constituents, the coals can be classified as banded bituminous type ranging from the lowest grade to selected grade. The total reserves of workable coal is estimated at 2,456,000 tons of which 75 per cent is of good quality. The estimated reserve of good quality coking coal is 1,299,200 tons. The coal is entirely consumed in steam raising by factories in North Bihar and in domestic purposes.

The Sahajuri coalfield lies between 86° 48′ E, and 86° 55′ E, and 24° 45′ N and 24° 10′ N on the eastern side of the Ajai river and can be reached from the Jamtara railway station. The area of the field is only 12 square miles of which 5 square miles are covered by the Talchirs.

The Gondwana rocks comprise the Talchirs and the Barakars. In the southern portion, the Barakars overlap the Talchirs and rest on the Archaeans. The two series are affected by faults. The coal seams have been affected by intrusive sills and dykes. In addition, there are three exposures of trap rocks.

There are two working seams with thickness varying from 18 feet to 25 feet. The coal ranges from the lowest grade to the "Second

grade", but are non-coking and may be used in the pulverized state besides being used for steam-raising, brick-burning and other domestic purposes.

The Brahmani field on the northern side of the Brahmani river is the largest of all the coalfields in the Sathal Parganas, situated north of the Dumka-Rampurhat road, near the south-western edge of the main body of the Rajmahal traps. The Talchirs are poorly represented in the area occupying only a minor patch about a mile in length near the confluence of the Brahmani and th Gumra. The typical needle shales are absent and only conglomerates are found. The boundary against the metamorphics is faulted. The outcrop of the Talchirs is overlain by the Barakars. Sandstones and shales of various colours comprise the Barakars. Stringers of coal are noticed in the bands of carbonaceous shales. The shales contain abundant leaf impressions. The Barakars attain a maximum thickness of only 300 feet and in most places they are of insignificant thickness. The rocks of the Dubrajpur stage, mainly sandstones, and the traps overlap the Barakar rocks in some places.

The total area covered by the Barakar stage of rocks which contain coal is about 16 square miles of which 12 square miles may be taken as the available working area with a thick seam about 3 feet in average width. The reserves have been estimated at about 29 million tons all of which is of non-coking type. The coals have higher volatile matter compared with the Barakar coals of the Raniganj and Jharia coalfields, and have high moisture. The high-volatile long flame coal may be utilised for steam-raising and brick and *ghooting*—burning purposes. The moderately low ash of good quality (as it does not form clinkers) make the coal better suited for use in pulverised condition. At present small quantities are exploited from the surface for local uses.

The Rajmahal Series of the Upper Gondwanas takes its name from the Rajmahal Hills. The Series has been divided into the following two stages:—

(1) The Rajmahal Traps.
(2) The Rajmahal Plant Beds.

The Rajmahal volcanic beds are inter-bedded with sedimentary bands, the lowest of which are the plant beds. The only occurrence of vertebrate fossil has been recently reported from Sakrighat (21° 02'N and 74° 40" E.) in a hillock under the Pir Baba's *Mazar* on the right bank of the river Ganga. The fossil belongs to an apparently recent (geologically) genus of fish.

The sedimentary bands are insignificant in thickness but some of them are rich in plant remains. The materials of these sedimentary bands were deposited during the periods of quiescence between the volcanic outbursts and some of them contain minute fragments of volcanic rocks which heralded the renewal of volcanic activity by violent eruptions. The fine volcanic dust was not only deposited on the pre-existing surface but was washed down and deposited in the lakes and rivers which had come into existence during these quiet intervals since the grains appear rounded and there is presence of clay material.

The beds of white shales and sandstones which are the repositories of the plant fossils have yielded rich plant fossils in several areas such as Amrapara, Mirza Chowki, Brindaban, Sakrigali, etc.

The white shales show under the microscope the presence of volcanic glass and fragments of basalt. They are undoubtedly volcanic tuffs but in view of the fact that they have been deposited in water—at least some of them—they may be called 'tuffite'. Some of the clays are suitable for the manufacture of porcelain and some of the sandstones are pure enough to be used in glass manufacture.

The upper surface of some of the shaly beds has been hardened and altered by contact metamorphism caused by the basaltic lava flow. Some of the beds are of carbonaceous shale.

Most of the plant fossils have been obtained from the two bands of fine-grained and light-coloured shales, the lower one 10—15 feet thick and the upper one 20—25 feet thick separated by a lava flow.

The lowest of the intertrappean beds in the Pachwara coalfield is a sandstone containing specimens of *Unio* like those found in the Dubrajpur beds.

The following is a list of the plant remains found from the two shale bands:—

Equisetales—Equisetites rajmahal, gneiss,

Lycopodiales—Lycopodites gracilis,

Filicales and Pteridospermae and inceratae sedis—Marattiopsis macrocarpa, Thinnfeldia indica, Gleichenites gleichenoides, Cladophlebis denticulata, Danaeopsis rajmahalensis, Sphenopteris hislopi,

Cycadophyta.—Ptilophyllum acutifolium and cutchense, Williamsonia microps, indica, sewardiana, being flowers of Ptilophyllum, Bucklandia indica (steam of Ptilophyllum), Otozamites bengalensis, abbreviatus, Dictyozamites falcatus, Taeniopteris, several species such as lata, morrisi, ovata, etc., Nilssonia princeps, rajmahalensis, bindabanenisis, Nilssonia morrisiana, orientalis, compta, Podozamites,

Coniferales.—Dadoxylon rajmahalens, Strobilites pascoei, Elatocladus conferta, Retinosporites indica, Pagiophyllum, Echinostrobus indicus, Brachyphyllum expansum, mammillae, Coniferous wood,

Angiospermae.—Homoxylon rajmahalenisis.

During the last thirty years many of the above species have been found in other localities and with them some new forms have been discovered among which the following may be mentioned:—

Filicales.—Cladophlebis indica, Sphenopteris rajmahalensis, Rhizomopteris, Sagenopteris bhambhanii, Tinpaharia sinusa,

Cycadophyta.—Ptilophyllum tenerrimum, Otozamites parallelus, Pterophyllum incisum, Dictyozamites indicus, hallei, Taeniopteris macclellandi, Zamites proximi,

Coniferales.—Ontheodendron florini, Aurocarites, Elatocladus tenerrima, Conites hobsoni,

Incertae sedis.—Podozamites, Lycoxylon indicum, Pentoxylon Sahnii (probably the stem of Taeniopteris spatulata), Nipanioxylon guptai, Sakristrobus, Masculostrobus rajmahalensis, Rajmahalia paradoxa,

Winged pollen and spores.—Podosporites tripakshi, Alisporites Jurassicus (A two-winged spore).

Owing to the predominance of the cycad *Ptilophyllum*, the flora, as a whole, has been called the *Ptilophyllum flora.* Several species have been found in the Jurassic rocks of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Antarctica which once formed the ancient Gondwanaland. The age of the Rajmahal flora has been regarded as corresponding to the European Lias (Lower Trias).

The bedded basaltic lava flows or traps of the Rajmahal hills attain a thickness of about 2,000 feet together with the intertrappean sedimentary beds, which, however, do not exceed 100 feet in aggregate. Individual flows vary in thickness from 2 to 30 feet,

the average thickness being about 4 to 5 feet. The region occupied by the lava flows forms a flat-topped topography with steep scarps and slopes. Usually a small number of flows has been found in the several areas which have been studied in detail, but in the Bansloi valley, in the southern part of the Rajmahal hills, G.V. Hobson has mapped ten distinct flows averaging 75 feet in thickness. Hobson has also noted a few dykes of dolerite, the only other area where an intrusive trap dyke in Barakar country rocks has been found is near Gopikander. The flows have been faulted down in the Bansloi region and the total number of flows may be double the number found by Hobson. The dykes noted by Hobson may, however, belong to the Deccan Trap period.

Originally the lava flows must have occupied a large area mainly to the south-west and south, although there is no outlier at present.

It is believed that like the Deccan Traps, the Rajmahal traps are also largely erupted through fissures which are now largely hidden from view by the flows themselves. A centralized focus of eruption is, however, known from very early times (recorded by Buchanan) from near Simra (25° 3′ 32″ N; 87° 29′ 0″ E) in the north-western border of the Godda Subdivision. It forms a cluster of conical hills arranged along the circumference of an incomplete circle with a diameter about three quarters of a mile. The Gandeshwari (West) Hills here were considered as making the site of an old crater, a view which was supported by Ball. Ball described the rock as a pinkish trachyte. Subsequent investigation has confirmed the crater hypothesis but chemical analysis and microscopic examination have proved that the rock is a basalt. The pink colour of the rock is due to the limonitization of the pyroxenes in the basalt.

The basalts are remarkably free from olivine and belong to what is known as the tholeiitic or plateau-type of basalt which also constitutes the bulk of the Deccan Traps. The main constituents are plagioclase of labradoritic variety, pigeonitic pyroxena, iron ores (magnetite, ilmenite), primary glass and secondary minerals such as palagonite, cholorophaeite, various kinds of zeolites, etc. A rare occurrence of hypersthene basalt has been described from Tinpahar which is assumed to be due to the assimilation of shaly rocks.

Most of the rocks have a porphyritic texture but all the different types of textures found in basaltic rocks such as ophitic, granulo-ophitic, intersertal, hyalo-ophitic have been described from different flows in different localities. Basaltic glass or tachylite flow has been found in Tinpahar area near Taljhari.

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Mineral Resources.

Although the Santhal Parganas district is not very rich in minerals, yet a number of economic minerals occur in the district and are being worked at present. The following minerals occur in the district :—

1. *Bentonite.*—It is a type of clay which has got the special property of colour absorption and swelling. This mineral may be of sodic or calcic type and depending upon the physical property

of colour absorption, swelling, fineness and plasticity; it may be used profitably as a bleaching agent for oils, oil-well drilling mud, absorbent and filler in nitro-toluenes (explosive) as moulding clay, etc. In the Santhal Parganas, bentonite is being worked at Rango (Bankudih), Pokharia, Fulberia, Tinpahar and near Sahibganj. The reserves have not been estimated so far and the quarrying is limited up to a shallow depth only. In 1959 about 800 tons of the value of Rs. 4,800 was produced in the district.

2. *China-clay.*—This mineral has a wide use depending upon the physical property and extent of purity. The main uses are in pottery and paper industry, rubber industry, textile and paint industry, etc. China-clay occurs in many parts of the Rajmahal Hills, both formed from the alteration of feldspathic gneises and granites, and also of the felspars of the Barakar Sand stones. The best deposits are reported from Dudhan (24° 16′ : 87°24′), Karapur (24° 20′ : 87°23′), and Kalanpur near Baskia (29°27′: 87°23′). Other small deposits are reported near Bagmara (24° 38′ : 87°67′), Bhurkunda (24°20′ : 87° 21′) and Rajbhita (24°56′ : 87° 22′). At Mangalhat (25° 04′ : 87° 31′) the clay is extracted from the sand-stone by crushing and washing, and is used by the Bengal Pottery Limited.

China-clay has been worked out since 1892 at Mangalhat near Rajmahal. It is extracted from the sand stones by system of crushing, washing and subsequent settling. There is a long belt of China-clay deposit alongside the Ganga from Rajmahal to Kanaiya-sthan covering a distance of about 5 to 6 miles. The kaolinised sand is easily pulverised without the help of pulverising machine. The kaolin is plastic and is suited for porcelain industry.

China-clay is worked near Digharia hill at Jasidih by Natural Science. The area falls in Rohni estate which has not vested in the State Government.

The Survey Party of the Geological Survey of India has recently discovered the existence of good deposit of China-clay near Bara-Palasi in Nonihat police-station. The clay is said to be free from quartz and other mechanical impurities. China-clay deposits are also found within Ramgarh police-station. In 1959 it is reported that 1,759 tons with a value of Rs. 2,63,850 were worked out in the district.

3. *Fireclay.*—Fireclay occurs along with the coal deposits and are being worked on a small scale in the district. Fireclay is used for the manufacture of fire-bricks and refractories. Fireclays occur interstratified with the sandstones near Piarim (25°00′ : 87°24′) and on the southern side of the stream near Hura (29° 59′ : 87°23′)

in the Hura coalfield, and also in the Dhamni and Chuparbhita coalfield. The mineral is also being worked at Kharimati, Afzalpur, Nawadip, Borekuri and Nijamakali. The resources have not so far been estimated. There are deposits of fireclay near Phulberia (24° 30′ : 87° 23′) and Simra (23° 02′ : 87° 21′) in the Godda Subdivision of Santal Parganas. The fireclay beds occur in the Barakar sandstones. A bed of white fireclay is traceable for about a furlong on the high ground about ½ mile NNW of Phulberia village. Another bed of similar quality is exposed for about 100 yards on the slope of the high ground about ½ a mile south-east of Phulberia.

Beds of greyish fireclay are associated with the coal and sandstone beds in the Hura and Ranjamatia coalfields which may be economically worked with the coal.

Fireclay deposits are at present worked out at Kharimati, Chotarampur, Borakuri, Korrabad, Mohidnagar, Palasthali and Nij-Jamkanali, all within Nala police-station of Jamtara subdivision. Plastic, semi-plastic and non-plastic fireclay are available in these mines above the coal seams. The principal consumers of the fireclay are M/s. Burn and Company Limited, M/s. Kumardhubi Fireclay and Silica Works Limited and M/s. Bihar Firebricks and Potteries Limited, Mugma.

There are plenty of fireclay deposits in the Damin-i-koh Government estates. In Paharpur and Lalmatia Collieries, good fireclay about four feet in thickness occurs in the strata overlying in coal seam. As the deposits are far away from the rail heads no attempts have yet been made to work the mineral. In 1959 the total production of fireclay was 9,561 tons of the value of Rs. 76,484.

4. *Coal.*—The lower Gondwana Coalfields of the Santal Parganas are not very extensive and the coals are also of not good quality like those of Jharia or Raniganj coalfields. The coal seams are also not much thick and do not go above 20 ft. or 80 ft. The resources proved down to a depth of 1,000 ft. for seams more than 4ft. thick are given below :—

Raniganj	..	210 million tons.
Deoghar	..	5 million tons.
Sahajir	..	8 million tons.
Kundit Kuraiah	..	0.5 million tons.

Mining is being carried out and the grade varies from Grade III to Selected. Coals from this field are being used for domestic purposes, kilns and potteries, power generation on local basis, etc.

The chief locality in which coal has been worked or exists in this district are : (1) The Brahmani coalfield between Masania and Saldaha on the Brahmani river ; (2) Panchwara coalfield in the Bansloi valley ; (3) Chaparbhitta coalfield in the Gumani valley ; (4) Hurrah coalfield north and south of Simra on the western face of the northern portion of Rajmahal hills ; (5) Kasta coalfield in Jamtara subdivision ; (6) Jainty coalfield in Madhupur police-station and (7) Chitra and Saharjuri coalfields in Sarath police-station of Deoghar Subdivision.

The coal produced in majority of the collieries of the district except those in Kasta coalfield is of inferior quality and has very little commercial importance. The coal of Kasta coalfield is mostly of 'B' grade and is used in Loco Coal. The coal produced in other collieries is used for brick-burning and domestic fuel.

The Damin coals are dull and often shale like appearance, chiefly composed of durain. Some banded coal with plenty of vitrain is found in Bargo colliery. Munufacture of soft coke from these coals does not appear feasible. Blending of Damin coal with superior quality imported from outside may yield a saleable quality of soft coke.

The Damin coal being of very inferior quality a substantial portion is lost in the shape of too finely powdered slack coal. Power plants utilising pulverised fuel is likely to be a solution to prevent this wastage. Total production of coal in 1959 was 24,256 tons with a value of Rs. 3,90,224.

5. *Quartz-Silica Sand, Glass Sand, etc.*—These minerals are being worked at Koklodih, Harla and Rajmahal areas. These minerals are used as abrasives, ballasts and also for glass making. Along with these minerals, at places flint and felspars are also being worked. Quartz is found in appreciable quantity within Pathrole estate and in Burai, Nuniad and other Ghatwali estates of Madhupur and Karmatanr police-stations. A very good quality of quartz is mined from Duarpahari. Some quantity of quartz is also available in scattered areas of Pabia estate. This mineral is used in pottery and other ceramic industries.

Silica sand.—In 1907-08 a special enquiry was made into the suitability of the sand occurring in this district for glass manufacture. White Damodar sandstones occur at Mangalhat, Pirpahar, Kanaiyasthan on the east side of Rajmahal hills and in the Hurrah Chaparbhitta coalfields on the north-west. Experiment with the sand at Mangalhat showed that with proper treatment it would yield excellent plate and window glass, but due to presence of kaolin

which is practically impossible to eliminate completely, the idea of manufacturing glass has not been taken into serious consideration. The sand is mostly used for moulding purposes. With the installation of several steel plants within the Union of India, the mineral has prosperous future.

About two feet thick band of white sandstone has been found in Kasta coalfield in association with fireclay seams. Silica sand can be obtained after crushing it which can be used in glass industry.

At Jagdishpur near Madhupur there are deposits of felspar sand which can be tested for manufacture of glass. At present it is used for filtering water at water-supply stations.

Moulding sand.—At Rajmahal brown sandstone is found in abundance which is used as moulding sand. The rejection after washing of china-clay at Rajmahal is white sand which is very widely used for moulding and foundry sand.

Flint stones.—There are deposits of flint stones within Rajmahal subdivision. The mineral is available in the surface in Taljhari bungalow. There are also flint deposits in Damin bungalows, Burhait and Rakshi. The mineral is used for manufacture of grinding mills. It is a substitute of emerystones which used to be imported from outside. Flint balls which are available in Taljhari Bungalow are utilised in the grinding mills. The production of flint stone in 1959 was 10,015 tons with the total value of Rs. 20,300.

6. *Soapstone.*—Soapstone occurs in the district and is being worked on a small scale at Charbori-pahari. This mineral is used for statuary work, making of different types of powder and depending upon the fineness and colour, it can be used for manufacture of cosmetics. Soapstone powder is also being used as filler in paper and rubber industries, in the manufacture of grease and lubricants, etc. The powder is sometimes used as a scoring agent for grains. French chalk and writing pencils (chalk pencil) are also manufactured from soapstone.

In addition to the above, ordinary clay is being widely used for brick manufacture and domestic pottery throughout the district.

7. *Fuller's Earth.*—Fuller's earth was reported by Ball in 1877, to occur in association with the pottery clays of Patharghatta hill (25°20′ : 87°17′) in the neighbouring Bhagalpur district. This was sold in Calcutta as Rajmahal *mitti* and was known locally as *sabun mitti*.

8 *Felspar.*—Felspar is found in pocket deposits in Madhupur and Karamatanr police-stations of Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions

respectively. Best quality of felspar is found in *Mouzas* Koklodih and Duarpahari of Madhupur police-station. The principal consumers are M/s. Bengal Potteries Limited and M/s. Bengal Enamel Company. It is used in porcelain and enamel industries.

9. *Road metal.*—The deposit of stone is available throughout the district but is worked on a considerable scale along the loop-line of the Eastern Railway in Pakaur and Rajmahal subdivisions. The Pakaur stone, which is commonly known as "black stone" has a considerable demand and is considered as the best stone. There are more than 100 stone quarries and mines within Pakaur police-station. There are also stone quarries and mines in Tinpahar, Baukudih, Taljhari, Maharajpur and Mirzachowki. The stone quarries of Mirzachowki are gaining prominence daily. The railways obtain their supply of ballasts from the stone quarries of Burharwa, Baukudih and Taljhari.

Botany.—The last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) mentions :—

> "There are Government forests in the Damin-i-Koh, but nearly all cultivable land having been brought under the plough, they are, for the most part, confined to the hills and the steeper ravines and slopes. In the Rajmahal, Pakaur and Godda subdivisions, the jungle has not been spared even on such hilly sites, for the Maler or Sauria Paharias *jhum* the steepest slopes, however stony, and raise a precarious crop, having been too lazy to cultivate the valleys, from which they have practically been ousted by the more energetic Santal cultivator. The mischief done by the practice of *jhuming*, i. e. shifting cultivation, has since been checked to a certain extent by the demarcation of the Kurao (*jhuming*) areas during the settlement operations. In the Dumka subdivision *jhuming* is not allowed, and in the lower slopes of the hills pure *sal* forest is found in places, but trees over 3 feet in girth are very few in number. Higher up, the forests are mixed forests with little *sal* but many bamboos."*

For forest administration there are two Forest Divisions, *viz.*, the Dumka Forest Division and the Deoghar Forest Division, each under the charge of a Divisional Forest Officer.

The forests of the district cover an area of about 755 square miles out of which about 625 square miles are in the Dumka Forest Division and 130 square miles in Deoghar Forest Division. For forest administration the Dumka Forest Division has been divided

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**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), P. 19.

into 6 ranges, viz., Hizla, Godda-Damin, Pakaur-Damin, Dumka-Damin, Rajmahal and Simra. In the Deoghar Forest Division only two ranges viz., Madhupur and Jasidih are in the Santal Parganas district.

The Deoghar Forest Division controls the civil subdivisions of Deoghar and Jamtara while the Dumka Forest Division controls the forests of the civil subdivisions of Godda, Pakaur and Damin of the district of Santal Parganas. All these areas are situated within the Damin-i-Koh.

The forest of the district comes under the classification of the "Dry Peninsular Sal" type. The predominant species is *sal*. The quality of the *sal* of Santal Parganas varies from quality I to quality V ; the former being rare.

The Damin-i-Koh has rich forests. The old divisions, *viz.*, Reserve forest, Old reserves, Protected forests, Undemarcated forests, Nankara Sankara Estate forests and Private Protected forests have now become almost obsolete since the passing of the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950. All the Private Forests have now been vested in the State and termed as "Protected Forests", demarcated and undemarcated. Almost all the forests previously owned by the ex-landlords have been demarcated for afforestation and systematic exploitation.

Regarding the various species the last Gazetteer mentions :—

> "Generally speaking, the predominant tree in the district is the *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) called *sarjom* in Santali. Its distribution is general, except where the forest has been destroyed, as is largely the case in the north of the Damin-i-Koh estate, by *jhuming* and the cultivation of *sabai* grass. In the plains and valleys the chief trees accompanying *sal* are *piar* (*Buchanania latifolia*), *hesel* (*Semecarpus anacardium*), and *asan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*). On the lower slopes of the hills other species appear in considerable variety, such as *Zizyphus*, *Diosphyros*, *Sterospermum* and *Bauhinia*. As the hills are ascended other species are met with, e.g., bamboos (*Dendrocalamus strictus*), *murga* (*Ptercarpus Marsupium*), *Satsal* (*Dalbergia latifolia*) and *gamhar* or *Kasamar* (*Gmelina arborea*) ; and the proportion of *sal* gradually grows less, till on the upper plateaux it almost disappears. On the old *Jhumed* lands it gives place to a dense growth of shrubby trees, chief among which are *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, *Wend-landia*, *Gardenia*, *Flacourtia*, *Woodfordia* and *Anogeissus*. In the moist valleys on the northern face of the Rajmahal Hills plantains with their large leaves present a more typically tropical vegetation than is found elsewhere."*

**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), p p.19-20.

Sal is generally restricted to the lower slopes of the hill. Bamboo and miscellaneous forests are displacing *sal* on the higher slopes and plateau except towards north the Mahua-Garhi and Silingi Pahar hills. The quality of the *sal* on the laterite beds on scraps of these hills is definitely better than that of *sal* on lower slopes. *Sal* forms about 90 per cent of the crop, its usual associates being *bija, asan, dhaura, kazam, kendu, chir, sonla, piar, jamun, nanath* and *mohua*. At places mango, *bair, khair* and *harsingar* are also seen. Dighar a Pahar appears to have one of the best wooded slopes with good density at many places and quite frequent occurrence of poles of nearly two feet in girth. Exploitation of bamboo is carried out on the Tirkut Pahar, Digharia Pahar and Bhusi Dhamsila. Congestion and malformation are very common owing to prolonged mal treatment and over-exploitation, especially during the Second World War and on the eve of the Zamindari abolition. The impact of mal-treatment is marked on the bamboos of Phuljori Pahar. The Forest Department is now taking measures to check reckless exploitation of the forests. (The bamboo of Sahebganj is of special variety called *Bambusa newtens*).

Sabai grass which is a raw material for making of paper is grown on 157 hills of the Rajmahal Hill Range on an area of about 44,000 *bighas*. *Sabai* industry sponsored by Paper Mills and protected by Government is the mainstay of the economic life of the Paharias residing on the tops of these hills. The Forest Department undertook the work of renovation of *sabai* grass since June, 1960. The total outturn of *sabai* grass in 1960-61 amounted to only 2,000 maunds which rose to 32,000 maunds in 1961-62. The grass is given to Bengal Paper Mill, Raniganj at the rate of Rs. 5 per maund. *Sabai* grass industry has been described in details elsewhere.

In urban areas different kinds of *Lantan* are common in hedges. *Ipomea carnea* at the periphery of the crop fields have become common in the last one decade.

Some of the urban areas in Santal Parganas, particularly Deoghar, Jamtara, Karmatanr and Mihijam are noted for rose culture. Good roses are also found in the interior of the district in rural areas. At Nonihat a doctor was found having grown a good rose garden with the help of manure. There are several rose-nurseries at Deoghar and other urban areas. At Deoghar there is a specialist who has been breeding a large number of different varieties of roses some of which have won recognition all over the world. Cut roses are supplied to Calcutta daily from Jamtara, Karmatanr, Mihijam and other places. The Bawanbigha rose-nursery is one of the best nurseries in India. Chrysanthemums of Deoghar area have a good market.

A remarkable feature of the district is that different kinds of orchards are found. The common host are the mango and *Peepal* trees.

As regards arboriculture or road-side plantation it may be mentioned that many of the inter-district important roads have little or no arboriculture. Some roads, however, have mango, *mahua*, jackfruit, *imli*, *siris*, *palas*, eucalyptus and *neem* trees. Some of the plants scattered in Santal Parganas and used as medicines among the Santals and other aborigines may be mentioned:—

(1) *Motha* (*Cyperus rotandus*); *Linn* (*Nut Grass*)—Oil extracted from it is applied externally. It is said to stimulate secretion of milk.

(2) *Datura* (*Stramonium linn*)—It is used as anti-spasmodic in asthma, hooping cough, etc.

(3) *Bhangaria* (*Eclipta alba*)—It is used in medicine for scorpion stings.

(4) *Jhuri jhuri* (*Vernonia cineria*)—Used as medicine in fever. It is also said to be a tonic for horses.

(5) *Baradhudi* (*Euphorbita hirta*)—Its root is given to stop vomiting and the plant is given to the nursing mother.

(6) *Hazar Dana* (*Phylanthus nirari*)—The juice of leaves is used as a remedy for gums. It is administered in jaundice, dropsy and genito-urinary infection.

(7) *Bish-Kapra* (*Boerhaavia diffusa*)—Its root is used for the treatment of diarrhoea, dysentery and cholera; it is also diuretic.

(8) *Chirchita* (*Achyranthus aspera*)—It is used as an antidote for the poison of snakes and scorpions.

(9) *Dhamoi* (*Argemona mexicana*)—Its oil is used for itches and other skin diseases.

(10) *Rangani* (*Solanum Xanthocarpun*)—All parts of the plants are used as medicine. Fruits boiled in *ghee* are given for cough and toothache.

(11) *Kajaria* (*Bionhytum sensitiyun*)—It is given to children to induce sleep. It is also used in chest complaints and its ash for stomach-ache.

(12) *Sarpa gandha* (*Rawolfia serpentina*)—Has acquired great importance in medicine due to its wonderful sedative properties. The Forest Department is growing this plant for commercial purposes.

(13) A wild plant grown in some parts of Santal Parganas known as *Ban Kumra* identified as *Peureria tuberosa* is commonly used by the Santals and the Paharias for medicinal and edible purposes. A large specimen was sent from Dumka, headquarters of Santal Parganas to the World Agricultural Fair at New Delhi in 1960 and had created some interest there.

The Santals use portions of the tuber as a paste on any part of the body for pain, rheumatism or gout. The Santals do not always take it as a food but use it as medicine. The Paharias who are more primitive than the Santals and live on the hill tops are, however, said to be eating the tuber as a vegetable.

A *Kaviraj* of Dumka practising Ayurvedic, however, uses it for medicinal purposes. According to him it is also known as *Bhumi Kushmando* or *Patal Kumrah* and is a very good tonic, diuretic and increases flow of milk in the mother. He also claims that it increases virility, is a good blood purifier and cures liver trouble. The *Kaviraj* makes a paste and administers the paste orally.

The plant is xerophytic and thrives well in hard sandy soil. Its fruit seems to be a modified stem of the tuber group. Upper ground stem is dried up when the tuber is ready and well developed. The upper portion of the plant is a creeper with small betel like leaves. The plants are found in Gopikander Agricultural Extension Block of Dumka subdivision as well as in other places. The plants are also available in Rambha area in Ganjam district (Orissa).

(14) *Mritasanjibani jari*, a creeper found at Mirzachauki hills and is exported to Calcutta for *Kabiraji* medicine as a tonic. The hill people also use it.

(15) *Harjora* creeper – found at Mirzachauki hills. The aerial roots of the creeper are made into a paste and used for sprain and fractures.

It is well known that the use of a herb for birth-control is common among the Santals. The discovery and identification of the plant depend on patient investigation and research. Most of medicinal plants of this district have not yet been properly exploited except *Sarpagandha*. The Forest Department has started its cultivation but not on a large scale.

Fauna.

The picture of fauna given in the last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas and quoted below still continues although the different species are becoming scarce. Tigers are now very occasionally bagged and have become rather rare. Leopards are still common. A sports-loving Sadar Subdivisional Officer shot about 30 panthers in 1950-51.

The last District Gazetteer mentions—

"The Santal Parganas were formerly well stocked with big game.* Even 60 years ago it was stated in the *Statistical Account of Bengal* that tigers, leopards, bears, hyaenas, deer and wild pig, with a variety of small game, were common almost everywhere, while wild elephants and rhinoceros used to be seen. Rhinoceros have now been extinct for about half a century; the last wild elephant was shot in 1893; and the larger carnivora are also scarce owing to the gradual opening up of forest areas and the spread of cultivation. Outside the Government estates the jungle is being gradually destroyed, and, with the removal of jungle, big game has almost disappeared. The Santal, moreover, is as destructive to game as he is to jungle, and the result has been an extirpation of the smaller game, on which the larger carnivora prey, and the migration of the latter to other districts, where food is more plentiful. Not only do the Santals kill any small game they can knock down when alone, but occasionally they organise large drives. Hundreds of men gather together, and armed with spears, clubs, bows and arrows form themselves into two lines, which march for days together killing every beast and bird they meet.

"Tigers were once common, so much so that the writer of *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (1867) says that 'formerly it was no uncommon thing to be awoke by the sentry, and, on going out, to see at the bottom of a long walk in the garden at Pakaur a large tiger crawling with his nose to the ground.' Tigers are now very rare, those met with being probably stragglers from other districts. It is true that the presence of a tiger is at times reported by the Santals, but the probability is that the

*This account of the Fauna of the district has been prepared with the help of a note contributed by Mr. A. H. Mee, formerly in charge of the Santal Parganas Forest Division.

animal is a leopard. Cases of cattle lifting are attributed to tigers, but the number of such cases is insignificant. Cows and bullocks are rarely attacked, and buffaloes even less frequently; and the fact that the young of these animals, with sheep and domestic pigs, are most usually killed would seem to point not to tigers but to leopards. Some 35 years ago a tigress with a half-grown cub wandered into the district from the Hazaribagh forests and caused the deaths of several persons at Katikund and Susni in the Dumka and Godda portion of the Damin-i-Koh and at Rajbhita in the Godda subdivision. In 1930 a tiger, a tigress and a cub made their appearance in the hills near Bakudi Railway station. After this, tigers have not been heard of.

"Leopards are still common throughout the district and are not restricted to any particular locality. They are met with not only in the more densely wooded areas, but also in rocky and more or less isolated peaks where vegetation is scant. One or more are always to be found in certain favoured haunts, e.g., in the hills, in the vicinity of Saldaha, in the lower hills near Narganj and Bokrabandh, and at the base of the hills to the west of Hiranpur in the Pakaur Damin. At the place last named caves, or rather large fissures in the rocks, are always occupied by one or more of these brutes, and though attempts have been made from time to time to drive them out and shoot them, they have met with little success. Close to Dumka near the village of Kurwa, on the right of the road to Rampur Hat, the Kurwa hill, which is a mass of rock and boulders with little, if any, vegetation, is another favourite haunt. The larger leopards occasionally take to cattle lifting and man-eating. The Santals shoot them with poisoned arrows but the number killed in this way is small. Poisoning and trapping, which are resorted to in other districts of Bihar, are not commonly practised. Leopard cubs are often caught by the Santals and are usually sold if a purchaser can be found.

"Bears (*Melursus ursinus*) are fairly numerous in the forests of the "Old Reserve" in the Dumka Damin, and are also common in the Nunihat hills and many other places. They favour the higher hills, from which they descend during the night to feed, and especially hills made up of rocks piled one above another, with cavities between and beneath them. Their food consists principally forest

fruits, roots, white-ants and honey. The *mahua* flower is a particular favourite, and to obtain this they descend to the lower hills and plains. Instances of their attacking men are not unknown. Hyaenas are found in the district, but are not numerous. They are met with both in forest areas and open country, a favourite place of lying-up being the *khar* (thatching grass) grown close to villages.

"The Ungulata have few representatives. Spotted deer or *chital* (*Cerbulus axis*) are found only in the "Old Reserve" area, and even there they are not numerous. Their favourite haunts are the pure bamboo forests, grass lands and mixed forests on the higher hills. Barking deer (*Cervulus muntjac*) are also met within the more densely wooded areas and occasionally in small patches of forest, but they also are nowhere numerous. One or more, however, are always to be met with in the vicinity of Korcho Pahar near the Silingi bungalow. Very few wild pigs are left, and the survivors keep to the deep forests. They have been all but exterminated by the Santals, who are fond of pork, and mercilessly hunt them down and kill them wherever found.

Game birds

'In the country inhabited by the aboriginal tribes game birds have been almost exterminated. Peafowl and jungle-fowl are still found, however, chiefly in the more densely wooded tracts, besides spur-fowl (*Galloperdix spadicea*), which are also seen on rocky hills where vegetation is more sparse. All three species have now become rare. Grey partridge are met with in suitable localities all over the district, but are nowhere plentiful. Common or grey quail visit the *diara* country along the Ganges in the cold weather, while bush quail and button quail are also met with all over the district, but are nowhere numerous. Common snipe and painted snipe are common in the Gangetic *jhils* of the Rajmahal subdivision. The Bengal green pigeon is a denizen of the more densely wooded areas, and some are always to be met with in the low hills in the vicinity of Silingi bungalow. Golden plover are often seen in flocks in open country during the cold weather. The bronze-winged jacana and black ibis are very common, and may be mentioned here, though they scarcely fall within the category of game birds. The former are generally found on tanks. The

latter are common everywhere and are known as *turjua* among the Santals. They are greatly sought after on account of their flesh, which the Santals consider delicious The common crane and demoiselle crane are occasionally to be seen in the cold weather along the Ganges, but are rare.

"Among the ducks, all the usual cold weather visitors frequent, in large numbers, the *bils* near the Ganges in the Rajmahal subdivision and the reservoirs and rivers of North Godda. The following species are common:—the gadwall, pintail, shoveller, dufted duck, ferruginous duck, red-crested pochard, gargany, common teal and ruddy sheldrake. Of the resident ducks the whistling and cotton teal are common; the nukhta or combduck probably breeds in the Rajmahal *bils*. Large flocks of geese visit the north of the district from the Ganges, after the rice crop has been harvested, to feed on the stubble. The bar-headed is the species most commonly observed."*

Many species of birds, namely, partridges, suipes, plovers and different kinds of ducks are no longer to be seen in plenty. The number of guns has largely increased in the district and there has been indiscriminate shooting. It is only in the recent years that the price of cartridges has gone up very high and that will be a check to indiscriminate shooting. Many of the waterlogged areas have also become drier and have been brought under cultivation. Leopards are still common. The winter visiting birds are on the decline.

Fish.

In the Ganga the most common fish are *hilsa*, *rohu*, *katla*, *kalbaus*, *mirig*, *boal* and *shol*. The same species are also found during periods of flood in the other rivers, viz., the Mayurakshi, Bansloi, Gumani and Ajai.

The Government own a big fishery estate, viz., Ganga-path Islampur Fishery Estate which extends from Pirpainti to Rajmahal (about 40 miles) covering all *dhabs*, inlets and outlets within the two high banks of the Ganga. At Rajmahal there is a colony of the displaced fishermen of East Pakistan who had been rehabilitated here. They are experts in fishing and have been able to secure more yield.

Santal Parganas is a very good source for collection of spawn. Fishermen of Taljhari, Sahibganj and Pakaur collect spawn, fry and fingerlings and sell them to tank owners for rearing. A fry distribution centre has been functioning at Pakaur since 1945.

**Santal Pargana District Gazetteer* (1938), pp. 20—23.

Reptiles

Crocodiles are still found in the rivers particularly in the Ganga and Ajai. Various species of snakes are common, including the cobra, *karait*, *chiti* or spotted snake, and others. With the replacing of the thatched old houses and clearance of the jungles in the urban areas the incidence of snake-bite has come down. The last District Gazetteer mentions that one of the bungalows at Godda was formerly known as "Snakes' Castle" from the number of snakes found in it.

CLIMATE*

The climate of the major portion of the district resembles that of the lower plateau regions of Chotanagpur, with a hot dry summer, a good rainy season and cool winter. The narrow strip of country at the eastern border of the district between the Rajmahal hills and the Ganga is more like Bengal with the characteristic damp heat. The year may be divided into three main seasons. The winter season from November to February, the summer from March to May and the monsoon season from June to September. October is a month of transition from monsoon to winter.

Rainfall

The district has a good net-work of twenty-four raingauge stations, for many of which, records of rainfall extend to 70 years. Tables 1 and 2 give the details of the rainfall at the 24 stations and for the district as a whole. The district receives 80 per cent of the annual rainfall during the monsoon season. July is the rainiest month. The rainfall generally decreases from south-east to north-west. The average for the district is 1,367 mm. (53.8″) in a year. The variation in the rainfall from year to year is small. During the fifty-year period 1901 to 1950 the maximum annual rainfall in the district amounted to 130 per cent of the normal and occurred in 1922, while the minimum which was 72 per cent of the normal was in 1940. In this fifty-year period there were only six years when the district rainfall was less than 80 per cent of the normal. No two of the low rainfall years were consecutive. At some of the individual stations there have been a few occasions of two or three consecutive years with low rainfall. From Table 2, it will be seen that in 33 years out of fifty the district rainfall was between 1,200 and 1,600 mm.

On an average on 69 days in a year the district gets rainfall of 2.5 mm. (10 cents) or more. The number of rainy days decreases from about 80 in the south-eastern parts of the district to about 52 in the northern parts.

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*Contributed by the Dy. Director General of Observatories (Climatology and Geophysics), Poona-5.

The heaviest rainfall in 24 hours which fell at any station in the district was at Mahagama on 24th September 1899 and amounted to 396.5 mm. (15.61″).

Temperature

Meteorological data available at the Observatory at Naya Dumka may be taken to represent the conditions in the district. The cold season starts in November when temperatures begin to drop rapidly. December and January are the coldest months. From the end of February, temperatures begin to rise. Day temperatures are almost equally high in April and May but the nights are hotter and more sultry in May. During the latter part of the summer until the onset of the monsoon by the middle of June, days are extremely disagreeable on account of the hot dusty winds. Maximum temperatures in May and early June can be as high as 46.7°C. (116°F.) on individual days. With the onset of the monsoon day temperatures come down appreciably.

Humidity

Relative humidities are lowest during the summer months when the volume can be as low as 30 per cent in the afternoon. During the monsoon months high humidities prevail.

Cloudiness

Skies are overcast or heavily clouded in the monsoon months and are generally clear or lightly clouded in other months.

Winds

Light north-westerlies prevail during the winter and summer months. Towards the end of the summer season winds begin to blow more and more from directions between north-east and south-east. These winds strengthen and predominate during the monsoon season.

Special weather phenomena

In the monsoon and post-monsoon months the district is affected by storms and depressions from the Bay of Bengal and widespread heavy rain and strong winds occur in association with some of them. Thunderstorms accompanied with severe squalls occur in the pre-monsoon months. Dust storms also occur occasionally in April and May, particularly in the western portions of the district. Morning fog can occur in the winter months.

Tables 3, 4 and 5 give the temperature and humidity, mean wind speed and frequency of special weather phenomena respectively for Naya Dumka.

TABLE

Normals and Extremes

Station.	No. of years of data.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Rajmahal	50	(*a*)9.7	20.6	15.7	30.5	94.0	228.6	307.6	302.8
		(*b*)0.9	1.4	1.5	2.1	5.3	11.0	15.4	15.4
Godda	50	(*a*)13.5	20.3	16.5	18.8	65.3	182.4	258.8	241.8
		(*b*)1.1	1.7	1.3	1.4	4.0	9.4	14.2	13.9
Pakaur	50	(*a*)16.3	21.3	19.3	32.5	118.4	278.4	341.4	343.9
		(*b*)1.1	1.7	1.5	2.4	5.8	12.4	17.2	16.7
Naya Dumka	50	(*a*)16.0	24.9	21.1	26.9	85.9	244.9	357.9	339.1
		(*b*)1.3	2.0	1.6	2.2	5.2	11.9	18.2	17.7
Deoghar	50	(*a*)15.5	24.9	15.0	18.3	65.8	191.8	310.6	268.5
		(*b*)1.2	2.0	1.2	1.7	4.0	9.8	15.8	14.9
Jamtara	50	(*a*)13.2	26.4	29.5	22.3	68.3	242.3	322.6	325.6
		(*b*)1.3	2.2	1.8	2.1	4.5	11.5	17.4	16.8
Mahagama	50	(*a*)10.9	16.8	12.2	17.5	61.2	186.7	244.1	258.8
		(*b*)1.0	1.3	1.1	1.4	3.5	8.9	13.0	12.9
Jarmundi	21	(*a*)13.5	25.7	11.4	21.1	62.2	188.5	338.6	328.2
		(*b*)0.9	2.1	1.3	1.6	3.7	10.3	17.2	17.2
Assenboni	50	(*a*)10.4	23.1	21.6	32.3	99.3	237.4	363.0	348.7
		(*b*)1.0	1.9	1.7	2.4	5.6	11.5	18.3	18.1
Katikund	50	(*a*)15.5	22.9	18.8	29.7	85.6	262.4	363.5	357.4
		(*b*)1.2	2.0	1.4	2.3	5.1	12.3	18.4	18.5

(*a*) Normal rainfall in mm.

(*b*) Average number of rainy days (days with rain of 2.5 mm. or more).

I.

of Rainfall.

Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual.	Highest annual rainfall as per cent of normal year.†	Lowest annual rainfall as per cent of normal year †	Heaviest rainfall in 24 hours.* Amount (mm.).	Date.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
253.2	96.3	11.9	2.3	1,373.2	165 (1917)	61 (1927)	231.1	26th July, 1917.
11.1	3.8	0.7	0.2	68.8	..	..	..	..
185.2	72.1	9.9	2.8	1,087.4	165 (1905)	65 (1948)	257.1	24th September, 1899.
10.1	3.7	0.7	0.3	61.8	..	..	..	..
280.9	111.0	15.0	5.3	1,583.7	169 (1933)	55 (1940)	303.5	15th June, 1922.
12.5	5.2	0.8	0.3	77.6	..	..	..	..
240.5	103.6	15.5	3.8	1,480.1	131 (1942)	74 (1901)	266.9	22nd September, 1935.
12.0	4.8	0.9	0.3	78.1	..	..	..	..
201.4	89.1	14.0	3.1	1,218.0	169 (1917)	65 (1940)	264.2	23rd September, 1917.
10.5	4.2	0.8	0.3	66.4	..	..	..	..
215.7	94.0	14.0	2.8	1,376.7	142 (1928)	71 (1932)	292.3	23rd September, 1916.
11.1	4.2	0.9	0.3	74.1	..	..	..	..
193.3	72.4	7.9	2.5	1,084 3	150 (1929)	61 (1923)	396.5	24th September, 1899.
8.9	33.0	0.5	0.3	55.8	..	..	..	..
245.1	95.5	15.5	1.5	1,346.8	138 (1939)	77 (1932)	215.9	13th August, 1935.
12.0	4.3	0.8	0.3	71.7	..	..	..	..
237.4	104.9	11.7	3.1	1,492.9	149 (1942)	62 (1907)	315.0	9th August, 1942.
12.1	5.1	0.6	0.3	78.6	..	..	..	..
275.3	118.9	17.3	3.6	1,570.9	150 (1916)	58 (1940)	194.1	10th June, 1909.
12.7	4.6	0.9	0.3	79.7	..	..	..	..

*Based on all available data up to 1958.

†Years given in brackets.

TABLE

Station.	No. of years of data.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Madhupur	48	(*a*)15.7	22.1	19.3	15.0	52.6	180.3	314.2	272.8
		(*b*)1.0	1.9	1.2	1.5	3.4	9.1	15.6	15.2
Sarawan	50	(*a*)17.3	24.4	14.0	19.8	64.8	208.3	358.1	306.1
		(*b*)1.2	2.0	1.3	2.0	3.9	10.2	16.3	16.0
Sarath	50	(*a*)15.2	21.8	17.3	21.6	71.9	250.1	323.3	299.7
		(*b*)1.4	2.0	1.2	2.0	3.9	9.5	15.6	15.1
Paraiya	50	(*a*)10.7	21.3	15.2	21.3	74.2	201.2	251.5	270.0
		(*b*)0.9	1.6	1.2	1.6	4.3	9.9	14.1	14.1
Amjora	10	(*a*)11.7	14.7	18.1	47.0	78.5	221.5	384.1	378.7
		(*b*)1.2	1.4	0.6	3.0	5.2	11.0	18.3	16.6
Maheshpur	48	(*a*)11.2	20.1	19.3	27.7	94.5	248.4	309.1	311.4
		(*b*)0.9	1.6	1.4	2.3	5.2	11.0	14.1	15.1
Hiranpur	50	(*a*)12.7	21.8	15.5	29.7	98.5	248.4	360.4	364.7
		(*b*)1.0	1.5	1.3	2.2	5.7	12.5	16.7	17.7
Barharwa	47	(*a*)12.5	18.8	17.0	26.9	91.2	244.9	309.4	331.2
		(*b*)1.0	1.4	1.3	1.9	4.6	11.2	15.0	16.1
Sahibganj	50	(*a*)9.1	20.1	13.2	21.8	81.8	239.5	309.4	316.2
		(*b*)0.8	1.4	1.1	1.7	4.0	10.9	15.1	15.2
Bario	50	(*a*)10.7	22.9	15.7	29.0	85.3	233.4	341.6	337.1
		(*b*)0.9	1.6	1.3	2.0	5.0	11.6	17.5	17.6

(*a*) Normal rainfall in mm.

(*b*) Average number of rainy days (days with rain of 2.5 mm. or more).

I—*contd.*

Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual.	Highest annual rainfall as per cent of normal year.†	Lowest annual rainfall as per cent of normal year. †	Heaviest rainfall in 24 hours.* Amount (mm.).	Date.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
181.9	82.3	9.9	2.3	1,168.4	146 (1933)	37 (1941)	254.0	23rd September, 1916.
9.5	3.9	0.8	0.1	63.2	..	..	..	..
227.3	94.0	12.9	2.0	1,349.0	174 (1948)	62 (1927)	214.9	17th August, 1946.
10.6	4.6	0.8	0.2	69.1	..	..	..	..
199.4	92.2	10.4	4.6	1,277.5	132 (1942)	62 (1903)	231.1	4th July, 1914.
10.1	44.2	0.6	0.3	65.9	..	..	..	..
193.5	79.5	8.9	2.0	1,149.3	144 (1939)	57 (1903)	210.8	12th June, 1950.
10.8	33.0	0.8	0.3	63.0	..	..	..	..
195.3	95.5	25.1	1.3	1,461.5	144 (1942)	83 (1950)	190.7	9th August, 1942.
11.2	5.2	1.5	0.1	75.3	..	..	..	..
254.0	104.7	13.2	2.5	1,416.1	169 (1939)	48 (1927)	261.6	27th July, 1905.
10.6	4.4	0.6	0.2	67.4	..	..	..	..
297.9	106.4	11.9	3.3	1,571.2	208 (1922)	45 (1935)	316.2	27th July, 1921.
12.6	5.5	0.6	0.3	76.6	..	..	..	..
277.1	118.4	9.4	1.3	1,458.1	157 (1933)	42 (1935)	213.4	24th September, 1899.
10.7	4.3	0.5	0.1	68.1	..	..	..	..
277.4	102.1	10.9	1.3	1,402.8	148 (1922)	51 (1935)	292.6	15th September, 1898.
10.5	3.5	0.5	0.1	64.8	..	..	..	..
273.8	103.1	12.7	2.0	1,467.3	149 (1917)	57 (1923)	257.1	15th September, 1898.
12.2	4.0	0.7	0.2	74.6	..	..	..	..

*Based on all available data up to 1958.

†Years given in brackets.

TABLE

Station.	No. of years of data.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Amrapara	44	(*a*)12.2	20.3	19.8	29.7	100.6	288.0	344.7	358.7
		(*b*)1.0	1.6	1.5	2.3	5.6	13.1	18.1	17.9
Kundahit	25	(*a*)12.7	23.6	12.2	20.8	61.5	190.5	369.3	322.6
		(*b*)1.3	2.0	1.3	2.1	4.8	10.2	17.8	16.6
Nunihat	28	(*a*)12.7	20.3	20.3	18.3	68.6	267.2	342.7	306.6
		(*b*)0.9	1.4	1.3	1.4	3.9	10.1	14.5	14.7
Bhagaya	34	(*a*)12.7	15.2	12.5	19.1	83.1	214.1	270.7	247.9
		(*b*)1.1	1.3	0.7	1.2	3.7	8.8	12.7	10.9
Santal Parganas (District).	..	(*a*)13.0	21.4	16.7	24.9	79.7	226.2	324.8	314.1
		(*b*)1.1	1.7	1.3	1.9	4.6	10.7	16.1	15.9

(*a*) Normal rainfall in mm.

(*b*) Average number of rainy days (days with rain of 2.5 mm. or more).

I—*concld.*

Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual.	Highest annual rainfall as per cent of normal year.†	Lowest annual rainfall as per cent of normal year.†	Heaviest rainfall in 24 hours.*	
							Amount (mm.).	Date.
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
304.5	138.2	15.5	3.8	1,636.0	157 (1939)	54 (1927)	184.7	16th October, 1918.
12.8	5.0	0.9	0.4	80.2	..	..	..	..
204.5	93.7	11.7	3.3	1,326.4	127 (1929)	61 (1940)	185.4	17th July, 1943.
10.1	4.6	0.7	0.4	71.9	..	..	..	..
208.8	78.2	14.7	4.1	1,362.5	187 (1913)	62 (1915)	156.2	5th July, 1892.
10.1	3.2	0.6	0.2	62.3	..	..	..	..
192.0	76.7	9.9	1.8	1,155.0	140 (1929)	62 (1932)	244.3	15th September, 1898.
8.1	33.1	0.5	0.3	52.4	..	..	..	..
234.0	96.8	12.9	2.8	1,367.3	130 (1922)	72 (1940)	..	..
10.9	4.2	0.7	0.3	69.4	..	..	..	..

*Based on all available data up to 1958.

†Years given in brackets.

TABLE 2

Frequency of Annual Rainfall in the District

(*Data* 1901—1950.)

Range in mm.	Number of years.	Range in mm.	Number of years.
901— 1000 ..	2	1401—1500 ..	10
1001—1100 ..	4	1501—1600 ..	8
1101—1200 ..	5	1601—1700 ..	4
1201—1300 ..	7	1701—1800 ..	2
1301—1400 ..	8		

TABLE 3

Normals of Temperature and Relative Humidity of Naya Dumka

Month.	Mean Daily Maximum Temperature.	Mean Daily Minimum Temperature.	Highest Maximum ever recorded.		Lowest Minimum ever recorded.		Relative Humidity.	
							0830	1730*
	°C	°C	°C	Date.	°C	Date.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
January ..	24.7	10.6	31.2	27th January, 1958	4.4	5th January, 1945 ..	67	51
February ..	27.1	13.2	36.1	20th February, 1952	5.0	2nd February, 1905..	59	43
March	33.3	18.2	42.2	18th March, 1953 ..	8.3	1st March, 1906 ..	46	32
April	37.6	23.1	45.0	19th April, 1951 ..	15.0	6th April, 1905 ..	49	36
May	37.3	25.2	46.7	28th May, 1916 ..	17.2	19th May, 1934 ..	63	51
June	34.6	25.9	46.7	15th June, 1926 ..	20.0	2nd June, 1922 ..	75	72
July	31.7	25.5	40.6	5th July, 1897 ..	21.1	7th July, 1948 ..	82	82
August	31.4	25.3	37.2	24th August, 1938 ..	21.1	8th August, 1948 ..	83	83
September ..	31.8	24.8	36.7	13th September, 1938	20.0	27th September, 1956	81	80
October	31.2	21.5	36.1	20th October, 1951 ..	13.3	31st October, 1954 ..	73	70
November ..	28.2	15.4	35.0	1st November, 1896..	6.7	30th November, 1934	67	56
December ..	24.9	10.9	30.6	7th December, 1954..	5.0	21st December, 1935	66	54
Annual	31.1	20.0	..	..	..	..	68	59

*Hours I.S.T.

TABLE 4

Mean Wind Speed in Km/hr of Naya Dumka

January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Annual.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2.3	2.7	3.4	4.5	5.1	4.8	4.2	3.7	3.2	2.3	1.9	1.9	3.3

TABLE 5

Special Weather Phenomena of Naya Dumka

Mean number of days with.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Annual.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Thunder	0.5	1.6	2.3	4.3	6.8	9.3	6.5	6.2	8.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	48.5
Hail ..	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0 3
Dust Storm ..	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0 5
Squall ..	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fog	1.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.9

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

The Stone Age

A number of stone implements have been found in the Santal Parganas, most of which are obviously weapons or tools, such as axes, hammers, arrow-heads or agricultural implements. The most interesting are some so-called "shoulder-headed celts" similar to those found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. They are of special interest, because several writers have regarded the fact that such celts have only been found in the countries mentioned as proof that the races now settled there, viz., the Mons and Mundas, belong to the same stock, thereby implying that the shoulder-headed celts were originally manufactured and used by them. On this point the Revd. P. O. Bodding, of Mohulpahari in this district, who brought to light the existence of such celts in the Santal Parganas, writes as follows:—"So far as our present knowledge goes, we cannot say more than this: the fact of these peculiarly formed celts being found in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas in India, and in the delta and valley of the lower Irrawaddy so says Sir A. Phayre in a letter printed in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, no. 1, 1876—and nowhere else, makes it so likely as to be almost a certainty that in a former age the same peoples have either been living in the countries mentioned (and those between), or there has been some kind of communication or intercourse between the countries by migration or otherwise. If these shoulder-headed celts should be found, e.g., in the Assam Valley and Burma, they would point out where these people were living, or the line of communication. The original owners may, of course, for all we know, have been the Mon-Khmer and Munda peoples; but they may also just as well have been others."*

Early History

The earliest inhabitants of whom there is any record appear to be the Maler (Sauria Paharias), who are found to this day in the north of the Rajmahal Hills. They have been identified with the Malli mentioned by Megasthenes, who visited the court of Chandragupta Maurya at Pataliputra (Patna) in 302 B. C. According

*Further details will be found in two articles, *Stone Implements in the Sonthal Parganas*, by the Revd. P. O. Bodding published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III (1901 and 1904).

to his account, the Malli were a race holding the country between the Prasii, i.e., the people of Magadha or Bihar, and the Gangaridae, i.e., the people of Lower Bengal. Their territory was bounded by the Ganga and contained within its limits a mountain called Mallus, which is identified with the sacred hill of Mandar in the south of the Bhagalpur district, close to the boundary of the Godda subdivision. The Sauria Paharias are also believed by some to be the race referred to by the Greek geographers* as the Suari, but the latter are generally held to be the Savars of Orissa.

We have no detailed account of this part of the country until the time of Hiuen Tsiang, a Chinese pilgrim, who visited India about 645 A. D. From the record of his travels, we learn that he visited the kingdom of Champa, the northern boundary of which extended along the Ganga from Lakhisarai to Rajmahal, while the southern boundary passed through "desert wilds, in which were wild elephants and savage beasts that roamed in herds". To the east of Champa lay the kindgdom of Kie-chu-u-khi-lo or Kie-ching-kie-lo, which, according to General Cunningham, was the tract of country included in the present Santal Parganas. "The distance and bearing", he writes, "bring us to the district of Rajmahal, which was orginally called Kankjol after a town of that name, which still exists 18 miles to the south of Rajmahal." When independent, the petty state of Kankjol most probably comprised the whole of the hill country to the south and west of Rajmahal, with the plains lying between the hills and the Bhagirathi river as far south as Murshidabad."

Hiuen Tsiang does not give any account of the interior of this kingdom, merely stating that, having been conquered by a neighbouring state, the towns were desolate and most of the people were scattered in villages or hamlets. He adds, however, that on the northern boundary not far from the Ganga, was a lofty tower made of bricks and stone, which General Cunningham identifies with Teliagarhi. "The pilgrim," he writes, "does not say what was the nature of the tower; but from his description I gather that it must have been a Buddhist building, as its four faces were ornamented with panels filled with figures of saints, Buddhas and Devas. From the mixture of brick and stone in the building, and its position on the northern frontier of the district and on the south bank of the Ganges, I am led to think that this tower was most probably situated at Teliagarhi itself. The place was certainly an old military post, as it completely commanded one of the three passes leading into Bengal. But it must have also been a place of consequence, as it possessed a considerable number of large

*A Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), pp. 508, 509;
W.B. Oldham, *Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District* (1894), p. 6.

statues, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. Most of these were removed to a great house at Kahalgaon (Colgong) built on the top of the hill facing the rocks, but, since the establishment of the railway close by, many of them have disappeared, no one knows where"*.This area must have formed a part of the Pala Empire and remained under its control even when the Gurjara ruler, Bhoja I, established his authority over certain other parts of Bihar including at least Gaya and Hazaribagh districts about the middle of the ninth century A. D. A careful search is sure to reveal many iconographic and other old remains of the Pala period in this area.

After this, there is no record of the history of the district for many centuries, but there is an interesting reference to it in the *Brahmanda* section of the *Bhavishyat Purana*, which was probably compiled in the 15th or 16th century A. D. from ancient materials. It refers to the tract comprising the present district and Birbhum as Narikhanda, and describes it as follows:—"Narikhanda is a district abounding in thickets. It lies west of the Bhagirathi and north of the Dwarikeshwari river. It extends along the Panchakuta hills on its west, and approaches Kikata on the north. The forests are very extensive, chiefly of *sakhota*, *arjuna*, and *sal* trees with a plentiful addition of brushwood. The district is celebrated for the shrine of Vaidyanath. The deity is worshipped by people from all quarters, and is the source of every good in the present age. Three-fourths of the district are jungle, the remaining fourth is cultivated. The soil of a small part of it is very fertile, but by far the greater portion is saline and unproductive. There is no want of water, and numerous small streams run through the forest : the principal of these is Ajaya. In many places there are iron mines. The people are, in general, small, black and of immoral propensities, and ignorant of religious duties; a few only are attached to the name of Vishnu. They are dexterous bowmen and industrious cultivator.**"

Mediaeval Period

The history of the area round about Rajmahal and some other portions of Santal Parganas during the periods of Turko-Afghan rule and Mughal rule in India is known to us more clearly now from the study of direct as well as incidental reference relating to these in contemporary works of Muslim historians, accounts of the Portuguese writers, and records of other European companies. There is no doubt about the strategic and economic importance of this place.

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*A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), pp. 478-9 ; Reports, Arch. Surv. Ind., XV, 37-39; S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II.

**J. Burgess, *Geography of India*, Ind. Ant. 1891, Vol. XX, p. 420.

There were, on the one side, the almost inaccessible cliffs of the Rajmahal hills, and on the other side, flowed the mighty Ganga taking a southward course below Sakrigali with the high road from the Upper provinces into Bengal running along its western bank. From Kahalgaon the route lay through a defile through the passes of Shahabad and Teliagarhi situated at a distance of three and a half miles from each other. These passes were justly considered to be the gateway of Bengal covering the mouth of this defile, that is, stretching from the foot of the hills to the Ganga, stood the famous fortress of Teliagarhi, the ruins of which can be still seen at a distance of about seven miles from Sahibganj. In view of the strategic importance of this place the ruling authorities in Bengal always posted a strong garrison in this fortress. It should also be noted that because of the important geographical situation some decisive battles were fought near about Rajmahal. The existence of the fort during the rule of Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal is referred to in the famous Bengali work Chaitanya-Charitamrita.[1]

In January, 1536, the great Afghan ruler, Sher Shah made a bid for the crown of Bengal. In his plan to occupy Gaur, then capital of Bengal, he first tried to advance through Teliagarhi but was opposed there by troops sent from Bengal under two Portuguese Commanders. So he entered Gaur by a detour through another unfrequented way passing along the upper course of the Mor river, the upper course of the Dwarka river, and *via* Sherpur through the Birbhum district. When the Bengal army hastened from Teliagarhi to defend the capital, Sher Shah's son, Jalal Khan, took possession of the pass there. Mahmud Shah, the weak Sultan of Bengal, purchased peace with the Afghan invader by ceding to him a territory extending from Kiul to Sakrigali. When on hearing of Sher Shah's victories the Mughal Emperor wanted to oppose him and turned towards Bengal in 1538, there began a race between him and Sher Shah for the occupation of Gaur, the capital of Bengal. Reaching Gaur towards the end of June, 1538, Sher Shah sent his son Jalal Khan, Haji Khan Batri and some other nobles at the head of several thousand troops to defend the pass of Teliagarhi. A sharp action took place here between the advancing Imperial Army and the Afghans under Jalal but the entrenchments were forced by the Emperor's army. After the final defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah at Chausa in June, 1539, the latter became the *de facto* ruler of the areas bounded on the west by the bend of the Ganga from Kanauj to Chunar, on the south by the hills of Jharkhand (from Rohtas to Birbhum) and the Bay of Bengal, on the east by the hills of Assam and Chittagong, and on the north by the Himalayas.

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1. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1939, page 790.

The Mughal conquest of Bengal was not an easy task. Till his death on the 11th October, 1572, Sulaiman Kararani recognised the overlordship of Akbar. But his son, Daud Kararani, proclaimed his independence and crowned himself King of Bengal. At this, the Mughal Emperor himself marched against the presumptuous Afghan Chief to the neighbourhood of Patna (3rd August 1574) where the latter had advanced. The Mughal army captured the fort of Hajipur (6th August) and set fire to it. Highly terrified at this, Daud fled towards Bengal with his followers. While Akbar returned to Agra, his General, Munim Khan, continued to chase the vanquished Afghans through Surajgarh, Mungir, Bhagalpur and Kahalgaon till the Mughal army reached Guna (probably Gurunda) which had been entrenched and held in force by Daud. But the Afghans soon fled from this position too, without any fight, and Munim Khan reached Tandah, the capital of Bengal, unopposed on the 25th September*. Daud was expelled from Bengal and after his defeat at Tukaroi near the eastern bank of the Suvarnarekha river on the third March, 1575 submitted to the Imperialists. But this was not immediately followed by the establishment of peace and administrative order in the eastern parts of India. In fact, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had troubled days between 1575—1594. After the death of Munim Khan at Tanda on the 23rd October, 1575, Akbar sent (November, 1575) Husain Quli Khan entitled Khan-i-Jahan, as Viceroy of Bengal with Raja Todar Mal as his Lieutenant. In the meanwhile the Afghans had again defied Mughal authority. Junaid Kararani, the first cousin of Daud, made his base at Jharkhand and troubled south Bihar. But encouraged by Khan-i-Jahan and Todar Mal, the Mughals recovered Teliagarhi after slaying its Afghan Commandant. Daud Khan took up a position at Rajmahal and Khan-i-Jahan lay there facing him for some months in trenches. But there was a turn in the situation when under orders of Akbar additional reinforcements in men and materials were sent from Bihar to join Khan-i-Jahan at Rajmahal on the 10th July, 1576. In a stubborn battle fought two days later in which Daud Khan led the centre of his army while Kalapahar, the well-known conqueror of Orissa commanded the right wing, the Afghans were defeated with the loss of almost all their leaders. Daud was slain as a "treaty-breaker", his head being sent by express messenger to the Emperor at Agra as a tangible proof of the victory and Junaid was killed by a cannon-ball. Kalapahar ran away wounded[1]. Thus "Bengal came once again into imperial possession". Khan-i-Jahan died near Tanda

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*According to A.L. Srivastava this event took place on the 21st September (*Akbar, the Great* p. 169).

1. History of Bengal (published by Dacca University, Vol. II).
C. Stewart, in History of Bengal (1847) .pp. 77-78, however, mentions that after Kalapahar's death Daud was captured and slain.

on the 19th December, 1578 and in April, 1579, Muzaffar Khan Turbati came to Bengal as its Viceroy. The new Viceroy's regime proved to be a failure, particularly because of the mutiny of the Mughal Captains in Bengal and Bihar. The rebels from Bengal joined some mutineers from Bihar near Rajmahal; and Teliagarhi passed under their control. The victory of the rebels was, however, short-lived. The Imperialists recovered Bihar in 1580-81. In April, 1582 Khan-i-Azam was sent as Governor of Bengal by Akbar. Khan-i-Azam marched *via* Mungir and Kahalgaon and reached Katiganj, a navigation canal near Rajmahal, after recovering Teliagarhi on the 20th March, 1583. The rebels in alliance with the Afghans faced him on the 27th March and for "nearly a month the two armies lay facing each other, and discharging guns and muskets only." But the Imperialist gained victory within a month and on the 24th April Kalapahar fell in battle.[1] This was a decisive victory for the Mughals who as a result of some more campaigns in the course of the next few years brought Bengal under their authority.

The next important event in the history of the district was the establishment of Rajmahal as the capital of Bengal in 1592. Sher Shah had selected it as the seat of government about half a century before, but it was left to Man Singh, Akbar's Viceroy in Bengal, to carry out this measure. From 1202 till 1576 Gaur had been the capital of the Province, except for some 60 years when it was transferred to Pandua*, and more recently when Tanda had taken its place; but the Ganga had receded westward until Tanda stood a league from it, and Gaur, deserted by the river, had become more and more unhealthy, the popu ation being decimated by the epidemic of 1575, after which it was abandoned. It was in these circumstances that Man Singh decided to remove the capital to Rajmahal, where he built himself a palace and also erected a strong rampart, strengthened with bastions which encircled the city. He changed the name of the place from Agmahal to Rajmahal and when the city grew to Akbarnagar.

In May 1594 Akbar sent Man Singh as Governor of Bengal. Man Singh took great care to improve Rajmahal "which could to some extent be safe from attack by boats". Soon "a choice city sprang up here" at a site nearer Bihar and healthier than Gaur or Dacca[2]. From this place Man Singh started on the 7th December 1595 for the conquest of East Bengal Delta. Rajmahal did not long continue to be the capital of Bengal. In 1612 Islam Khan shifted the capital to Dacca due to "military and political exigencies" that being

1. *History of Bengal Vol. II, p.* 202.
*Pandua was then called Firuzabad Pandua (History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 82).
2. *History of Bengal, Vol. II,* p. 211.

a more central position for the defence of Bengal against the raids of Magh (Arakanese) pirates and Portuguese buccaneers."[1]

In course of a few years after this Teliagarhi became the scene of a hotly contested battle between Prince Shah Jahan, the ablest of the four sons of Jahangir and Ibrahim Khan, Fath-i-Jang, brother of Empress Nur Jahan and Mughal Subahdar of Bengal from November, 1617. Disgusted with the machinations of his step-mother Nur Jahan, prince Shah Jahan rebelled in the Deccan against his father towards the end of 1622. Desirous of creating a new sphere of influence and authority for himself in Bengal, he proceeded through Burhanpur, Golconda, Masulipatam, Orissa, Midnapur and Burdwan and made a triumphant entry into Akbar Nagar (Rajmahal). On hearing of this, Ibrahim Khan hastened from Jahangirnagar (Dacca) with a body of troops and a fleet of war boats to oppose the rebel prince at Rajmahal. By this time Raja Man Singh's fort there had lost its strategic value as the river Ganges had receded from the city nearly two miles. So Ibrahim Khan "abandoned the fort, moved further down the river to a place where his son lay buried, enclosed the tomb by a strong wall, and garrisoned it with nearly 4,000 troops including Portuguese gunners, commanded by his younger nephew, Mirza Yusuf, assisted by Jalani Khan, Mirza Isfandiyar and Mirza Nurullah. He himself with his elder nephew, Ahmad Beg, at the head of remaining forces and the elephants, crossed the river and entrenched at a place named Akbarpur (now included in Malda). The fleet remained midway for co-operation with both the forces[2]". Shah Jahan made overtures for peace to Ibrahim who remained, however, unshaken in his loyalty to the Emperor and rejected these. Thereupon Shah Jahan "arranged for a simultaneous assault on the new imperialist fort and the main entrenchment of Akbarpur[3]". At Akbarpur, the imperialists had to labour under great handicaps, as some of their men had been won over by the opposite party and some experienced and able soldiers had died. But Ibrahim Khan fought bravely till he was slain after a desperate struggle on the 20th April, 1624. This was immediately followed by the fall of new fortified post of the imperialists at Rajmahal. For about a year Bengal passed under the control of Shah Jahan. But Jahangir's rule was restored there early in 1625 and Shah Jahan departed for the Deccan.

The Viceroyalty of Prince Muhammad Shuja (1639—1660), the second son of Shah Jahan, was a period of peace for Bengal. After making Rajmahal the headquarters of his Government, he

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1. Stewarts *History of Bengal* (1847), *page*, 131.
2. *History of Bengal, Vol. II, page* 308.
3. *Ibid.*

built a splendid palace there, strengthened the fortifications erected by Man Singh and spent large sums of money in beautifying the metropolis. According to Stewart many of the stately buildings in the city were destroyed by a dreadful conflagration and by a change in the course of the Ganga.

During the war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan, Shuja crowned himself at Rajmahal (late in November, 1657). Then he marched from Bengal with a large but inefficient army, a good park of artillery and a Bengal flotilla to contest the throne of Delhi with his other brothers. After over-running the province of Bihar, he reached the vicinity of Banaras (Varanasi) about the 24th of January, 1658. Here he was opposed by an imperial army sent from Agra under Sulaiman Shukoh, eldest son of Dara and the experienced Rajput General Mirza Raja Jai Singh Kachchwa. The imperialists made a surprise attack on the camp of Shuja early in the morning of the 14th February, while the latter was still asleep. Shuja and his party fled away in utter confusion and panic. He himself reached Mungir by way of Patna and Surajgarh in April. Here on hearing of Aurangzeb's victory at Dharmat, Sulaiman made peace with Shuja and started to rejoin his father at Agra. According to this treaty Bengal, Orissa and Bihar east of Mungir were to be left to Shuja with Rajmahal as the seat of his Government.

Once again with a view to occupying the throne Shuja left Bihar towards the end of October, 1658. Marching unopposed through Rohtas, Chunar, Banaras (Varnasi) and Allahabad and capturing Jaunpur on the way, he reached Khajwa (in the Fatehpur district) on the 30th December, 1658. Here an army which was joined by the new Emperor Aurangzeb himself and his ablest General, Mir Jumla, inflicted a severe defeat on the forces of Shuja on the 5th January 1659 and a detachment pursued the latter to occupy Bihar and Bengal.

Shuja fled back to Rajmahal on the 27th March, 1659. The troops sent by Aurangzeb to chase Shuja were under the nominal command of his eldest son Muhammad Sultan, but Mir Jumla was the "real commander vested with the supreme power of control, dismissal and appointment". The plan of Shuja to offer opposition to the advancing troops at Mungir and at Rangamati was frustrated by Mir Jumla. The imperial general first made a detour through the Khagarpur hills with the assistance of Raja Bahroz and occupied Mungir on the 9th March and again outflanked Shuja by a second detour through Jharkhand with the help of Khwaja Kamal Afghan, Zamindar of Birbhum. Passing through Suri on the 28th March, he marched against Shuja and fixed his

camp at Belaghata on the bank of the Ganges 30 miles from Shuja's base at Rajmahal. Shuja thereupon left Rajmahal on the 4th April and after making Tanda his headquarters began to collect the flotilla of Bengal. Mir Jumla occupied Rajmahal without delay on the 13th April. The contest become now a novel one, in which Shuja had some advantages over his enemies. He had also a superior artillery. Muhammad Sultan posted by Mir Jumla with a part of the imperial army at Degachi, 13 miles south of Rajmahal, went over to Shuja on the 8th June, because of his love for Shuja's daughter and his resentment against the control of Mir Jumla. Further, while flood and famine harassed the imperialists, discord appeared among their generals and the troops of Shuja forced Mir Jumla to evacuate Rajmahal on the twenty-second August. But on the suggestion of Mir Jumla, the Bihar Governor, Daud Khan, sailed from Patna on the 13th May to Quazi-Keria, opposite Bhagalpur and after a "wheeling movement" from Quazi-Keria to Mungir in December, captured Jahangira, defeated Shuja's general, Khwaja Miski, near Kahalgaon and after forcing a passage across the Kosi advanced towards Tanda. At this diversion Mir Jumla chased Shuja to Suti. After an indecisive engagement there the latter crossed over to the eastern bank of the Ganga on the 9th January, 1660. Rajmahal was promptly occupied by Mir Jumla on the 11th January. Frustrated in all his attempts Shuja fled to Dacca on the 19th April and thence to Arakan on the 6th May in the hope of getting help from the Raja of Arakan.

After this, Rajmahal ceased to be the capital of Bengal, which was removed to Dacca. The reasons for this exchange will be apparent from the account left by Tavernier, who visited Rajmahal in January 1666 with Bernier, "Rajmahal is a city upon the right hand of Ganges and if you go by land you shall find the highway for a league or two paved with brick to the town. Formerly the Governors of Bengal resided here, it being an excellent country for hunting, besides that it was a place of great trade. But now the river having taken another course above a good half league from the city, as well for that reason as to keep in awe the king of Arakan and several Portuguese banditti, who are retired to the mouths of Ganges, and made excursions even as far as Dacca itself, both the Governor and merchants have removed themselves to Dacca, which is at present a large city and a town of great trade." Rajmahal, however, continued to be a mint town for it is referred to as such in the early eighteenth century records of the East India Company; and it was the headquarters of the *Faujdar* or Governor of Akbarnagar. We find also that in the time of Murshid Kuli Khan (1700—1727) an officer was sent here every year during the winter to make ice in the Rajmahal Hills to supply the Nawab's table. "The Nawab," says the

Riyazu-s-Salatin, "had stores of ice for full twelve months, used ice daily, and received his supplies of ice from Akbarnagar. Similarly, in the season of mango-fruit, which is the best of the fruits of Bengal, the superintendent of mango-supplies was posted in the Chakla of Akbarnagar and he, counting the mangoes of the *Khas* trees entered them in the accounts, and showed their collection and disposal and the watchmen and carriers, and levying the expenses of carriage from the Zamindars, sent the sweet and delicious mangoes from Malda, Katwa, Hussainpur, Akbarnager, and other places. And the zamindars had no power to cut down the *khas* mango-trees, on the contrary, the mangoes of all the gardens of the aforesaid *Chakla* were attached. And this practice was more rigorously observed in the times of previous Nazims of Bengal."

The English at Rajmahal

Rajmahal was a place of some importance to the English in their early efforts to establish their trade in Bengal. When it was the capital of Shah Shuja, they had an unofficial representative there in the person of Dr. Gabriel Boughton, who was a favourite of the Prince, having, it is said cured a lady of his zanana who was suffering from a complaint in her side. Whatever the truth of this story and doubts have not apparently been thrown on it as on the legend that Boughton cured a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahan— it seems certain that Boughton had much influence with the Prince. That this was recognized by the English is clear from the following instructions given by the Captain of the *Lyoness* to the agents sent from Balasore in 1650 to open up trade in Bengal. "You know," he wrote, "how necessary it will be for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Prince's *pharman*, and that Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon to the Prince, promises concerning the same. To put matters out of doubt, it is necessary that you forthwith, after our departure and the settlement of the business here and at Hooghly, proceed to Rajmahal with one Englishman to accompany you; where being come, consult with Mr. Boughton about the business, who hath the whole contents of the Dutches' last *pharman*, and together endeavour (if possible) that, according to Mr. Boughton's promise, the Company may have such a *pharman* granted as may outstrip the Dutch in point of privilege and freedom, that so they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs. You know what I have written to Mr. Boughton about it, who, without doubt, will be very faithful in the business and strive that the same may be procured, with as little charge as may be to the Company, knowing that the less the charge is, the more will be the reputation

according to his own advice in his last unto me".* It appears that Boughton must have been faithful in the business, for an entry in the Court Book of 1674 shows that he obtained a *pharman* from Shah Shuja giving the English liberty to trade in Bengal.**

With the fall of Shah Shuja the difficulties of the English began. Their boats were stopped at Rajmahal by the new Governor Mir Jumla as they came down the Ganga laden with saltpetre, and when their Agent at Hooghly had the audacity to attempt reprisals by seizing one of the Governor's vessels, Mir Jumla threatened to expel them from the country. The threat was effectual, for the English apologized and restored the vessel. After this they appear to have been on good terms with the Governor; and by 1676 they had established a small agency at Rajmahal, in connection with the Mughal mint, to which they sent their treasure to be coined into rupees. This agency was in 1681 placed in charge of Robert Hedges, who was subsequently the Company's President of Council***.

In 1695-96 broke out the rebellion of Shova Singh, a Zamindar of Cheto-Barda in the Ghatal-Chandrakona subdivision of Midnapur. The rebel chief was joined by the Afghans of Orissa under Rahim Khan, and the whole country west of the Ganga from Rajmahal to Midnapore was overrun by them, Rajmahal being captured and the property of the English seized. At length in May, 1697, the levies of the Nawab Ibrahim Khan were gathered together, and placed under the command of his son Zabardast Khan, who re-took the town, but refused to restore their goods to the English, who appealed to Azim-us-Shan, grandson of the Emperor, who had been appointed Nawab in the place of Ibrahim Khan. Further trouble followed a few years later, for Aurangzeb issued a proclamation ordering the arrest of all Europeans in India, and in 1702 all the servants of the Company at Rajmahal were seized with their effects.

On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 Azim-us-Shan marched with 20,000 horse to support his father Shah Alam in the struggle for the throne, leaving his son Farrukhsiyar, some of the women

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*C.R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, 26-7. The spelling has been modernized.

**A detailed account of the part played by Boughton in securing for the Company liberty of trade in Bengal will be found in an article by Lt. Col. Crawford, I.M.S. *The Legand of Gabriel Boughton*, published in the Indian Medical *Gazette* Jan. 1909. In an article on Rajmahal in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. XXXVI, p. 124 it is stated that "the old graveyard to the north-west of the hotel contains the remains of Surgeon Boughton."

***Stewart's History of Bengal*, pp. 180-1; *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, 34, 53, 376; II, XXXIX.

of his seraglio, and his treasure at Rajmahal.* Shah Alam having ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah, Azim-us-Shan returned to Rajmahal, where in April, 1708 the English sent as envoy with an offer of Rs. 15,000 (besides two looking glasses for the Prince and another for the Diwan, Murshid Kuli Khan), in return for authority to trade free of duties. A month later the Council found to their disgust that their agent Siva Charan had without their authority given to the Prince an order on them for Rs. 36,000. After a long consultation, they decided on sending Fazl Muhammad, one of their most trustworthy native servants, to Rajmahal with orders to send Siva Charan under a guard to Calcutta to answer for his conduct. On the 22nd October Fazl Muhammad returned from Rajmahal bringing still more unpalatable news. The Prince and the Treasurer, he said, in spite of their promise to give a new order for freedom of trade for Rs. 36,000 now absolutely refused to do so unless Rs. 50,000 were given as a present to themselves and Rs. 1,00,000 were paid into the Emperor's treasury at Surat. The Council retaliated by threatening to stop all the Mughal shipping in the Hooghly and order all British subjects to withdraw from Bengal. The threat was not carried out, and we find that Mr. Cawthorpe, the English agent at Rajmahal, was seized by Azim-us-Shan, who refused to release him or let the Company's boats pass, till he had received a bill of exchange for Rs. 14,000. The Council then repeated their threat to stop the Mughal shipping and concentrate all their servants at Calcutta a measure which was expected to paralyse the trade of Hooghly and Rajmahal as "nearly all the best Captains in the employ of the Diwan of the Prince were Englishmen."**

Next year (1709) the Prince and the Diwan Murshid Kuli Khan left Bengal for the imperial court, and Sher Buland Khan was sent to rule the Province in their stead. He at once proceeded to stop the boats at Rajmahal, and it was not until the English paid Rs. 45,000 that they obtained an order granting them the privilege of free trade in Bengal. In 1710 Prince Farrukhsiyar came to Rajmahal as the representative of his father Azim-us-Shan and the English at once sent an agent to conciliate him, receiving in return a dress of honour for the President. The following year Khan Jahan Bahadur Izzud-daula, who had been appointed Deputy Governor, arrived at Rajmahal, where he seems to have done his best to ingratiate himself with the English by allowing their saltpetre boats to pass unmolested down the river and by granting them an order for free trade. Great confusion followed

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*_Sair-ul-Mutakharin_, I, 40,41.

**_Early Annals of the English in Bengal_, Vol. I, pp. 148-50, 161, 170, 180, 181, 198, 303.

the death of the Emperor Bahadur Shah in 1712. Izzud-daula fortified himself at Rajmahal, as well as he could, guarding the neighbouring passes and intercepting all communications. He does not appear, however, to have offered any resistance to Farrukhsiyar, after he had himself proclaimed as Emperor at Patna, for the new Emperor advanced through the Teliagarhi pass on his way to Mushidabad without striking a blow*.

Alivardi was appointed Faujdar of the Chackla (a fiscal division) of Akbarnagar in 1728 and the people there enjoyed peace and prosperity under his efficient administration**. It is stated in a contemporary Persian work, *Muzaffarnamah* that Alivardi's father died and was buried at Rajmahal. Hamilton Buchanan who surveyed some of the Bihar and Bengal districts in the early years of the nineteenth century writes in the Bhagalpur Journal that he saw the monument of Alivardi's father at a village called Mosuha near Rajmahal. After the appointment of Alivardi as Naib Nazim (Deputy Governor) of Bihar, Ataulla Khan, son-in-law of Alivardi's brother, Haji Ahmad became Faujdar of Rajmahal. When according to a planned conspiracy (by Alivardi, his brother Haji Ahmad and some officers of the Government of Nawab Sarfaraz), Alivardi marched from Patna for Bengal, Ataulla helped him greatly in passing through the Teliagarhi passes and entering the jurisdiction of the Chackla of Akbarnagar, the Nawab at Murshidabad being till then quite ignorant of his movements. It was near Giria on the east bank of the Bhagirathi, not very far from Rajmahal, that Alivardi defeated and killed his master Sarfaraz, on the 10th April, 1740†.

From 1742 to 1751 Bengal and Bihar were subject to frequent Maratha inroads. In 1743 two Maratha forces marched into Bengal one under Raghuji Bhonsle and another under his rival the Peshwa, Balaji Rao who wanted to counteract the former's activities. Balaji entered into Bihar from the south with about forty thousand cavalry and passing through Tikari, Gaya, Manpur, Bihar, Mungir, Bhagalpur he was escorted beyond the Rajmahal hills by a local Rajput inhabitant to a place called "Benia Ganj" (as Holwell calls it) on the 13th March, 1743. One might think that Holwell's 'Benia Ganj' was Reneel's Beniagaong. But this village is about 20 miles south-east of Rajmahal and Holwell writes that his 'Benia Ganj' lay west of Rajmahal. There is no Beniagon (Benia gram) to the west of Rajmahal near the foot of the Rajmahal hills, but there is a village known as Bamangawan about

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*_Early Annals of the English in Bengal_, Vol. I, pp. 186, 329, 342; Vol. II, pp. XXXIII, XXIV, XXVIII.

**Dr. K. K. Datta, _Alivardi and His Times_, p. 9.

†_Ibid_, pp. 25-33.

one mile to the north-west of Tinpahar Railway station and about seven miles south-west of Rajmahal. Evidently then this village corresponds to Howell's 'Benia Ganj'. Balaji advanced through Birbhum to Murshidabad. Again in 1745 Raghuji marchad towards Murshidabad through the hills and jungles of the Santhal Parganas and Birbhum. When on the revolt of the Afghans for the second time in 1748, Alivardi went to Bihar to chastise them, the Marathas under Mir Habib marched there through the Santhal Parganas. We read in a record of the East India Company that they now halted at Herupore, which corresponds to Hiranpur in the Pakaur Subdivision. When Alivardi was encamped at Midnapur in 1749, a body of Marathas under Mir Habib plundered Bengal as far as Rajmahal in March, 1750.

Subsequently in 1757 Siraj-ud-daula was captured at Rajmahal by Mir Daud, the brother of Mir Jafar Ali Khan, who was then *Faujdar* or Governor of Rajmahal. Siraj-ud-daula, flying northwards after the battle of Plassey, went ashore near the town, being weary with confinement in the boats. In spite of his disguise, he was recognised by a man named Dana Shah, who had some time before offended Siraj-ud-daula and had been punished by having his ears and nose cut off. "Thus mutilated and disgraced, he was living as a *fakir* at the very spot where Siraj-ud-daula's evil genius led him to land. Escaping quietly from the spot, Dana Shah gave information to Mir Daud, who promptly sent a guard to seize and conduct him to Murshidabad. Other officers laid hands on what property they could, and Mir Kasim, son-in-law and later on supplanter of Mir Jafar, took Lutfunnissa and her casket of jewels supposed to be worth many lakhs of rupees." A few hours later the advance guard of Law's detachment reached Rajmahal too late to save Siraj-ud-daula, for he was hurried off to Murshidabad, where he was murdered by Miran the son of Mir Jafar Ali Khan.* Miran himself was buried at Rajmahal, having been killed by lightening in the Champaran district when waging a campaign against the Nawab of Purnea in 1760. According to the *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, "his body was put in a coffin and carried rapidly to the Ganga, where it was put into a boat, and hurried down the river as far as Rajmahal; but the abominable stench that exhaled from it obliged the messengers to land it immediately, and it was buried in a spot which now goes by the name of his monument". Three years later, in 1763 Udhua Nullah, six miles to the south, was the scene of Major Adams' victory over Mir Kasim Ali.

British Rule —Pacification of the Paharias.—The early history of British administration is mainly a record of their attempts to

*C. R. Hill, *Bengal in* 1956-57, I, *clxxviii*, *ccvi*, *ccvii*, III, 210, 212, 213.

pacify the Paharias of the Rajmahal hills, called in the early correspondence the 'highlanders', 'hillmen' or 'hill race'. The northern section use the designation Male and are commonly referred as the Maler (the plural of Male), a term which will be used in this account to distinguish them from the other branch of the race, the Mal Paharias of the hilly and wooded country to the south and west. This race of aboriginals, abhoring regular labour, eked out their meagre crops by the chase, and found a still more congenial occupation as robbers and cattle lifters. The Mughal Government, seeing little prospect of obtaining revenue from their barren hills, had been content to leave the control of them to *mansabdars*, of whom the chief were members of the Khetauri family of Manihari. The founder of the family is said to have seized the fort of Lakragarh and helped Akbar's general Man Singh to force he defiles through the hills, when he was invading Bengal. He was rewarded by the grant, as a *mansab jagir* of the tract in which the Maler lived, and his descendants were overlords of the country from Rajmahal and Pakaur on the east of the hills to Colgong and Godda on their western face. Whether the control they exercised was effective or, as is more probable, was merely nominal, they appear to have been on good terms with the Malers till the middle of the 18th century when the Maler got completely out of hand.

Some of their chiefs having been treacherously murdered, the Malers stormed Lakragarh, drove out the Khetauri *jagirdars*, and commenced a series of raids on the lowland villages, which went unpunished during the political unrest at that time. A climax was reached during the famine of 1770, which pressed with peculiar severity upon the alluvial strip of country lying between the Rajmahal Hills and the Ganga. The outposts at the foot of the hills, which were manned by *ghatwals*, were abandoned, and the plains thus lay at the mercy of the Paharias who, owing to their practice of living upon jungle foods, had escaped the extremity of distress. It was, therefore, in the years following the famine of 1770 that the raids of the hillmen upon the low country became most frequent and most systematic. Plunder, no doubt, was their main object, but many of their inroads were in the first instance instigated by the landholders, who were in the habit of offering the Paharias a free passage through their own lands, on condition that they ravaged those of the neighbouring zamindars. The terror they occasioned was so widespread, that the alluvial country was deserted by its cultivators. No boat dare moor after dusk on the southern bank of the Ganga, and even the Government mail-runners, who in those days passed along the skirts of the hills, by way of Rajmahal and the Teliagarhi pass, were frequently robbed and murdered at the foot of the hills. The

evil reputation the Paharias won by such raids may be gathered from the remarks of Bishop Heber in 1824—"A deadly feud existed for the last 40 years between them and the cultivators of the neighbouring lowlands, they being untamed thieves and murderers, continually making forays, and the Muhammadan zamindars killing them like mad dogs or tigers, whenever they got them within gunshot."

While the Maler to the north were committing these outrages without restraint, the Mal Paharias to the south were engaged in similar depredations, which reduced the people along the border to a state of terror. In these outrages they were supported by the *ghatwals*, such as the Bhuiya *ghatwal* of Lakshmipur, and by the zamindars, such as the proprietor of Sultanabad. "The hill people", wrote Cleveland in 1783, "are generally employed for plundering by the *ghatwals* and zamindari officers. It has been almost a general custom with the low country inhabitants of Sultanabad, Rajshahi and Birbhum to employ the hill people in plundering each other's villages. And almost every man has been so deeply concerned, that even the sufferers have been afraid to complain lest their iniquitous practices should be brought to light." These Mal Paharias are presumably the hillmen alluded to as follows by the Judge of the Benares Division in 1808—"At an early period of British administration that tract of country lying between Birbhum and Bhagalpur was in a state of extreme disorder. The inhabitants were in open arms against Government and its other subjects. A perpetual savage warfare was maintained by them against the inhabitants of the plains, and they were proscribed and hunted down like wild beasts; so that I have been informed by a gentleman who was at the time Collector of Birhbhum, their heads were brought to him by basket loads."*

Captain Brooke

The necessity of bringing to book these freebooters forced itself on the attention of Warren Hastings. Acting on the suggestion of his military adviser, General Barker, he raised in 1771 a special corps about 800 strong, and placed it under the command of Captain Brooke, who was made Military Governor of the disturbed tract, i.e., the north of this district and the south of Monghyr and Bhagalpur—the Jungleterry (*Jungle Tarai*) as it was called. His orders were to subdue the hill robbers and rebellious zamindars, and having subdued them and re-established order,

*Fifth Report (Madras Reprint, 1883), p. 767.

to induce them to become cultivators instead of marauders and conform to the settled ways of peace. During the two years he spent in the hills, Captain Brooke did much to carry out the policy laid down by Warren Hastings. In 1773 he stormed the fort of Tiur, which held out till cannons were brought against it ; and a number of successful expeditions in different parts of the hills helped, if not to break up, at least to disperse the bands of marauders and make the Paharias feel his power. At the same time, Brooke won the confidence of his enemies by his treatment of the prisoners he took and of their women and children, and induced them to come down and settle in the cultivable land below the hills. In 1774 he reported that he had founded no less than 283 villages between Udhua and Barkop, and in December of that year Warren Hastings proudly announced in a Despatch to the Court of Directors "By the battalion employed in the Jungleterry, a tract of country which was considered as inaccessible and unknown, and only served as a receptacle for robbers, has been reduced to government, the inhabitants civilized, and not only the reduction of the revenues which was occasioned by their ravages, prevented, but some revenue yielded from this country itself, which a prosecution of the same measures will improve". Short as his tenure of office was, Captain Brooke may justly be described as the pioneer of civilization in the Rajmahal hills.

His work was carried on by Captain James Browne, who in 1774 took over charge of the hill corps and till 1778 was in charge of the Jungle Tarai. During these years Captain Browne was busy in suppressing a rebellion of the Bhuias, who ravaged the surrounding country under Jagannath Deo of Lakshmipur, in repressing the Paharias and in bringing Ambar and Sultanabad to submission. His chief claim to fame, however, was the preparation of a scheme for the pacification and future administration of the Paharias, which was afterwards elaborated and carried into effect by Cleveland. The main feature of his scheme was the recognition of their tribal system. The hills were at this time divided into different divisions called *parganas* or *tappas*, each under a chief called a *sardar*, who sometimes had one or more assistant called *naibs*. The people themselves were settled in villages, each of which claimed a separate hill or range of hills and was presided over by a village chief, or headman, called *manjhi*. Browne proposed that this system of chiefs should be recognised and that their services should be enlisted for the preservation of peace and order. All transactions with the hill people were to be carried on through the *sardars* and *manjhis*, and intercourse with the inhabitants of the plains was to be encouraged by establishing markets on the outskirts of the hills. Those *sardars* whose *tappas* adjoined the public road were to be given stipends to prevent their making raids ; and the old *chaukibandi*

or chain of outposts* which had been abandoned in 1770, was to be re-established and maintained by Government until the service lands attached to them had been brought under cultivation. The control of these outposts was to be made over to *thanadars* or police officers appointed by Government, who were again to be subordinate to *sazawals* or divisional superintendents. The police force was further to be strengthened by conferring grants of lands below the hills on invalid sepoys, on condition that they settled on their allotments and gave assistance in the event of a Paharia inroad. This scheme was sanctioned by Government in 1778, but next year, before he could carry it out, Captain Browne was directed to make over charge to Mr. Augustus Cleveland, who had been stationed at Rajmahal in 1773 as Assistant to the Collector, had been transferred to Bhagalpur in 1776, and was now appointed Collector.

Augustus Cleveland

The correspondence between Cleveland and Warren Hastings shows that soon after his appointment he had sketched out the lines of his policy for the treatment of the Paharias. He appears to have been impressed by their simplicity and truthfulness, and accepted their claim that they had always been independent, having been only connected with the lowland Rajas as subordinate allies. This belief in their good qualities and in their former independence inspired Cleveland to formulate a benevolent policy, to carry out which he applied for undivided authority over them. In his first letter to Warren Hastings, written in November 1779, he urged the necessity of the hills being under one authority and administered on one system. "Unless", he wrote "the whole range of hills are put under one authority, and the same system of governing them adopted throughout, all the pains I am taking to put them in my own district on a proper footing (particularly those to the southward of the eastern and western ranges, the one joining with Ambar and the other running close upon the back of Sultanabad) will be in vain, as I am myself thoroughly convinced that all the inhabitants of the hills may in a short time be induced to submit. As a proof of which, within these nine months I have had the most flattering experience of the good effects to be expected from the system I have adopted, no less than forty-seven hill chiefs and all their adherents having voluntarily submitted to me and taken an oath of allegiance to Government during that time ; and I make no doubt, if the same system continues to be adopted, there is not a chief in that vast extent

*The Zamindars at the foot of the hills had been granted *jagir* or service land in consideration of maintaining these outposts to guard the passes. They are said to have been so close, that the firing of a musket at one gave the alarm to the next.

of country who will not gladly renounce his hitherto precarious and desperate way of life for the ease and comforts he will enjoy in being obedient to, and under the protection of, a mild and regular Government. They have never yet been fairly put to the test how far their disposition may incline them to be upon good terms with us. We have till lately considered them as enemies, and they have been treated accordingly. It is but consonant with our own principles of justice and humanity to use every means in our power to avoid a state of warfare ; why should they be denied to this unfortunate people ? I must do those who have submitted the justice to say and I call all the inhabitants of this country in general to witness that the hill people have not for many years been so quiet as they have been for these last eight or nine months, except, as I before mentioned, near the boundary of Ambar".

Subsequently in a letter from Sakrigali, dated 21st November 1780 Cleveland proposed a comprehensive plan which throws such light on the state of the country and on his principles that it may be quoted at length. "These people, in general, are now become so sensible of the advantages to be derived from a firm attachment and submission to Government that many of them have not scrupled to declare they would for ever renounce all unlawful practices of robbery, murders and devastations if Government would point out and secure to them the means of subsistence, the want of which has frequently obliged them to commit acts, they seem to have some idea, are not only improper but inhuman. This naturally led into a proposal which I have long had in meditation, and is grounded on the following principles. The inhabitants of the hills have in fact no property, a mere subsistence is all they seem to require, to obtain which the means appear as a secondary consideration. The first question that occurs, therefore, is whether it is for the interests of Government to supply the means of subsistence for a certain time, or to suffer the inhabitants of the hills to commit devastations on the country, as they have done for many years past. Certainly, the former. For although, the losses which Government has experienced in its receipts of revenue on this account have, in fact, been trifling owing to the rigid observance of the engagements entered into with the zamindars and farmers, yet the sufferings of the low country inhabitants during the hill insurrections are not to be described. To make friends therefore with the hill chiefs, is with all due submission, an object worthy of the attention of Government. In the memory of the oldest inhabitants they never expressed themselves so earnestly for an accommodation as at present.

"The disbursement and, of course, the circulation of money in the hills by Government appears to me the most likely bait to ensure the attachment of the chiefs, and at the same time nothing

will be so conducive to the civilization of the inhabitants as to employ a number of them in our service. On these principles I have taken the liberty to make the following proposals which the hill people have cheerfully agreed to provide they meet with your approbation: (1) That each manjey or chief, estimated at about 400, shall furnish one or more men as they may be required to be incorporated into a corps of archers. (2) That a chief shall be appointed to every 50 men and shall be accountable for the good behaviour of their respective division in the corps. (3) That the corps for the present shall act immediately under the orders of the Collector of Boglipore and be employed in his district only. (4) That the enemies of Government are to be considered as enemies by the hill people, and that it shall be expressly and particularly the duty of the corps to bring all refractory hill chiefs and ghatwals to terms or to expel them from their country, and treat them as enemies wherever they may be found. (5) That each hill chief commanding a division in the corps shall have an allownace of Rs. 5 per mensem, the common people Rs. 3 ; and effectually to secure the manjeys or chiefs of the several hills in a firm attachment to Government, each chief supplying a common man for the corps shall receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 2, subject however to such restrictions as may be thought necessary in case of misbehaviour. (6) That each man in the corps shall have two turbans, two cummerbunds, two shirts, two pairs of jungheas and a purple jacket annually".

Cleveland estimated the annual cost of this scheme at Rs. 29,440, which he admitted appeared to be "an enormous disbursement, where no apparent advantage to the Company's revenue was likely to be immediately derived from it". He added, however, that the scheme deserved consideration in view of the advantages likely to accrue to "a race of people hitherto little better than savages, who will in course of time become useful members to the community in the very heart of your dominions, and of the confidence which the inhabitants of the adjacent country would enjoy when they were no longer apprehensive of continued devastations and murders". "Warren Hastings objected to the enrolment of the corps of archers on the ground of its heavy expense ; but sanctioned another scheme which Mr. Cleveland proposed for granting allowances of Rs. 10 a month to all *sardars* and of Rs. 5 a month to their *Naibs* or deputies ; *manjhis* were to receive no allowance at all.*

The chiefs of the northern hills gladly accepted the allowances, but they were refused by the chiefs in the hills to the south, on

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**Para.* 41 *of Mr. Sutherland's report dated the* 8*th June,* 1819.

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the ground that they were exposed to inroads from Ambar (Pakaur) and Sultanabad (Maheshpur). For these reasons, wrote Cleveland in September 1780, "the chiefs in question declined to accept the allowances, unless similar arrangements take place in Ambar and Sultanabad, and the chiefs and deputies there are bound by the same penalties to be answerable for the good order and management of their respective districts". The remedy he proposed was the transfer of these two *parganas* (then in Rajshahi) to his jurisdiction, and this measure was carried out in 1781. The result was the extension of the hill system to the Mal Paharias of whom a portion only resided in the hills, the rest being found in the rolling country to the south and west, where they were the ryots of the zamindars in whose estates they had settled.

Next year (1782) the enrolment of the corps of archers was sanctioned, mainly in consequence of the approval of the scheme by General Sir Eyre Coote, before whom Cleveland had laid it when on his way up-country through Bhagalpur. The strength of the corps was about 1,300, and the men were armed with bows and arrows, their commandant being one Jaurah, once a noted bandit, who, according to Cleveland, was the first inhabitant of the hills to enter the service of Government. Bishop Heber tells us that he was "the Rob Roy or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, the Roderic Dhu of the Rajmahals, the most popular of all others among his own countrymen, and the most dreaded by the lowlanders. The choice was fully justified by the event, Jaurah having remained through life a bold, active and faithful servant of the Company in different enterprises against outlaws, both in the Ramghar hills and his own mountains." Within a year of its enlistment the corps had proved its worth, Cleveland reporting in February 1783:—"Since the establishment of the corps of hill archers, this is the third time I have had occasion to employ them against their brethren. And as they have always succeeded in the business they have been sent upon, I flatter myself the Honourable Board will not only be convinced of the utility and attachment of the corps, but that they will have full confidence in the general system which I have adopted for the management of this wild and extensive country". Shortly after this, sanction was given to a proposal of Cleveland that the corps should be drilled and armed like regular sepoys, and also (in 1782) to his suggestion that offences committed by the hill people should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts and tried by a tribunal of chiefs presided over by himself.

Two years later Cleveland died at the early age of 29. The verdict of his contemporaries on his work will be found in the inscription on the monument erected to his memory at Bhagalpur. It runs as follows :—"To the memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esqr.,

late Collector of the Districts of Bhaugulpore and Rajmahall, who, without bloodshed or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the Jungleterry of Rajmahall, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by the predatory incursions, inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilised life, and attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds—the most permanent, as the most rational mode of dominion. The Governor-General and Council of Bengal, in honour of his character and for an example to others have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January 1784, aged 29."* The same high estimation of his work is expressed in more stilted language in a monody of over 150 lines composed by Lord Teignmouth, which will be found in the Asiatic Annual Register of 1799 (pp.191-194).

In the short time Cleveland had ruled over the Paharias, he had gained their confidence, and to this day they revere the memory of Chilimili Saheb, as they call him. The secret of his success appears to have been his personal influence and his real sympathy with these primitive people. He went among them unarmed and almost unattended, made frequent shooting excursions in the hills, distributed presents among them, and gave feasts to hundreds of the hillmen at a time. He also established regular bazars in the villages at the foot of the hills to which he encouraged them to bring down and sell their produce, such as game, wax, hides and honey. He gave them wheat and barley seed, and encouraged cultivation by the assurance that they should not be taxed, and that none but their own chiefs should have authority over them. There is a masauleum in his memory at Bhagalpur opposite the Circuit House.

There can be little doubt that Cleveland's policy was effectual in pacifying the Paharias and that its good effects continued for nearly 40 years after his death. This is clear from the remarks of Mr. Ward in 1827. "I have" he wrote, "seen a great deal of this country and have been in the habit of frequent intercourse with the inhabitants, the form of police as established in the hills appears to me to be well calculated for the country and not, as far as I am able to judge, capable of admitting of improvement. Crime and affrays are, I believe, of rare occurrence there, but when they are committed, the *sardars* never fail to deliver up the delinquent to take his trial before the proper authority. Under the present system the hill people are quiet and content. I ascribe this to that good policy which dictated making the *sardars* the Governors over

*It is understood that Warren Hastings had written out this epitaph. Warren Hastings was once Cleveland's guest at his house now known as *Tilha-Kothi* at Bhagalpur. This monument is erected in the compound of *Tilha-Kothi*.

this rude race and solely responsible for the preservation of peace and good order in their country. However, rude the people may be considered, they are extremely tenacious of the rights which were conferred upon them by Mr. Cleveland ; they are proud of the offices to which they were appointed by the great benefactor, especially that which appointed them judges in the trials of the countrymen ; and exercise of these functions gives them, in the eyes of their countrymen, an importance which ensures on all occasions respect and obedience".

One feature of Cleveland's system still survives the Paharia *sardars*, *naibs* and *manjhis* being stipendiaries of Government. They are paid sums varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 2 per month, in return for which all they have to attend the Magistrate's court periodically and report offences and vital statistics. "It is", writes Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. McPherson, I. C. S., "a somewhat expensive link with civilization, costing Government over Rs. 13,000 annually, but in justice to Mr. Cleveland it should be remembered that he did not intend the arrangement to be more than temporary. Its object was to eke out the hill people's scanty means of subsistence and be a guarantee of good order till the arts of civilization should have taken root amongst them, for Mr. Cleveland confidently believed that at no distant date they would descend to the plains and take to cultivation and manufactures. The natural indolence of the mountaineers and their aversion to sustain honest labour were perhaps sufficient without the encouragement of the pensions to prevent the desired result. Reflections have been cast on the lavish expense of Mr. Cleveland's system and doubts have been entertained as to its necessity, but there can be no doubt that it was immediately and continuously effective in securing the good behaviour of the Paharias and the freedom of the surrounding country from the troubles which had so long afflicted it. It was also in the long run a financial success, for one of its results was to deprive adjacent zamindars of even that nominal control which they may have once exercised over the hill people ; and thus the way was paved for the separation of the Damin-i-koh as a Government estate, the development of which has added so materially to the land revenue resources of the district. This separation might have happened apart from Cleveland's hill system, but the hill system made it inevitable".

Other schemes devised by Cleveland for the benefit of the Paharias fell to the ground after his death. For some years the Hill Corps to which the title of the Bhagalpur Hill Rangers was now given, remained a serviceable body of men largely, it appears, owing to the appointment of Lieutenant Shaw to its command in 1787. Later, however, it became "a mere rabble addicted to all sorts of vices and disorders". The hill assemblies or tribunals, when no

longer kept together by the personal influence of Cleveland, became almost unmanageable. Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the chiefs to meet at all, and when present they would not attend to the proceedings of the court, while their sentences were hasty and capricious. It was found too that even when the assemblies could be induced to do their work, the power they had been entrusted with was too uncontrolled and that the exemption of the Paharias from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts was a measure of doubtful policy. Cleveland's plans for teaching simple manufactures and supplying them with seeds and agricultural implements were not carried on, the school he started for their education was dropped, the stipend promised to the tribal chiefs for maintaining peace and order, though regularly paid by Government, did not reach them ; and the zamindars encroached on their lands.

An attempt to remedy this state of affairs was made by the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General from 1814—23. He made a short excursion into the Rajmahal Hills with Lady Hastings, and promised to send them a quantity of seed potatoes and a stock of agricultural implements for they still used only sharpened stakes to dig the ground but unfortunately his promise was overlooked. He also revived the school started by Cleveland, and reorganized the Hill Rangers, though he was unable to carry out his intention of arming two companies with rifles, because, it was said, the men disliked the service exceedingly, having a strong objection to wearing green.*

The breakdown of Cleveland's system may be ascribed to the want of interest shown by his successors, with the exception of Mr. Fombelle. It was during his time that the rules introduced by Cleveland for the trial of criminal cases by the hill assembly were incorporated in Regulation I of 1796, which provided that the Magistrate should commit all important cases to be tried before an assembly of hill chiefs. The Magistrate was to attend the trial as Superintending Officer, and confirm or modify the sentence, if not exceeding fourteen years' imprisonment. Higher sentences were referred to the Nizamat Adalat, as the Supreme Criminal Court was then called. This system continued till 1827, when the hillmen were declared amenable to the ordinary courts, but some of the hill *manjhis* were to sit with the Magistrate as assessors, and the *manjhis* were also to settle disputes about land and succession, and to decide claims to money, if the claim was not for more than Rs. 100. Mr. Fombelle also succeeded in obtaining sanction in 1795 to the proposal that

*Bishop Heber's *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India* 1828.

pargana Belpata should be transferred from Birbhum and brought under the hill system—a proposal made by Cleveland some years before—and also the hill portion of *pargana* Nuni to the south-east.

After Mr. Fombelle's time, the administration of the hills was left with very inadequate supervision in the hands of Abdul Rasul Khan, who had done good work under Captain Browne and had been made *sazawal* under Cleveland. He now became practically ruler of the hills, and was known to the hill people as "Con Saheb". He abused the trust reposed in him, and his corruption and tyranny led to numerous complaints. These complaints, and the disputes between the hillmen and the lowland zamindars, caused Government in 1818 to depute Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhagalpur to enquire into his conduct, to report generally on the measures necessary for the future administration of the hills, and to ascertain on what tenures the Paharias held their land and what were their relations to Govermnment. After a detailed enquiry, in the course of which he traversed the whole of the tract, Mr. Sutherland recommended in 1819 (1) That Government should declare that the hill tract occupied by the hill people was the property of Government alone. (2) That the level country skirting the external ranges of hills was distinct from the adjoining zamindari estates and was also its property. (3) That measures should be taken for defining the extent of the skirts of the hills and the hilly tract. (4) That the defects in the administration of justice amongst the hill people under Regulation I of 1796 be removed by declaring the inhabitants of the hills amenable to the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts and subject to the ordinary system of police and by investing the Magistrate of Bhagalpur with summary powers for the adjustment of certain civil claims and (5) That the payment of the stipends then amounting to Rs. 1,301 a month enjoyed by the *sardars, naibs* and the inferior *manjhis* at Rs. 10, Rs. 3 and Rs. 2, respectively, under Mr. Turner's rules of 1807 be regulated on a more sound basis.

These recommendations were accepted by Government in 1823, (Resolution dated 17th July 1823) and in 1824 John Petty Ward was deputed to demarcate the Damin-i-koh with the assistance of a survey officer named Captain Tanner. The work was concluded in 1833, and in 1837 James Pontet was placed in charge of its revenue administration under the title of Superintendent of the Damin-i-koh, being specially instructed to give the Santals, who were now pouring in, every encouragement in the work of clearing Jungle. In a letter addressed to Mr. H. J. James, Acting Collector of Bhagalpur, Mr. Pontet thus enumerated his duties "I trust it will not be considered presumptuous on my part in bringing further to notice what I have been led to consider my duties to consist of as

recommended by Mr. Collector Dunbar to the Sudder Board of Revenue on 25th January, 1837, viz.—

(1) To obtain possession peaceably of that extensive wild tract the Damin-i-Koh lands in this district as under orders of Government date (17th July, 1823, para 31-32) which having been held by the mountaineers for so many years past considered it hereditary property.

(2) To introduce among the Hill people a taste for agriculture.

(3) To parcel off jageers to *Sardars, Naibs* and *Manjees* agreeable to orders of Government date 6th December, 1827.

(4) To protect the industrious race of new settlers called Santals who have been driven by oppressive zamindars from their native countries, Birbhum and Singhbhum.

(5) To resume all lands within the Damin clandestinely retained by the zamindars.

(6) To encourage more settlers for clearing away the immense forests and thereby to make the country healthy to enable any class of people to resort to the resources of the Damin.

(7) To bring to the notice of Government all productions this unexplored tract is supposed to abound in.

(8) Finally by accomplishing the preceding, a handsome revenue will be yielded to Government, the race civilized and the tract made healthy. "So successfully did he fulfil his task, that by 1851 the revenue had been raised from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 43,919, and the influx of Santals into the Damin-i-Koh had been so great, that they numbered 82,795 residing in 1,473 villages. According to a contemporary notice in the *Friend of India*:—"With little more jurisdiction than that of a Deputy Collector, he (Mr. Pontet) has acquired among these wild people a power that is almost legal. The most observant wayfarers can instantly discover the circle of Mr. Pontet's jurisdiction ; for whereas beyond it there are villages containing five thousand inhabitants without one solitary hackery, within it there are broad roads from village to village, and the country is alive with the activity of a quiet and prosperous people." But it was a deceptive appearance. The inner structure of the administrative system that then prevailed there was corrupt and entailed gross injustice on the innocent common people of that area. And the discontent against this found expression in a rebellion of the Santals in 1855.

SANTAL REBELLION*

The Santals seem to have settled first in the district between 1790 and 1810, having made their way northwards from Birbhum, where they had been brought in about 1790 to clear jungle and drive out the wild beasts which then infested the country. The exact date at which the first body of immigrants came is not known but the unpublished manuscript of Buchanan Hamilton shows that a number of them had settled in the Dumka subdivision by 1809, "having come last from Birbhum in consequence of the annoyance which they received from its zamindars." Between 1815 and 1830 there appears to have been a further advance of the Santals. In 1818 Sutherland found them busy clearing the forest below the hills in the Godda subdivision; in 1827 Ward noticed that they had settled in the extreme north of the same subdivision; while a report of Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur, shows that by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in the Damin-i-Koh "inhabited by the Santals and Bhuiyas, but chiefly by the former." Under the administration of Pontet, who was directed to give them every encouragement in clearing jungle, the Santals spread far afield without much opposition from the idle Paharias, and even penetrated to the Burhait valley in the heart of the Rajmahal hills. "This valley," wrote Captain Sherwill in 1851, "viewed from any of the surrounding hills affords an admirable example of what can be done with natives, when their natural industry and perseverance are guarded and encouraged by kindness. When Mr. Pontet took charge of the hills in 1835, this valley was a wilderness, inhabited here and there by hillmen; the remainder was overrun with heavy forest, in which wild elephants and tigers were numerous; but now in 1851 several hundred substantial Santal villagers with an abundance of cattle and surrounded by luxuriant crops, occupy this hitherto neglected spot. The hillmen have with a few exceptions retired to the hills."

It was among the Santal settlers in the Damin-i-Koh that the rebellion of 1855, known as the *hul*, had its origin, the older settlers of the Dumka subdivision taking little part in it. The causes of the rebellion were several, the Santals themselves declaring that their chief grievances were the prevalence of falsehood, the negligence of the *sahibs*, the extortion of the *mahajans*, the corruption of the *amla*, and the oppression of the police. All these grievances were due very largely to the absence of European Officers and the presence of Bengali and other *Dikku*, i.e., non-Santal, immigrants who had flocked into carry on trade and money-

*See P.C. Roy Chaudhury's "*1857 in Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas*" where a large number of original correspondence, etc., preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi have been quoted.

lending among the Santals. The district as now constituted was divided between Bhagalpur and Birbhum, and the only resident Magistrate was at Deoghar. The revenue administration of the Damin-i-Koh was under the Superintendent, assisted by four *naib sazawals*, who used to visit it in order to collect rent and settle disputes about lands. The Superintendent was the only European official who visited the Damin, and he had no authority to deal with civil and criminal cases. The Santal had therefore to make his way to the courts at Deoghar and Bhagalpur. Justice was thus far off; the Bengali *mahajan* was at his door. The Santal, thriftless and improvident easily got into debt; exorbitant interest was charged, and once he had contracted a debt he had little chance of escape.

If his creditor sued him, all the evidence the Santal could produce was a knotted string, in which the knots represented the number of rupees he had received and the spaces between them the years which had elapsed since he took the loan. The userer on the other hand, had his ledgers and day-book ready, all carefully written up, and a bond or a deed of sale, or a mortgage, perhaps, forged for the occasion. Often he did not trouble to refer to the courts to realise his capital and interest. He simply sent his agents and swept off his debtor's cattle. The Santal, ignorant and timid, felt that it was a hopeless task for him to obtain redress against a wealthy oppressor. He seldom lodged a complaint for his sole wealth consisting of his cattle, he could not pay the *mukhtars* and *amla*. Should he overcome these difficulties and venture to complain, he probably would only get an order on the police to enquire and report, and the police played into the hands of the money-lender. In the Damin-i-Koh, therefore, Government asserted its position neither through the courts nor through the executive. The courts were remote and practically inaccessible; their processes were served by corrupt *amla* and peons. The executive was represented by the *naib sazawals* or *darogas*, also corrupt and oppressive, who were ready instruments in the hands of the *mahajan*, besides making exactions on their own account. Not only did the Santals find themselves neglected, but they also saw how a different treatment was meted out to their neighbours, the Paharias, who had special police rules and were exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts.

*"The Santals immigrated in large numbers into the area called the Damin-i-Koh or skirts of the Rajmahal Hills during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first three decades of the nineteenth century from Orissa, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Barabhum, Chotanagpur, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura

*See P.C. Roy Chaudhury's *"1857 in Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas"* published by the Revenue Department, Bihar.

and Birbhum. According to Buchanan Hamilton, who surveyed Bhagalpur district in 1810-1811, number of them had settled in the Dumka area by 1809. Between 1815 and 1830 the number of Santhal immigrants was further reinforced. It is recorded in Sutherland's Report to Government, dated 1818 :—"An immense expanse of forest covers the plains extending from the base of these hills. For several years many families of the industrious tribes called Sonthur (Santhals) have established themselves in these forests and have been clearing and bringing into cultivation large tracts of lands." As we read in a report of Mr. Dunbar, Collector of Bhagalpur, by 1836 no less than 427 villages had been established in the Damin-i-Koh "inhabited by the Santhals and Bhuiyas but chiefly by the former." During his "*Tour through a portion of the District of Murshidabad, Birbhum and the Rajmahal Hills*" in 1851, Captain Sherwill saw many Santal villages in this part of the country. The neighbourhood of Katikund, as he saw "was studded with Santhal villages." Passing through "several fine Santhal villages" Captain Sherwill reached Burhait valley in the heart of the Rajmahal hills and he thus writes about the area. "Burhyte, the capital town of the hills is a substantial Santhal village with a large population and about fifty families of Bengal traders, there is a good bazar and two markets are held during the week. From Burhyte large quantities of rice, bora beans, Indian corn, mustard and several oilseeds are conveyed away in carts by Bengalis to Jangipur, on the Bhagirathi, and in return for these grains, the Sonthals are paid in money, salt, tobacco, leads or cloth. In 1851 several hundred substantial Sonthal villages with an abundance of cattle and surrounded by luxuriant crops, occupy the hitherto neglected spot, the hillmen have with a few exceptions retired to the hills. [1] Far away from the din and bustle of a complex society, the Santhals led their simple and unsophisticated lives in the valleys of the hills amidst Nature's profuse bounties. "They were in general", as Captain Sherwill wrote in 1851, "an orderly race of people, their rulers have little more to do than bear their honours and collect the rent."

The insurrection which broke out in 1855 and for two years spread over a wide area extending from Birbhum to the proximity of Bhagalpur and from Raniganj to the borders of Murshidabad, had its causes deeply rooted in the changing conditions of the times. Though the expansion of the British Empire in India had been followed by the gradual consolidation of an Indo-British administrative system in different parts of India from the days of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis yet there were

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1. J.A.S.B. 1851.

certain corners (e.g., the hilly region between Bhagalpur and Birbhum) in this vast continent where it had not been possible till then for the Company's Government to enforce complete and effective administrative authority. Socio-economic conditions in this area were in a state of flux, and unscrupulous speculators, like the *mahajans* and the traders availed themselves of this state of transition to exploit the resources of the industrious people of the localities to the utmost extent, thus inflicting immense hardships on them.

Administration in the area of the Damin-i-Koh was honeycombed with abuses. For revenue administration it was under the Superintendent, who seemed to have enormous influence and authority and also enjoyed well the fruits of his office. But the actual revenue collection was done by four *Naib Suzawals*, who while collecting money from the *Parganaits*, the Manjhis and the innocent Santhal peasants were notoriously oppressive for they made illicit personal gains. We read in the Calcutta Review of 1856 :—"Where authorised to receive some six rupees on behalf of the Sircar (government) they will lay some six other rupees for their private benefit; or where a rent of 4 annas for a plot and all it contained was fixed in the settlement, they take a rupee more for a sapling bamboo clump, or a solitary fruit tree growing thereon." There was only one local Magistrate at Deoghar and police-stations existed at certain localities. But the police were "base and corrupt", the "higher grades as well as the lower with a few bright and honourable exceptions, preying upon the people and making unlawful gains". The officers working in other capacities were also addicted to the bad habit of making illicit personal gains by hoodwinking the common folk. The Bengal Spectator of 1842 quoted from a contemporary Bengali Journal as follows:—"Among the Judges, Collectors and Magistrates in the Mofussil there are many who place much confidence in their Amlahs, who for that reason become bold in the exercise of power, and the consequence is that their situations turn into streams of corruption in which they bathe and become happy but it at once lowers the reputation of their superior officers." For the trial of important civil and criminal cases the Santals had to go to the courts at Deoghar and Bhagalpur. Regular access to these courts on the part of the aggrieved belonging to the common rural folk, was a difficult, rather almost impossible task, not merely because of the inconveniences of the distant journey but also because of the various artifices practised by the cunning *amlahs*, *mukhtears*, *peons* and *barkandazes* attached to these. Thus while a Santal "found justice in the shape of the Magistrate so far off and so terribly difficult of access, he found justice nearer home in the shape of the *Darogahs* and Thana police, the authorised agents of the District Magistrate but found it only to find it his bane."

The economic condition of the Santals was very bad. Thriftless and improvident they borrowed indiscriminately from the neighbouring traders and *mahajans* (money-lenders) and thus plunged themselves into a vicious circle of extortions and sufferings from which they could not escape in their life-time. These *mahajans* belonged to the section of non-Santal population of the plains, who had been there for long. This is clear from documentary evidence (Buchanan's Bhagalpur Report). There was a new influx about the same time or some years before, from the districts of Birbhum, and Burdwan etc. in Bengal. The *Bhatliyas*, that is, upcountry merchants coming from Shahabad, Chupra, Arrah, and some other places had also come. Usually they lent the Santals money, paddy, rice or other goods which the latter badly required during the rainy season in particular and "thus became the arbiters of their fate and held in hand their destiny throughout life." During the harvest season the debtors were required to pay their creditors major part of the crops gathered by them. But even then they had no relief, as their *mahajans* charged extraordinarily high rates of interest. As mentioned in the Calcutta Review of 1860, the Santal "saw his crops, his cattle, even himself and family appropriated for a debt which ten times paid remained an incubus upon him still."

Another device which worked much mischief among the Santals was the execution of bonds, by which the debtor promised to work out his debt by personal service and the payment of an exorbitant rate of interest. The Santal thus became a *kamiya*, i.e., the bond servant of his creditor. The effects of this system may be realized from the remarks of William LeFleming Robinson, I.C.S., who in 1858 secured its abolition in the Santal Parganas. "It was called Kamiotee, but it is not peculiar to Sonthalia or the Sonthals. You will find it nearly all over the country. I believe, in one form or another. But in Sonthalia it was very bad. A man borrowed money and gave a bond to work it out, binding himself to work for the lender, whenever he was required without pay. The lender of course required his services at harvest and the other busy seasons of the year, when the debtor could have got work and pay elsewhere; and when work was slack, the lender of course did not require his slave's services. He could make nothing elsewhere; all he got when working was food, and sometimes a bit of cloth once a year. As interest was taken in advance, the debtor could never work out his debt; the interest was never less than 25 per cent, often much more. The son, daughter or other nearest relation of the debtor used in case of his death to be considered liable, and if suits were brought against these bonds in the old Munsiff's courts, they used to give decrees for their due execution, no matter how

old the debt or who was working it out at the time. I have had a bond brought to me in which Rs. 25 was originally borrowed by a man who worked his life-time, his son did ditto, and I released his grandson from any further necessity; it had been running on for over thirty years, if I remember rightly." The discontent of the Santals under this system was accentuated by the higher wages obtained by free labourers. The latter went away to work on the railway, which was then under construction, and returning with their savings were able to deck out their women in simple finery and feast their fellow villagers.

"The Santhals had also no perfect security in the possession of lands which they made fit for habitation or cultivation by clearing off the forests. The new Diku or non-Santhal settlers gradually acquired more and more land from the Santhals by exacting mortgages from them in return for loans. The neighbouring zamindars had also begun the practice of disposing of some portions of their lands in leases to others, and were sometimes highly exacting in realising rents, Mr. W.G. Taylor, Assistant Commissioner at Sreecond (near Tinpahar) wrote to Mr. A.R. Thompson, Deputy Commissioner at Dumka, on the 16th February, 1856 that the zamindars of Sultanabad (Maheshpur) and Ambar (Pakur) were disliked by the Santhals because they had granted leases of Santhal villages to the non-Santhals. Thus,as a contemporary writer graphically describes as follows:—"Zamindars or more properly speaking zamindary retainers, as gomasta, surbarkar, peons and other *mahajans* and their '*mustajirs*' or agents, the police, the revenue and court *amlas* have exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Santhals. Usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent, false measures at the *haut* and market, wilful and uncharitable trespass by the rich by means of their untethered cattle, tattoos, ponies and even elephants on the growing crops of the poorer race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent. Even a demand by individuals from the Santhals of security for good conduct is a thing not unknown embarrassing pledges for debt also formed another mode of oppression." Irresponsible conduct on the part of the Europeans employed in Railway construction work was an additional source of oppression for the Santhals. The Calcutta Review of 1856 refers to "unjust acts of oppression" committed by the former in various ways. Such an iniquitous socio-economic system as prevailed in the Damin-i-Koh for several years contains within its bossom inflammable materials which may burst into flames at any moment when patience of the sufferers is sorely tired." This is exactly what

happened in the Santal Insurrection (popularly called *Hul*) of 1855—57. In fact the Santals had already begun to feel the weight of injustice and oppression acutely for some time. Shortly before the outbreak of the insurrection of the *Parganaits* and the *Manjhis* of the different villages seem to have begun in right earnest to cogitate what might be the proper course for them to pursue for redress of their grievances. "Their first attack was naturally directed against those who had made fortunes at their cost. Thus they tried to rob the *mahajans* at Litipara in the Pakur Subdivision, Kusuma near Barhati and some other places of their ill-earned wealth by "dacoities, burglaries and thefts" which a contemporary [1] described as "well-merited reprisals for their unprovoked cruelties." On the complaint of the *mahajans* about these dacoities to Mahesh Lal Datta, who had held the post of Daroga of thana Dighee since 1835, the latter arrested the ring leaders who were "tried and punished" while " their oppressors (the *mahajans*) were not even rebuked."

This exasperated the Santals still further, and about 6,000 or 7,000 of them came from Birbhum, Bankura, Chotanagpur and Hazaribagh early in 1855 " for the purpose (it was rumoured) of avenging the punishment inflicted on their comrades in the last years' Dacoities. When excitement among the Santhals reached the boiling point it needed but a spark to kindle the fire." *The spark came through four Santhal brothers*, Sidhu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab, inhabitants of village Bhagnadihi situated at a short distance south of Barhati. They were the leading spirits of this movement. All four were landless men and Sidhu and Kanhu, who were the leading spirits, had long been brooding over their real or imaginary wrongs. They now gave out that they had witnessed a divine apparition and had been charged with a divine message. The story ran that a Thakur or God appeared to them in the form of a white man, dressed like a native, with ten fingers on each hand. He wrote in a book, which he gave the brothers, together with 20 pieces of paper in five batches. He then ascended upwards and disappeared, after which two men appeared, each with six fingers on each hand, and having told them the purport of the Thakur's order, likewise vanished. For some time the God appeared to the two brothers every day: at one time as a flame of fire, with a book, some white paper and a knife; at another in the form of a solid cart wheel. A shrine was erected consisting of a mound of mud crowned by a cart wheel, at which the villagers were instructed to present offerings of grain and milk, and to sacrifice kids and buffaloes. Here the worshippers were shown the slips of paper and the book (which proved to be none other than the gospel according to St. John), and were told that in

1. Calcutta Review, 1856.

them were written the orders of the God. The news of the miracle spread far and wide, and messengers were sent to all the *manjhis* of the Damin-i-Koh, bearing a branch of the *sal* tree, which like the fiery cross of the Highlands, was a signal to the people to gather together.

On the appointed day, the 30th June 1855, at full moon, 10,000 Santals are said to have met at Bhagnadihi, where the Thakur's orders to them were announced. Letters are said to have been written addressed to Government, to the authorities at Bhagalpur and Birbhum, to some police *darogas*, zamindars and others, informing them of these orders. The Santals, it is said, disclaimed any intentions of opposing the Government, and declared that their new God had directed them to collect and pay revenue to the State, at the rate of two annas on every buffalo-plough, one anna on each bullock plough, and half-an-anna on each cow-plough per annum. The rate of interest upon loans was to be one pice in the rupee yearly. There is no doubt that the Santals wanted to bring the Damin area under their own authority. So Sidhu and Kanhu proclaimed themselves *Subahs* or Governors.

Mahesh Lal Dutt, *Daroga* of thana Dighee on hearing of an assemblage of the Santals at Panchkethia, a little to the north of Barhait, reached there on the 7th July with a party of *Barkandazes*. When he met the Santals, they refused to disperse and directed him to levy tax of Rs. 5 on every Bengali family in the neighbourhood. Then, on his angrily ordering the arrest of the brothers, they fell on him with their battle-axes and cut off his head. After this murder, the Santals set out on the war trail. They killed Partabnarain, *daroga* of thana Kurhurea in the Godda subdivision at Jonar Chuck (Choona Chak near Kerwar in the Godda subdivision). The activities of the insurgents caused a general panic among the people right up to Bhagalpur. Mr. H. E. Richardson, Magistrate of Bhagalpur, and Mr. Pontet were then at Rajmahal where they took shelter in the old Sangidalan or palace of Shah Shuja, and then the house of the Railway Engineer, Mr. Vigors. This was barricaded and fortified and they and the Railway officials held it against the attacks of the insurgents until troops arrived to relieve them. When the news of the outbreak reached Mr. C. F. Brown, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, on the 8th July, he took precautionary steps for the defence of Bhagalpur and the security of postal communications, issued orders to the Hill Sardars and the neighbouring zamindars for aid in suppressing the movement and also wrote to the executive authorities at some places in Bengal and Bihar for suitable co-operation in this matter. A body of troops chiefly Hill Rangers which left Bhagalpur under the command of Major F.W. Burroughs on the 10th July, were defeated in an engagement with the Santals

near Pirpainti at Pialapur though the latter were armed only with bows, arrows and battle axes. The Santals were left masters of the country and ravaged it from Colgong on the west to Rajmahal on the east, and nearly as far as Raniganj and Sainthia on the south.

In other directions, too the insurrection had assumed a formidable shape. After plundering Pakaur and most of the neighbouring villages to its east and south-east and burning the house of the zamindar of Ambar at Jhikarhati, the insurgents attempted to march further eastwards towards the border of Murshidabad district and attacked the indigo factory of Mr. Charles Maseyk at Kadamsair but the latter with two companions fired at them from a boat in the middle of a *nullah* running close to the premises of his factory. With the assistance of 160 police *Barkandazes* sent by his brother Henery Maseyk, who was in charge of another indigo factory at Dhulian in the Murshidabad district, Charles Maseyk and some people of Kadamsair were able to repulse the attack of the Santals.

In the meanwhile a detachment of 400 men of the 7th Native Infantry had advanced from Berhampore on the 11th July under Mr. Togood, the Magistrate of Berhampore. These troops reached Kadamsair on the 13th July after the insurgents had moved from that place. They chased the Santals to Palsa in Birbhum, but the latter evaded engagement and proceeded to Maheshpur to capture the local Raja's house. Then the troops of the 7th Regiment Native Infantry overpowered about 3,000 insurgents in the morning of the 15th July, Sidhu, Kanhu, and Bhairab, "were themselves shot, though not mortally and 200 other Santals killed and wounded . . . . ." Two hundred men of the 7th Regiment Native Infantry fell upon 5,000 of the insurgents west of Pakaur near the Tarai river and defeated them completely. The detachment under the Murshidabad Magistrate pursued the insurgents into the Hills, inflicted a defeat on them at Raghunathpur (on the Barharwa-Barhait road), burnt Bhagnadihi and took possession of Barhait the stronghold of the insurgents, on the 24th July. Shortly afterwards Sidhu was treacherously handed over to the Bhagalpur troops by some of his followers.

Already the insurrection had extended to different places in Birbhum. In fact, by the 20th July it "had spread and was in activity" from Taldanga at the south-west of Birbhum, on the Grand Trunk Road, and Sainthia at the south-east, to Bhagalpur and Rajmahal. To prevent the Santals from advancing to the south of the Damodar river and for protection of the adjacent areas, additional troops were despatched in that direction.

Towards the end of July all the troops available had been mobilized and placed under the command of Brigadier-General Lloyd. Colonel Bird was shortly afterwards appointed to the special command of the troops employed in the Bankura and Birbhum districts. General Lloyd was not, however, given full and independent authority, for though he was at first informed that Government placed the conduct of the operations entirely in his hands, an order issued on the 30th July stated that "it was not intended that the military should act independently of the civil power, but that only the nature of the military operations should be entirely in the hands of the military commanders". There were consequently misunderstandings between the civil and military officers, and the Government of India also refused to permit the Lieutenant-Governor to proclaim martial law. By the second week of August, however, the country to the north, towards Bhagalpur had been cleared and the insurgents driven southwards, and in the south quiet had been restored to some parts. But there were still 30,000 men in arms, and after each reverse they took refuge in the jungle, from which it was difficult to expel them during the rains.

Since the end of July the relations between the Bengal Government and Brown, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, had become rather strained. The Lieutenant-Governor, Fredrick James Halliday, formed an unfavourable opinion about him, and soon (6th August) A.C. Bidwell, Commissioner of the Nadia Division, was appointed a "Special Commissioner" for the thorough suppression of the Santal Insurrection. Under the orders of the Bengal Government the Special Commissioner issued a proclamation on the 17th August. This proclamation was set at defiance by the insurgents and there was recrudescence of the outbreak in September. By the end of that month the whole country from Deoghar to the south-western border of the district was in their hands. In one direction an army of Santals moved through the district three thousand strong, and in another their number amounted to seven thousand. The beginning of cold weather, however, enabled the troops to take the field with greater effect, and on the 10th of November martial law was proclaimed in the affected parts of the Bhagalpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum districts to the effect, that any one in open hostility to Government, or opposing its authority by force of arms, or committing any overt act of rebellion would be tried by Court Martial and, if convicted immediately executed. A large force now swept through the country, to which little resistance was offered by the Santals, who unable to break through the cordon of troops, in some places 12,000 to 14,000 strong, were weakened by hunger and disease. The combined effect of the proclamation and of the activity of the troops was

soon apparent. Driven out of the open country the Santals were forced back to the jungles and a number of their leaders were captured, including Kanhu, who was taken prisoner near Uparbanda, north-east of Jamtara, by the *sardar ghatwal* of Kunjra. Eventually, on the 3rd January, 1856, quiet had been so far restored, that the Government of India were able to suspend the further operation of martial law. There were some outbreaks after this. But by the end of the cold weather the insurrection was thoroughly suppressed by the British Government.

While fighting desparately against the troops equipped with up-to-date weapons of warfare, the Santals showed a certain chivalry. There is, at least, one instance of their giving fair warning before making an attack, for having captured a *dak* runner and looted his mail bags, they spared his life on condition that he went to Suri carrying a branch of the *sal* tree with three leaves on it, to show that in three days they would attack the town. They also showed the most reckless courage. In one case 45 Santals had taken refuge in a mud house and refused to surrender. Volley after volley was fired in, and at every volley quarter was offered; but each time the Santals answered with a discharge of arrows. At last, when their fire slackened, the troops entered the huts and found only one old man alive. A sepoy called on him to lay down his arms, whereupon the old man rushed on him and cut him down with the battle axe. The general character of the struggle has been vividly described by Major Jervis, who commanded some of the troops. "It was not war; they did not understand yielding. As long as their national drum beat, the whole party would stand, and allow themselves to be shot down. Their arrows often killed our men, and so we had to fire on them as long as they stood. When their drum ceased, they would move off for a quarter of a mile then their drums began again, and they calmly stood till we came up and poured a few volleys into them. There was not a sepoy in the war who did not feel ashamed of himself".

The conduct of the Paharias was very dissimilar. They followed the Santal bands at a respectable distance and waited until the latter had driven away the peaceful inhabitants of the villages. Then they rushed in, and taking advantage of their absence and of the Santals pursuing, seized every thing they could lay hands on and speedily retired, leaving to the Santals all the fighting but little of the plunder.*

*This account of the rebellion has been compiled from the *Santal Rebellion*, Calcutta Review, 1856; *The Santhal Pergunnahs* Calcutta Review, 1860; *Sonthalia and the Santhals* by E.G. Man, 1867, and *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, by Sri W.W. Hunter.

Passions ran so high in certain quarters that most drastic measures were suggested for the suppression of the movement. It was remarked, for instance, by a writer in *The Friend of India*— "It is only by striking terror into these blood-thirsty savages, who have respected neither age nor sex, that we can hope to quell this insurrection. It is necessary to avenge the outrages committed, and to protect the cultivators of the plains from a repetition of them. The Santals believe that they can enjoy the luxury of blood and plunder for a month without a certainty of retribution. It is absolutely necessary that this impression should be removed or obliterated, if Government would not in these districts sit on bayonet points. To achieve this end, the retribution must be complete, leaving no calculation of chances for future rioters striking, that none may fail to know and understand; and tremendous that people may know their lives and happiness are not held of light account. It is to Pegu that we would convey the Santals, not one or two of their ring-leaders, but the entire population of the infected district." It would have been an act of sheer unwisdom on the part of the Government to take recourse to such ruthlessness. There is no doubt that a large number of Santals were imprisoned and many of them were convicted on charges of plunder, etc. But this was not enough.

The insurrection cannot be dispensed with as an unimportant local episode originating out of some insignificant causes. It was indeed, a clear symptom of the prevailing maladies in the changing administrative and economic conditions which required careful scrutiny for proper remedy. In fact, this episode opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal and Bihar. It made the British Government, then engaged in the work of strengthening its hold on India, realise the need of taking adequate steps to bring the Santali areas under effective administrative control.

It was decided that a special system of administration should be introduced, and therefore Act XXXVII of 1855 was passed, which removed from the operation of the general laws and regulations "the district called the Damin-in-Koh and other districts which are inhabited chiefly by the uncivilized race of people called Sonthals". This area was separated from the districts of Bhagalpur and Birbhum and formed into a separate district of Santhal Parganas with four sub-districts of Dumka, Godda, Deoghar and Rajmahal under a Deputy Commissioner and four Assistant Commissioners with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the area. This was followed by Police Rules of 1856 which recognised the headman system in villages and gave police powers to village officials. A non-regulation system was thus introduced, the main feature of which was direct communication between the

people and their rulers. The three chief principles were—(1) to have no intermediary between the Santal and the Assistant Commissioner, (2) to have complaints made verbally without a written petition or the presence of *amla*; (3) to have all criminal work carried on with the help of the Santals themselves, who were to bring in the accused, with the witnesses, to the courts. So successfully was this system worked under the first Deputy Commissioner Ashley Eden and the Commissioner Mr. George Yule, C.B., that during the Mutiny of 1857 not only did the Santals take no part in the disturbances, but it was also found possible to enlist a number of them to serve as police[1].

It was thought that the Santals were not competent enough to stand on their feet and that the operations of the General Laws and Regulations reacted very harshly on them. The Santals had been agitated over the misdemeanour and acts of omissions and commissions on the administrative authorities, the mahajans, the zamindars and various other agencies. They could hardly understand why there need be any other intermediary between themselves and the land which is god's gift. They yearned for the good old days when the forests, the lands that they reclaimed and their traditions were their own. They wanted to get them back. It was found that owing to the usual delaying tactics in the spheres of the administration their application for the redress of their grievances had been completely shelved for more than a year. They could hardly understand the ways of the *Hakims* (Magistrates) and the *Amlas* (Ministerial Officers) and the lawyers. Their revolt was easily crushed but it was thought that the General Regulations and Acts of Government enforced in the Presidency of Bengal must not be applied to"the uncivilized race of people called Sonthals" and that "it is therefore expedient to remove from the operation of such laws the district called Damun-i-Koh and other districts which are inhabited principally by that tribe".

It is rather surprising that although the preamble to this Act mentions the district of Damun-i-Koh and the Schedule to the Act mentions under Bhagulpore "'The Damun-i-Koh.... including the Rajmahal Hills" there was no such district as Damun-i-Koh in 1855. The old maps in the National Archives of India do not show that there was a specific area known as the district of Damun-i-Koh. However, it appears that the use of the word "the district called the Damin-i-Koh" was rather loosely used and meant the area called the Damin-i-Koh which was principally inhabited by the Santals.

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1. In 1863 a regular police system was introduced in the Deoghar Subdivision only. Act V of 1861 extended to the district in 1863 ceased to operate in 1872 as it was not included in Regulation I of that year; it was re-introduced in February, 1880.

The schedule to the Act mentions Pergunahs under Bhaugulpore* and Beerbhoom* and they were separated and put as a separate district of Santal Parganas where the Regulations of the Bengal Code and the Laws passed by the Governor-General of India in Council would not be applicable. The administration of Civil and Criminal Justice and the collection of the revenue not being permanently settled land revenue within the said districts were vested in the officer or officers appointed. The mode of administering Civil and Criminal Justice was also indicated which would be a taboo to the lawyers and work under certain stipulations.

It is peculiar that the usual books on Santal Parganas and particularly the old District Gazetteer of Santal Pargans does not specifically mention that Act XXXVII of 1855 had to be largely amended by Act X of 1857. It is proposed to discuss the reasons and the import of Act X of 1857 which slashed down the district of Santal Parganas to a smaller area. The bill to amend the Act XXXVII of 1855 was passed in the Legislative Assembly on the second day of May, 1857 and became Act X of 1857. The original papers of Act X of 1857 are maintained in the National Archives of India, New Delhi and give a connected story as to why Act X of 1857 had to be passed.

There were a few applications from some of the European Indigo Planters, zamindars and ryots from various areas who pointed out that their areas did not have any Santal or Sonthals in a majority and so the allotment of their areas by Act XXXVII of 1855 to the non-regulation district of Santal Parganas has been improper. The Central Committee of the Indigo Planters Association from 5 Bankshall Street, Calcutta sent up several applications. In their turn the Indigo Planters' Association received a number of representations from various planters and the Secretary, Indigo Planters' Association forwarded copies of them to W. Gray, Secretary to the Government of Bengal on April 24, 1856 and other dates. A petition signed by J.A. Allen, J.P.M. Killyan and William Scott (May, 1856) mentioned that they had received a representation from a member whose factory concerns had been placed in the Santal non-regulation district by XXXVII of 1855 according to the following words:—"Such portion of Pergunnahs appertaining to Purneah, Malda and Moorshedabad as lie on the right bank on the Ganges above the village of Downapore in the Baugulpore Pergunnah of Kankjole, and that according to the said Act. The General Regulations and Acts of Government are not adapted to the uncivilized race of people called Sonthals and it is therefore expedient to remove from

*The old spelling is retained.

the operation of such laws the district called Damun-i-Koh and other districts which are inhabited principally by that tribe".

It was pointed out according to the representation referred to that the population of the said district was not principally of Santals; it was not even an intermixed population of Bengalees and Santals but many miles apart in the hills there was a small Santal settlement and the two populations of Santals and Bengalees were in relation to one another of 7 Bengalees to 1 Santal. It was prayed that the said Act be amended and necessary relief given.

Another Indigo Planter Mr. Thomas Lyon in his application to the Secretary to Indigo Planters' Association, dated April 7, 1856 had mentioned that he had already sustained a loss of about Rs. 20,000 by the Santal outbreak in 1855 and that he was put to further trouble by being put in the Santal non-regulation district. His factory Beniagram was situated in Thana Furruakabad formerly under the jurisdiction of Ourangabad, a sub-station of Moorshidabad. Mr. Lyon pointed out that in that Thana there were about 80 or 90 villages containing one thousand homestead and the number of Santals was 127 only, the others being Musalmans and Hindu Bengalees. The Santal villages were some 8 or 10 miles inland among the hills and were quite distinct from the others. It was mentioned "thus on account of this fraction a large population of innocent persons are deprived of the Code of Laws they have been accustomed to." Mr. Thomas Lyon further mentioned that the Assistant Commissioner appointed was A. Taylor who two or three months ago was a Railway Engineer and had little experience. An appeal from his "absurd orders" would lie to the Deputy Commissioner at Coomerabad, an unknown, inaccessible locality some 100 or 150 miles distant among the hills." It was mentioned "Whatever faults we may find in the Company's officials (and their number is legion) they have at least had some legal training undergone, some examination as to qualification, and must decide by some known Law and Regulation. And should the decision be erroneous we have a known Court of appeal, within reach, and with Mooktears and Vakeels to watch proceedings. We, therefore, object most strongly to being punished for no fault of ours by what is virtually a sentence of outlawry."

Mr. Lyon followed up his representation to the Indigo Planters' Association on April 10, 1856 by giving copies of irregular and arbitrary orders given by Mr. Taylor which need not be gone into. There were other applications as well. On 6th May, 1856 Mr. Gray, another Indigo Planter from Malda pointed out that

his factories and Zamindari are in a large tract of country some 12 miles long by 8 miles broad and that tract had been made over to the Santal Parganas although this area was situated to the eastward to the Ganga and did not or ever did contain a single Santal. He pointed out that "this mistake had evidently arisen from the Ganges having formed a new channel for itself. This change, a very remarkable one too, must have been known to the Bhagulpore officials. "Mr. Gray also mentioned about Mr. Tayler's unfitness for his position," and mentioned that "to appoint a gentlemen, however, estimable in private life, but without even the rudiments of a legal education to exercise the extensive powers he holds in the civil, criminal and revenue lines, shows discredit on Government and distress on the people".

The Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 19th November, 1856 in his No. 3060 Judicial addressed Mr. E. Currie, Legislative Councillor for Bengal on the subject Mr. Currie had been in correspondence with the Government and his opinion is also preserved in the volume of Consultations in the National Archives of India. The Junior Secretary mentioned that it was desirable that a bill should be immediately introduced to amend the Schedule annexed to that Act. He referred to the letter of Commissioner Yule, No. 102, dated 17th July 1856 and a series of other letters. This letter mentioned what portions had to be excluded and what portions should remain in the district of Santal Parganas.

*The volume of original letters preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, has a series of other applications in original, some in Bengali and some in English. Applications in Bengali from Rani Khemasoondary and other Zamindars in Zillah Bhaugulpore, several people from the jurisdiction of the thanas Furruckabad and Shyamasherganj and a number of Hindu inhabitants of Pergunnahs Nonee and Hurripore, E. Currie, Member of the Legislative Council for Bengal, etc., are in this volume.

The letter of the Commissioner of Bhagulpore Division on the subject is No. 102, dated the 7th April, 1856 and addressed to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William. This is a historic document. The Commissioner had mentioned in the letter, "The points by which I think we should be guided in retaining certain tracts of country within or excluding them from these boundaries are the following:—

(1) The number of Sonthals in the tract.

(2) The situation of a tract with reference to the general line of boundary and to whether its exclusion or inexclusion will add to or detract from the compactness of the districts.

*The Editor was given an access to the records.

(3) If a tract might on the above principles be excluded whether its remoteness from a regulation district and station might not render its inclusion in the Sonthal district advisable.

(4) The feelings of the people other than Sonthals."

Commissioner G. U. Yule of Santal Parganas then discussed the problem of the different areas. He pointed out that the portion of Hurripore is almost entirely Bengalee and from the locality of the Pergunnah its exclusion would not affect the compactness of the Santal districts while it was nowhere more distant than 20 miles from Sooree and agreed with the Deputy Commissioner that it should be excluded. Regarding Mohumdabad the Santal villagers slightly preponderated and they were actually very numerous and it was on the whole nearer to Nayadoomka than Sooree. He agreed with the Deputy Commissioner that it should be retained.

Regarding Nonee the Bengallee villagers were to the Santalas $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, in Mulliarpore as 5 to 1 he agreed that they should be excluded and that the exclusion of these Pergunnahs would add to the compactness of the Santhal district.

Regarding the feeling of the non-Sonthal population in these Pergunnahs the Commissioner agreed that they would prefer remaining in a regulation district. Commissioner Yule then discussed other ancillary problems and the question of the inclusion or exclusion of areas like Dushazree, Bahadurpore, Inayutnugger, Chetowleah and Kankole. He, however, thought that the running stream of the Ganges should be made the boundary, and mentioned that by a change in the course of the river a large portion of Bahadurpore was now on the east side of that river and without a change in the wording of the Act it could not be excluded from the Santal district. According to him this portion of Bahadurpore should be transferred to Malda and not sent back to Bhaugulpore though the owners were anxious that it should be so. According to Commissioner Yule the area should belong to the district by which it was surrounded and not to one from which it was entirely cut off. Regarding Colgong Pergunnah excluding of Tuppah Munhearee there were few or no Sontals and the Commissioner thought that the exclusion of the Pergunnah would render the Santal district more compact.

It may be mentioned that the letter of Mr. W.C. Tayler, Assistant Commissioner, Santal Parganas, dated Sreekoondh 12th June 1856 was however, not very complimentary to the Bengalees

or to the Santals. He had to concede that portions of Purgannahs Bahadurpore, Sooltanganj, etc. owing to a sudden change in the course of the Ganges "now lie on the east bank of the river these portions should, of course, be at once removed from the Sontal Parganas and handed over to Malda". He further mentioned that this tract of the country "is almost entirely an Indigo district, and as there are several powerful Zamindars on it, who are at variance with each other, it is of course a very troublesome one". Regarding the Bengalees he mentions that "As far as civilization is concerned the Bengalees of this part of the country are very little in advance of the Sonthals and I think that the same system of Government will do equally well for both races. This I am aware, not generally thought to be the case but from my experience of both the Bengalees and Sonthals of this part of the country, I do not see that they differ much in the requirements of justice, speedy and simple justice being required by the poor of all nations and this it is impossible for them to obtain a regulation district".

However, Commissioner Yule came to a firm conclusion in paragraph 22 of his letter already referred to.

The "Abstract" of the proposals was summarised in the consultations as follows:—

To exclude from the Sonthal districts Hurripore, Nonee, Mullarpore and Dureen Molesser in Zillah Beerbhoom and Pergunnah Colgong (exclusive of Tuppah Munhearee) in Zillah Bhagulpore.

To make the Ganges the boundary from the western end of Teliaghurry to the northern of Furkkabad or to Downapore is now exclusive of Furkkabad the Sonthal jurisdiction on no account to extend across the river in consequence of any changes thereof.

To transfer to Maldah that portion of Bhadoorpore now on the east side of the Ganges but in the Sonthal jurisdiction.

To empower the Lt. Governor to exclude such portions of Colgong or Bhagulpore as he may think advisable.

The bill mentions "Whereas by Act XXXVII of 1855 certain districts described in the Schedule to the said Act were removed from the operation of the General Regulations and Acts; and whereas it is expedient to make certain alterations in respect to the districts so removed. It was enacted as follows:—

> "So much of Act XXXVII of 1855 as removed from the operation of the General Regulations of the Bengal Code, and Acts of the Government of India, the districts

described in the Schedule thereto, and the said Schedule are hereby repealed, except as to any proceedings pending at the time of the passing of this Act; and all the provisions of the said Act which are applicable to the districts described in the said Schedule, shall, after the passing of this Act, be applicable only to the districts described in the Schedule to this Act, in the same manner as if the Schedule to this Act had been the Schedule to Act XXXVII of 1855.

Zillah Bhaugulpore.

SCHEDULE

The Damun-i-Koh.

So much of Pergunnah Bhaugulpore, and of Pergunnah Suttiare as lies east of the Gerooah Nuddee and south of a line drawn eastward from Humza Chuck to the village of Dighhee.

Zilla Bhaugulpore	Pergunnah Telleagurhee Pergunnah Jumoonee Pergunnah Chetowleah Purgunnah Kankjole Purgunnah Bahadurpore Purgunnah Akbernagger Pergunnah Inayutnugger Purgunnah Mukraen Pergunnah Sooltangunge Pergunnah Umber Pergunnah Sooltanabad Pergunnah Godda Pergunnah Umloo Mooteah Pergunnah Pussye Pergunnah Hendwa Tuppeh Muneeharee Tuppeh Belputta Pergunnah Pubbia	..	Except such parts of them as are now or may hereafter be situate on the left bank of the main stream of the Ganges so that in any change in the course of the river the main stream shall be the boundary.
Zillah Beerbhoom	Tuppeh Saruth Deoghar Tuppeh Kundit Kurayeh Tuppeh Mohumdabad	..	Except such detached villages as lie within the general boundaries of Pergunnahs not maintained in this Schedule. Such part of Pergunnah Dureen Molisser as lies north of the Chilla or Chundun Ghat Nullah.

Such detached portions of other Pergunnahs and Tuppehs as lie within the general boundaries of any of the abovementioned Pergunnahs and Tuppehs.

Such portions of Pergunnahs belonging to Maldah and Purneah below the village of Kheederpore in Pergunnah Teleeagurhee as are now or may hereafter be situate on the right bank of the main

stream of the Ganges. The Bill to amend the Act XXXVII of 1855 was passed in the Legislative Assembly on the 2nd May 1857 and became Act X of 1857 as mentioned elsewhere.*

The Indian National Movement of 1857—59.

The order in India was yet to be tested by a more widespread and gigantic movement during 1857—59 which was about to shake the foundations of British authority in India. Lord Cromer significantly observed, "I wish the young generation of the English would read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the history of the Indian Mutiny it abounds in lessons and warnings". In fact, the causes of this movement were deep-rooted and its consequences were highly significant. It is unhistorical to consider it to be a mere military rising and so to describe it as the Sepoy Mutiny. Mr. William Taylor, then Commissioner of Patna, felt rightly that "there was a deep and growing dissatisfaction and incitement throughout Bihar" due to various factors, political, economic and cultural.

Bihar was an important centre of this movement and the chivalrous exploits of the hero, Kuwar Singh of Jagdishpur near Arrah, form an inspiring tale in the history of India's struggle for independence. So far as this State is concerned there was the first open manifestation of this movement in the evening of the 12th June, 1857 at Rohini, a village in the Deoghar Subdivision of the district of Santal Parganas. Rohini was the headquarters of the 5th Irregular Cavalry, and there were three officers of that regiment stationed there viz., the Commandant Major Macdonald, the Adjutant Sir Norman Leslie, and Dr. Grant. On the 12th June, just a month after the outbreak at Meerut, these three officers were attacked, as they were sitting at tea outside Major Macdonald's bungalow, three men suddenly rushing on them withdrawn swords. Sir Norman Leslie turned to enter the house to get his sword, but, his foot slipping, he was cut down at once. The other two seized the chairs on which they had been sitting, and with them endeavoured to defend themselves. Both were wounded and would have been killed had it not been that their assailants suddenly lost heart and fled. The men of the regiment were called together and their swords inspected, but all were found perfectly clean. It was soon ascertained, however, through the agency of the Urdi Major Imam Khan that they belonged to the regiment. The assailants were seized, brought to a drum-head court martial, and sentenced to be hanged. Subsequently Imam Khan got a handsome reward from the British Government for this act.

Major Macdonald wreacked vengeance with terrible cruelty. To quote his own account—"One of the prisoners was of a very

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*Quoted from the article "*The Creation of Santal Parganas*" by P.C. Roy Choudhury in "*Bengal, Past and Present*", Calcutta, January—June, 1962.

high caste and influence, and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy by getting a low caste man to hang him. To tell the truth, I never for a moment expected to leave the hanging scene alive, but I determined to do my duty, and well knew the effect that pluck and decision had on the natives. The regiment was drawn out : wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes, and saw them looped to run easy. Two of the culprits were paralyzed with fear and astonishment, never dreaming that I should dare to hang them without an order from Government. The third said that he would not be hanged, and called on the Prophet and on his comrades to rescue him. This was an awful moment; an instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen balls through me : so I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's ear, and said with a look there was no mistake about— 'Another word out of your mouth, and your brains shall be scattered on the ground.' He trembled and held his tongue. The elephant came up, he was put on his back, the rope adjusted, the elephant moved, and he was left dangling. I then had the others up and off in the same way. And after some time, when I dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, and still found my head on my shoulders I really could scarcely believe it."

There was no fresh outbreak in the Santal Parganas till the middle of August when the 5th Irregulars at Bhagalpur rose against the British Government and moved on to Rohini where they were joined by the detachment of their regiment. The whole body then marched to Baunsi, the headquarters of the 32nd Native Infantry on the 16th August, but got no co-operation from the latter. Colonel Burney, the Commandant at Baunsi, had been informed of their movement by a messenger half an hour before the arrival of the troopers there. Officers of the British Government at Deoghar also received warning through a messenger who ran there so quickly as to cover 80 miles in 30 hours. At Dumka itself where there was a party of the *Sawars* of the 5th Irregulars one Shyamalanand Mukherjee assisted the Government and managed to send the treasure (Rs. 4,000) and the prisoners to Suri.

There are a number of original documents in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, which give a clear picture of the 1857 occurrences in Santal Parganas*. These letters have been

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*(*i*) Military Consultation, 11th September 1857, no. 360.

(*ii*) Military Consultation, 16th October 1857, no. 439.

(*iii*) Military Consultation, 23rd October, 1857, no. 133.

(*iv*) Foreign (Secret) Department, 29th May 1858, no. 59.

(*v*) Letter no. 459, dated the 25th August 1857, from the Commissioner of Santal Parganas, G. U. Yule, to the Secretary of Government of Bengal.

utilised and an objective study of the 1857 Movement has been given in "1857 in Bihar", a publication of Gazetteer Revision Branch.*

Although the Santals and other tribals as a class did not take part in the 1857 Movement, there were sporadic troubles here and there. There was some murmur of discontent among the Chowars. Several villages close to the Grand Trunk Road had been plundered by the Santals. Some of the Santals in portions of Purulia and Midnapur districts had given trouble and steps were therefore taken to prevent the current of unrest coming to Santal Parganas.

With the departure of the 5th Irregular Cavalry from the district peace was established. The Government made a plan for the raising of a Santal Corps to do police work. Their pay was decided to be not less than five rupees a month and no reduction was to be made from it on any account. Three Companies were to be raised and they were to be armed with a light rifle and their own battle axe.

The question of utilising the Santals for the army was also taken up**. The Commissioner, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal and the Military Department concurred in this matter. Dalton, Officiating Commissioner of Chotanagpur listed 300 men and put them to drill under the Assistant Commissioner, Braddon at Deoghar†.

The next landmark in the history of Santal Parganas was in 1871. The period between 1858 and 1871 was not quite a period of peaceful activities. The British administrators had fully realised that the development of communications was necessary for the consolidation of the British power in India. The only useful road till 1857 was the one connecting Bhagalpur with Dumka and then with Suree. The other roads were mere tracks and not properly negotiable throughout the year. Roads were laid and Survey Operations were intensified with a view to laying railway lines. All this had the effect of opening up the countryside and brought in quite a large number of Bhojpuris from Bihar and Bengalis from Bengal. A large number of *Mahajans* and *Banias* throughout the district were ever ready to lend money to the spendthrift Santals by keeping in mortgage their lands. Many of the zamindaris started passing on the Biharis and Bengalis and

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*1857 in Bihar (Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas by P.C. Roy Chaudhury, Second Edition, Patna, 1959, pages 31—44).

**Military Consultation, 7th August 1857, no. 390.

†Military Consultation, 11th September 1857, no. 362.

the Santals lost much of their lands. In 1861 the Government decided to station two regiments of Native Infantry at certain points against a possible rise of the Santals*. The Assistant Commissioner of Naya Doomka Division had sent several letters that the Santals were restive. Similar signs of dissatisfaction were also reported from Rajmahal. The Assistant Commissioner of Naya Doomka Division thought that the possible causes of discontent were—

(*i*) The enhancement of rent by the Zamindars.

(*ii*) The institution of suits by *Mahajans* for fear of Act XIV of 1859.

(*iii*) A prophecy by Kanu, who just before his execution, had predicted a rising about this time at which he might re-appear as a leader. As a result several military units were deployed to Rajmahal, Suree and Bhagalpur. It was further considered desirable to station military police at other places, namely, Rampur *hat*, Pakaur, Pirpainty, Godda and Deoghar. There was no actual rising but the administrators got panicky.

This sense of insecurity was in great contrast to A.R. Thompson's views when he wrote on the 7th April 1856, "I for myself can entertain no fears of any repetition of the outrages which the last year has witnessed; any thing approaching an organised movement among the Santals for evil purposes would be known to us before it gets any dangerous proportions."

In 1871 there was a great wave of unrest throughout Santal Pergunnahs owing to the oppression on the Santals and particularly on their *manjees*. The Santals were made to pay evergrowing rents and the *Manjees* were turned out in large numbers. It appears that after the Santal insurrection, Act XXXVII of 1855 supplemented by Act X of 1857 was passed and for some years Santal Pergunnas was ruled by Sir G. Yule on the purest non-regulation system and the Santals were specially protected and contented. But some years later and when the memory of the insurrection had grown dim and Sir G. Yule had gone, a question arose as to whether the Stamp Law could or could not be enforced in the Santal Pergunnahs. Some were of the view that the Acts of the Legislative Assembly passed subsequent to 1855 did not apply to the Santal Parganas. The question was referred to the

*Home Department Proceeding 10th May 1861 nos. 12-13, from J.E. Gordon, Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Advocate-General. The words of the Act were quite strong :— "No law which shall hereafter be passed by the Governor-General in Council shall be deemed to extend to any part of the said district unless the same shall be specially named therein".

The Advocate-General expressed the opinion that this enactment was wholly *ultra vires* and invalid. He thought that the Legislature could have no power to put a construction by anticipation on the language of any later Act. According to him when nothing was said expressly in a later Act as to the limits within which it was to operate it must be taken to extend to all Her Majesty's Indian territories. Act X of 1862 by sections 9, 12 and 25 showed expressly that the Act was intended to apply "throughout the British territories in India" and in the interpretation clause the expression was explained to include " the territories vested in Her Majesty by the statute 21 and 22 Vic., Cap. 106". The Advocate-General held that the Santal Parganas were part of these territories and it would be impossible to import into the Act the words "except the Santal district". The Advocate-General gave the opinion "the enactment in the Act of 1855 may be regarded in two ways, either as *ab initio* void and inoperative or as impliedly repealed by every subsequent Act passed for India generally or the Provinces specially to the Lt. Governor of Bengal in particular".

The Lt.-Governor Sir C. Beadon accepted this opinion and in his letter no. 2656, dated the 11th April 1863 he informed the Commissioner of the Santal Parganas that he found no sufficient reason for exempting the Santal Parganas from the operation of any general law passed since 1855 and that the Santal Parganas rules of procedure must be revised in accordance with the law as it stood. He stated that there was no reason why the Santals should be subject to corporal punishment. He further added that it was no longer necessary that the employment of Mokhtears should be prohibited. He found no reason why the procedure prescribed by Act X of 1859 should not be enforced. He wanted that the Santal Parganas should be administered on the system in force in the areas of the Lower Provinces for anything that tended towards this was an advantage. The Commissioner was asked to insist on the use of stamps under Act X of 1862, the only exception being that which was allowed in the notification of the 22nd November 1862. The Commissioner was asked to submit for approval a revised set of rules for the Santal Parganas prepared in accordance with this view of the law.

These instructions were implemented up to 1871 and the Santal Parganas rapidly drifted to the ordinary law and procedure of the regulation districts. The Deputy Commissioner practically

became a Judge. It was surprising that the Indian Legislature continued to pass deregulationising Acts, e.g., Act XXII of 1869 and III of 1870 in precisely the same form as that which had been treated in the Santal Parganas. Thus an Act of the Indian Legislature was set aside by a Counsel's opinion in one province while similar Acts were promulgated for guidance in others.

The unrest among the Santals had reached a peak and in June 1871 when there was a scare throughout Santal Parganas that the Santals would rise in rebellion and attack the non-Santals. The Raja of Moheshpore informed W. Wood, Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas, Bhagaulpore that the Bengalee *ryots* of some villages in his zamindari, as well as those in others, had fled to some distant places. The immediate cause of the threatened Santal rebellion was that Udit Narain Singh, the zamindar of Hundwah, the new zamindar of Balapathra, Mr. Grant the Tehsildar of Sunkera on behalf of Court of Wards and Mr. Barnes, the Izarddar of Godda had enhanced the rents of the Santal *ryots*. The Santal *ryots* went in a body to represent their grievances to the Assistant Commissioner of Doomka and the Assistant Commissioner had fined 9 of the principal Santals Rs. 10 each for their coming in a body. The poor Santals were ill-treated by their zamindars and went for redress to the court where they found no better treatment. That is why they were very sore and a similar kind of discontentment added by their gross ignorance had led them to revolt in 1855 as the Rajah of Moheshpore wrote. He (the Raja of Moheshpore) made certain suggestions which can be found in the letter of Mr. Rivers Thompson quoted later. The matter was such that it could no longer be neglected and an enquiry had to be made in the different parts of the Santal Parganas.

Mr. H. A. Madocks, Officiating Commissioner of the Bhagaulpore Division in his no. 1194, dated Bhagaulpore, the 5th July 1871, addressed the Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department on this matter. The Officiating Commissioner sent a copy of Mr. Wood's report and also a copy of the letter from the Rajah of Moheshpore who was the proprietor of 307 Santal villages and mentioned that being an intelligent man his opinion was entitled to respect. The Commissioner referred to a previous letter of his no. 1106 of the 26th July, and pointed out that the Rajah of Moheshpore supported the views enunciated in that letter.

Wood had proceeded to Mooraroie to ascertain the cause of the panic. In his report he mentioned that 500 to 600 Bengalees had crossed the line of the railway with the intention of going

towards Jungeepore for safety from dread of the Santals. He got this information from Latimer who was of the view that the Bengalees were rather needlessly alarmed for no armed band of Santals had been seen, only the beating of the war drums (*dugdugis*) had been heard. The Bengalees, however, dreaded a repetition of the atrocities inflicted on them by the Santals during the last insurrection of 1855.

Wood could not get any *Palkee* bearers and went by an elephant and a *Palkee* sent by the Raja of Moheshpore. At Moheshpore he met Rajah Gopal Chandra Singh and ascertained from him the cause of the panic. The Raja informed him that the Sonthals* in the Dumka division being much dissatisfied with the heavy enhancement of rents had gone in considerable batches to the Extra Assistant Commissioner of Doomka for redress of their grievances. At Doomka the officer was said to have placed some of the Sonthals in *Hazat* and others to a fine and the Sonthals gave out that when they did not get redress they would rise and have another "hool". The alarm spread like wild fire culminating in the report that the Sonthals had actually broken out into an insurrection. Some Sonthals had collected with the intention of driving off a tiger that had carried away a bullock close to the Sonthalee village of Hathimarah and used their *tomtoms* and this caused a great panic. The Rajah had sent for some of his near *Purganites* and was assured that the Sultanabad Sonthals had no wish of rising in revolt nor had they heard of any such intention on the part of the Doomka Sonthals. Wood talked to a number of the *Purganites* who assured them that they had no complaint against their zamindar, Raja Gopal Chandra Singh. Mr. Wood informed them that the Doomka Sonthals' complaints were being enquired into by Mr. William Smith and assured them that their grievances would be looked into. Mr. Wood, however, told them that the large gathering of Sonthals with a view to intimidating the *Hakeem* would not be tolerated.

The matter was closely looked into. Mr. E. C. Bayley, Secretary to the Government of India in his letter no. 1258, dated the 26th July 1871 addressed the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, on this matter. In this letter he mentioned that the opinion of the Advocate-General that the provisions of clause (1), Section (1) of Act XXXVII of 1855 were *ultra vires* and void seems to be based on a misapprehension. The general principle with the legislature of one period could not limit the powers of all future legislations was undoubtedly true, but no such limitations was involved in the provisions of Act XXXVII of 1855, Section (1) clause (*i*). Mr. Bayley pointed out that it contained nothing more than a direction to those who were called on to

*This spelling has been common in the old documents.

interpret the Act of the Legislature as to the manner in which they were to be interpreted and so long as this rule was not altered by subsequent legislation, it was maintained. The effect of the provisions was precisely the same as that of a clause providing with the words "British India" in sections defining the extent of Act should be interpreted to exclude the Pergunnahs in question. The Legislature had clearly a right to make provision of this nature and Act I of 1861 was an instance in which this right was exercised. The only effect of denying the existence of such power would be to make it necessary to insert, in every succeeding Acts, the words "except the Sonthal Pergunnahs" in the clause defining the local extent of such Act.

It appeared that the Government of Bengal accepted in principle the opinion of the Advocate-General in his broadest possible sense and declared that the Rent Act and the Civil Procedure Code were operative in the Sonthal Pergunnahs. These Acts were, however, not meant to be operative in Sonthal district as that was not specifically mentioned.

The serious difficulty in the Sonthal district threatening to result in open violence had arisen principally from the practical enforcement of the policy avowed by Sir C.C. Beadon in the fourth paragraph of his letter of the 11th April 1863. "It is no doubt desirable that the Sonthal Pergunnahs should, as soon as may be practicable, be administered on the system in force in the rest of the Lower Provinces." It was certainly wrong on the part of the Bengal Government to allow a reversal of the policy that had been enjoined by the Government of India after the experience of a serious and painful rebellion without at least a full reference to the Government of India and the discussion of the reasons. No such reference was, however, made.

The Government of India could not understand how the late and present Commissioners of Bhagaulpore could have allowed the gross instances of oppression and injustice disclosed in the correspondence, to pass without once bringing them to the notice of the Lt.-Governor. The Lt.-Governor was enjoined to devise at once such remedies as would alla the just discontentment of the Sonthals and prevent it from spreading to the Damin-i-koh and other parts of the district. The Lt.-Governor was also instructed to submit detailed plans for providing in the future for a better administration of the entire district.

Some concrete causes of the disaffection might be mentioned as gathered from the papers in the Home (Judicial) Department Proceedings 29th July 1871 (No. 20—23). In his no. 3254, dated

11th July 1871 Sir C. Bayley, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, informed the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department that there were alarms in several quarters and that the Santal Officers had reported increasing dissatisfaction and excitement. He mentioned that the owners of two different indigo factories in the plains had reported that their Santal labourers had given back their advances saying that they could not work that season, being bound to join in a "hool" or a rebellion.

The *manjee's* question was at the bottom of all the rent troubles. The zamindars and the law recognise the *manjee* in his capacity of settled holder—equally as a farmer. When the term of his lease was due to expire the zamindar demanded a higher rent sometimes a very much higher one. On the other hand the *manjee* considered that he had a right to the renewal of the farms of the village at a moderate enhancement. But he had, as farmer, no right at all that he had in reference to his own *jote*.

A number of Europeans was given different Pergunnahs. Mr. C. Barnes held the Pergunnah of Godda, the most important Pergunnah in the district and he did much that was wrong. Messrs. Grant were given a very big lease in Sankera and this was the focal point of a lot of trouble. Messrs. Grant stepped in 1871 and cancelled the leases given by his predecessor Mr. Sadat Ali to *mustazirs* on a term of 5 years at an enhanced *jummah* of 25 and 30 per cent. Mr. Grant cancelled all these leases without any authority and again raised the *jummahs* to 25 and 30 per cent, besides charging ten per cent as *salamee*.

The complaints of Belpatta were almost similar. Mr. Sadat Ali as *Tehsildar* granted leases for 9 years. The property was almost immediately after sold and purchased by Ram Prasad Baboo, who cancelled all the leases and raised the rents to 25 and 30 per cent. Not knowing better, most of the *mustazirs* agreed to the new imposition. Ram Prasad Baboo had purchased the former proprietor's existing rights only and, therefore, had no power to annul the 9-year settlement.

In Hundwah, Luckanpore and other Blocks their complaint was that over 20 or 25 years the zamindars raised their rents to 25 and 30 per cent and even 100 per cent and 200 per cent.

It is quite possible that Sadat Ali who was described as "an awfully intriguing" fellow was putting up the Santals to make the complaints but there was no doubt that the Santals had very genuine grievances.

In this letter the local officers came in for very great strictures. They were told that it is not for them to pick legal holes and find legal flaws and to affect a pedantic legality. They were asked to make the best of the situation and it was pointed out that some districts had been deliberately exempted from the Regulations and Acts to such a degree as to place the procedure and then the substantive laws very much within the discretion of local officers and to enable them to administer a broad equity; and even where the law was more defined, the combination of civil, criminal and revenue powers in the same officer gave much opportunity for tempering the too harsh administration of any law. The Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Judicial Department in his no. 3035, dated the 28th June 1871 had drawn the attention of the Commissioner of Bhagaulpore and the Santal Parganas to his letter no. 2017, dated the 28th June 1871 to the Commissioner of Assam where instructions were given to the Commissioner of Assam as how to deal with cases regarding the Dufflas and other frontier tribes. The Commissioner of Bhagaulpore and Santal Parganas was asked to remember that the views in that letter to the Commissioner of Assam applied "with greater force to Sonthalia, which is more non-regulation and that the officers have larger powers". This letter no. 3035, dated 28th June 1871 to the Commissioner of Bhagaulpore was rather severe on the administration in the Sonthal Parganas and mentioned that Act IX of 1859 could not have possibly tied the hands of the officers and prevented them from doing justice to the *ryots*. Messrs. Grant, farmers, of Sunkerah came in for very adverse circumstances and the Commissioner was asked to see that Mr. Grant was not allowed to ignore his orders and indicated that it was much more preferable that the estate should be directly managed by the court of wards. The Commissioner was asked to report the exact terms on which Mr. Grant held and whether it was in the discretion of Government to take over the farm from them in the case of providing over exactions, misconduct or mismanagement.

The farming of estates to Europeans was due to Sir G. Yule who had strong belief in the energy and enterprise of the European character as was mentioned by the officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Judicial Department to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department in his no. 3075, dated the 18th July 1871. The system had failed and the elements of absenteeism had complicated. In this letter it was mentioned "But those farms have since been renewed under totally different conditions, under the reign of law or what is supposed to be law, and the farmers have pushed their claim as far as they can for the sake of their profit. One of them has been unfortunate

in his affairs, and is an absentee, standing, the Lt.-Governor, believes much in need of the income he derives from his holdings in the Sonthal Pergunnahs which are notoriously mismanaged. The other is a prosperous manager but is stated to have left the management of the Sonthal estate to a brethren who seems to be driving the people to rebellion. The zamindars who have resumed the management of their own estates are quick to copy European energy so far as concerns enhancing rents and increasing the income, though they copy no other European virtues."

*Home (Judicial) Department Proceedings, 20th January 1872, nos. 36—42 have some very important letters one of which is letter no. 6186, dated, Fort William, the 6th December 1871, from Mr. Rivers Thompson, Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Judicial Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department which runs as follows :—

"With reference to the correspondence noted in the margin I am directed to forward, for submission to the Government of India, the accompanying copy of a report from the Commissioner of the Sonthal Pergunnahs, with enclosures showing the result of the enquiries ordered by the Lt.-Governor as to the cause of the excitement which lately prevailed among the Sonthals.

"The Commissioner's report was by arrangement delayed till the Lt.-Governor could visit the Bhagaulpore Division and confer with him, and at last, at the Lt.-Governor's request, the Commissioner reported som what hurriedly, as His Honour wished to bring down the papers and to place them before the Government of India immediately on its return to Calcutta; but the Lt.-Governor has been in the most constant and unreserved demi-official communication with the Commissioner throughout, and has discussed these affairs with him in the fullest possible manner.

"The report places it beyond doubt that the Santals had real and substantial grievances. As regards the causes of these grievances, the Lt.-Governor can add little to the previous reports.

"The Sonthals are by nature a sort of backwoodsmen; they are most industrious and even skilful clearers of the jungles and reclaimers of the soil, but they do not cultivate highly when the ground is reclaimed, and very much

*These documents are preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

object to paying high rents. They fancy that in accordance with the ancient law of India, 'the land is his who first tilled it,' that they have a sort of proprietorship in the land which they have reclaimed, and that they should only be called on to pay the plough tax familiar to these simple people. If pressed beyond that, they, like other backwoodsmen, who rather migrate further back into the woods and make new reclamations in places where they would not be molested. It is believed that the former seats of the Sonthals of the Sonthal Pergunnahs were in the upland country now forming the Hazareebaugh district. The latter district is now almost entirely occupied by Hindoostanees; and that there is no historical record of the causes of the migration, the Lt.-Governor believes the probable course of things to have been that the Sonthals, pressed by these people, migrated eastward to the country which the devastations of the Bhagaulpore hillmen and other predatory tribes had rendered almost desert, but which the measures adopted by the work in the later part of the last century rendered tenable by a bold and hardy race, who without wealth, could sing in the presence of the robbers, and whose habits enabled them to defy robbers, tigers, and miasma, in fact, everything but legal practitioners. Unfortunately, however, as explained in the former letter, this deserted country was held in almost nominal proprietorships by the *ghatwals* and others, to whom we have given rights on condition of a defence which they never performed. The S nthals got into a sort of corner, their line of retreat is cut off; they can no longer when they are pressed, retreat further still. They have reached the utmost limits of the hills and jungles of Central India, and find themselves on the borders of the plains of the Ganges, at the very point where the population is most pressing on the resources of the land and rack rents are screwed up to the highest pitch. The opening of two rail roads through the Sonthal country and of several roads, has only had the effect of bringing among them an influx of competitors of other races—Hindoostanees on one side and Bengalees on the other. That the utmost advantage of this state of things has been taken by many proprietors and farmers, the reports now submitted fully show.

"Another circumstances renders the protection of the Sonthals under our system extremely difficult. Of a race entirely different from the Hindoos, they are wholly averse to and unfitted for that litigation, the gambling excitement

of which seems to make up the Hindoos for much of the evil which it entails. They cannot understand our legal system. They persist in regarding the Government as the Lord of the Soil and the Fountain of Justice, and they cannot see why we should limit our demand on the zamindars and not limit the demand of the zamindars on them; or how we can profess inability to redress any hardships of which they complain. As the Rajah of Moheshpore (to whose letter the Lt.-Governor before referred) well puts it :—

"It is said that all British subjects, with the exception of the Sonthals, are happy as regards, the enjoyment of benefits of law. The latter being unable to enjoy the benefits of law on account of their gross ignorance, much oppressed by their zamindars, who understand it well.

"The Sonthal who by dint of his exertion and labour clears a jungle tract and lays the foundation of a village, is ousted out of it by his zamindars, who is benefited by law to do so easily. This is heart-rending to a Sonthal.

"That being so they cannot and do not fight in the courts of any occupancy or junglebury rights which they may have, but confine themselves to general complaints, nurse their grievances, till in their clanish fashion they get together like in angry hive of bees; and then they may possibly st ng. The result is, that hardly any law exactly prescribing the rights which they are and are not to have would be effectual under our system of procedure. In the long legal contests which always ensue, the Sonthals would certainly succumb, and till they would feel themselves as aggrieved as ever.

"It is painful to find that the lead in the practice of rack renting or at any rate full renting the Santals, and harassing them by constant enhancements, charges for privileges never before charge, and the line has undoubtedly been taken by European speculators who mainly owe their footing to farms which they obtained from the officers of Government. They have made fortunes, but they have left to Government a legacy of political trouble.

"The question was discussed in Sir J. P. Grant's time in 1861. Mr. Barnes had obtained a farm of an estate, the rental of which, in the hands of the late native owners, was said to have been from Rs. 12,000 to 14,000. In the

course of some three or four years he raised it to nearly Rs. 60,000. The *ryots* collected in the Santals gatherings, and threatened disturbances, and it was necessary for Government to intervene. Sir J. P. Grant thought that the blame did not so much rest with the speculators who made the most of his bargain as with the Government officers who had given him the farm without tying him down by any conditions. The matter was compromised by the farmer reducing his demand to Rs. 40,000 a concession for which he was thanked by Government.

"The Government of Sir C. Beadon seems to have taken a different view from that of Sir J. P. Grant. As already shown it was declared that the sooner the regular laws were introduced the better, and they were introduced accordingly. The Santal *manjees* (of whose position more shortly) were declared to have no rights. No special restrictive conditions, so far as the Lt.-Governor cannot find, were imposed on farmers in those days, and enhancement of rents went on continually.

"The Lt.-Governor hardly thinks that local officers can be blamed for following out the system which was established. The decision with regard to the no rights of the *manjees* has ever since been considered to be settled law, and the only result of the non-regulation character of the Sonthal Pergunnahs has been that the case never went before the High Court, where possibly a view more favourable to the Sonthal headmen might have been taken. As Mr. Dalrymple shows that there was excitement and fear of disturbance in the *pergunnah* of Hundwah in 1868, owing to numerous evictions of *manjees*, it was settled in direct communication with the Government of Bengal that nothing could be done but to refer all complaints to the courts; and all officers have fully believed that this was their position, and they could do no more. Under these circumstances the grievances of the non-litigating race have accumulated gradually without any explosion or demonstration sufficient to show the necessity of immediate interference till the circumstances occurring in the last few months brought things to ahead. Mr. Grant who from small beginnings had made a fortune by farming and cognate transactions since the last Sonthal War, thought he has followed a course of steady enhancement, has nevertheless had the credit of being a discreet and good farmer as farmers go. The circumstances of the Sunkers estate, already detailed, were

very peculiar and irritating to the people, the victims of the varied fortunes of litigations; and there seems to be no doubt that under the management of Mr. T. Grant the people were badly treated by the Messrs. Grant, against whom decrees have been passed for illegal exactions. At the same time, the Belpata cases, where exactions resulted from the entry of a new proprietor—an auction-purchaser—; and so a storm was caused, which brought out all the accumulated grievances hitherto silently borne.

"It should be mentioned that one cause of the rising dissatisfaction has been the recent introduction of Indigo cultivation by some of the native zamindars and Mr. Grant.

"It appears to the Lt.-Governor, then, that it would be both almost impossible to define by an exact law the rights to which the people have an equitable claim, and wholly impossible to administer any law equally between the litigation loving Hindoos and litigation hating Sonthals. He believes that the only really satisfactory course would be to put the whole matter in the hands of an able and judicious officer, acting on general principles laid down for his guidance. The Lt.-Governor would wish, in fact, to effect a kind of settlement of these *pergunnahs* by a Settlement Officer trammelled by detailed laws, and who would record the right of all parties as determined by him.

"In regard to the law the present situation is very peculiar. The Lt.-Governor has already explained how the case stands as regards the Act XXXVII of 1855. In the belief that the ordinary laws were or ought to be introduced, many specific laws have been formally introduced by the orders of the Government of Bengal, and are, therefore, of undoubted legal force. If it had not been for the orders introducing the regular laws, the local officers would have had the fullest power in regard to all cases below Rs. 1,000; but for the purposes of cases over that amount, the Government has not even the powers given in some of the Provinces which can no longer be called non-regulation, such as Assam. Probably because the Sonthal Pergunnahs were supposed to be provided for by a wider Act, the Civil Courts Act does not give there the power given to Government in regard to Assam, Chotanagpur &c., of investing officers with

powers of a civil court, so that the Lt.-Governor is unable to do what he would have wished, viz., to invest certain officers with powers to hear cases both over and under Rs. 1,000. As it is, if a zamindar estimates the value of a village held or claimed by a *manjee* at more than Rs. 1,000 he can take the case before a totally different tribunal than that of the Sonthal officers; that is, to the regular civil courts of Bhagaulpore and Beerbhoom, where the Judges have no discretion, but must try the case according to the legal procedure; and a Sonthal *manjee* can have then no change, unless he is prepared to entertain the usual array of attorneys and pleaders, and to carry his case through all the stages of appeal to the High Court, or, it may be, to the Privy Council.

"Upon the whole, if the Governor-General in Council should think it right to trust to the Lt.-Governor so wide a discretion, the course which he would suggest would be that the complications now existing in regard to Act XXXVII of 1855 should be cured by passing an amended Act in exactly similar terms, but omitting the exception in regard to suits over Rs. 1,000. The Lt.-Governor will take no further action till he learns whether His Excellency is prepared to recommend that course to his Legislative Council. If so the Lt.-Governor trusts that no time will be lost. If not, he equally hopes that he may inform without loss of time. Such an Act would enable the Lt.-Governor to follow the course which he believes to be the best, and to effect a complete settlement and record of rights adjusted on equitable principles, each case being dealt with on its own merits.

"The Lt.-Governor would here make some observations in greater detail in regard to the remedies proposed for existing evils. Here again his Honour cannot do better than to quote the Rajah of Moheshpore who succinctly states what is required thus:—

"Under these considerations I beg to submit for your judgment the following few suggestions which may, in my humble opinion, be productive of great deal of good to the suffering Sonthals. If they meet with your approbation, you will be kind enough to bring them to the notice of your higher authorities.

(1) Instead of applying the laws of the regulation provinces to the cases of the Sonthals, it would be

better to have their cases determined by the discretion and judgment of able and impartial judicious officers both high and low. The customs and laws of the land should be also observed.

(2) The first cultivator of a clearing is not to be ousted out of it, but land should be adjusted by the judicial officers of the place.

(3) Besides the rent, no money is to be taken from the Sonthals in any shape.

"The Lt.-Governor has nothing to add to this recommendations, but what remains is more difficult, viz., to find means of giving effect to it.

"If it were only a question of determining the rights of Sonthal cultivators, the Lt.-Governor believes the law and custom rightly construed (His Honour is afraid that in Bihar there is a disposition to construe it wrongly and ignore *ryots'* rights) and administered under a non-regulation procedure, might suffice to protect the people. But the great difficulty is the position of the *manjees*. When a Sonthal hive settle in the jungle to clear a location and establish a village, the *manjee* is to the Sonthal hive what the Queen bee is to a hive of bees; they cannot get on without him. They have their own Constitution and internal laws just as much as a hive of bees. The revenue to be paid is settled with the *manjees* by some process of distribution among themselves and each Sonthal knows what he has to pay, they will not deal as individual. It is the power of evicting the *manjees* under Mr. Money's decision (see letter no. 3075, dated 1st July 1871, para 15) which has placed the Sonthals at the mercy of the zamindars. As regards that decision, the Lt.-Governor will not pretend to say whether it is right or wrong; but this His Honor will venture to say, that it is not founded of any sufficient reason given in the judgment. It is not enough that Act X of 1859 does not provide for the case. The question is whether, according to the custom of the country interpreted by our Indian common law of equity and good conscience, the *manjee* has any right. It is quite possible that, as Mr. B. Wood supposes, the High Court would decide that he has a good jungleturee tenure; but after the long currency of a contrary interpretations of the law, it would be doubtful. Then, as the Commissioner

shows, the matter is much complicated by changes resulting from the rebellion of 1855 and other circumstances, and still more by the influx of non-Sonthal *ryots* and farmers which has taken place. The Sonthal communities and their constitution have been sadly broken up: that is, indeed their first and greatest grievance, and it is very difficult to restore these things. We have many cases of Hindoo farmers established over Sonthal villages, and of Sonthal *manjees* in whose villages Hindoos and Bengalees in some parts of the *Pergunnahs* have quite outnumbered the Sonthals; even in Doomka, where the Sonthals prevail, and where most of the present excitement has arisen, there are now many other people mixed with the Sonthals.

"The Lt.-Governor has no doubt that if such a settlement as he recommends is made, it must include all classes, whether Sonthals or not, according to their position and equitable claims or absence of claims. The line in regard to difference of administrative system must be geographical, not a class line; though of course then the geographically different classes will be found to occupy different positions. There are many Sonthals outside the Sonthal Pergunnahs who will probably prefer claims; but they must be told that a line has been drawn, and that they must follow the fortunes of the districts in which they have settled.

"Here, however, it is right to notice a complication which no doubt attends the whole question. It must be admitted that concessions now made to the people of the Sonthal Pergunnahs have something of the appearance of yielding to crowded demonstrations that which was no otherwise obtained. This, the Lt.-Governor thinks, a sufficient reply to any suggestions of the kind, that the demonstrations of the Sonthals were caused by injustice and that justice must be done. It happens, however, that some of the Sonthals beyond the Pergunnahs have shown some disposition to imitate the course followed by their brethren, and that there have been signs of similar disposition on the part of some of the ordinary Hindoostanee *ryots* of Rajah Leelanund Singh. This Leelanund Singh is a great proprietor of the Bhagaulpore and adjoining districts, who has been extraordinarily successful in long career of litigation, owns great estates, from which are levied very high rents. He is in permanence before the Privy Council, always entertains

the best lawyers of every grade, and is a proverb for success, having repeatedly beaten the Government and every one else. To his original estates he has very largely added; he has acquired large property both in the Sonthal Pergunnahs and in the Pergunnah of Kurackpore adjoining the hills of Central India. He adopts the farming system and forms largely to energetic Europeans successful in raising the rents. Many of the complaints from the Sonthal Pergunnahs have come from estates so leased by him and his *ryots* have been the first to attempt demonstrations in the non-Sonthal country.

"In Bengal the land-holders seem to like rest and quiet; every grade seems ready to take a bonus and give a permanent tenure to the grade below and the Lt.-Governor much hopes that difficult question between landlords and tenants in some parts of the country, where elements of disturbance exist, may be obviated by the creation of a large mass of present proprietors.

"In Bihar it is otherwise. There is no disposition to lease in perpetuity there—a mercantile class and a mercantile spirit are much stronger. Estates are almost universally let out for terms of years to farmers, who have full power to enhance rents and make their profits by doing so except where the leases are held by indigo planters, who take their profit out in indigo. Whatever question there may be as regards the terms on which indigo is cultivated, probably the tendency of the system is somewhat to get down rents in tracts where indigo is very prevalent; but generally in Bihar rents have risen very rapidly of late years. The people are certainly much less prone to litigate than the Bengalees; the records of the courts which deal with petty criminal and other cases show this in a remarkable degree; and as the Lt.-Governor has already said, very little effect has been given in these districts to the provision of Act X of 1859 in favour of *yots*. In Bhagaulpore and Monghyr it seems clear that on the largest estates the prevailing rates of rent have more doubled in the last 15 years. It may be that the people have a good deal of the blood of their aboriginal neighbours; though less prone to litigate than Bengalees, they are also less willing to submit beyond certain point. The population is thick, the demand for land great, the enhancement constant, and rapid effects which are truly recited in the petition of the

zamindars appended to the Commissioner's letter. It is more than anywhere that the Lt.-Governor fears the evil day when, as has been the case in Ireland, there is no longer competition of tenants for land. When the landlord, masters of the situation, will drive up rents to a more and more rack point and that a tenantry, unable to understand the rights of absolute property and the laws of political economy may gather in thousands in a contest of the landlords and legal administration. Such gathering the officers who deprecate such interference as the Lt. Governor suggests was that our interference would precipitate. They say "the rights of landlords must be maintained; it is better not to interfere; for if you do, you do not know where you can stop. If you give redress to the ryots within the Sonthal Pergunnahs, you will have to give redress to Leelanund Singh's ryots outside the Sonthal Pergunnahs; and if you give redress to his ryots, you will have to give redress to other places, ryots". The Lt.-Governor does not recognise the sufficiency of the arguments. He is of opinion that we must redress injustice where we can, and that it will be soon informed when the time comes and the question arises to consider whether there is or is not injustice elsewhere, and whether we can or cannot redress it; but he thinks it fair to give the view which is held by some Bengalee officers.

"The Lt.-Governor has spoken seriously to Leelanund Singh who, though so famous a litigant is, in his manner and bearing, a simple noble native zamindar, apparently amenable to influence. He promises, and the Lt.-Governor hopes, really intends to moderate his demands and check his farmers in which case His Honour trusts that no immediate trouble is impending in that quarter.

"As regards the Sonthal Pergunnahs, the Lt.-Governor does not doubt that if the law must take its course and we do not intervene on behalf of the people it would be necessary to make some show of military force. True, something might be done by influence on the zamindars, and the Bengalees have some dread of the Sonthals that in the absence of very special protection they might not at present agree to press their claim very far; but there always may be, as there have been, some who would push things to extreme, and the expectations of the Sonthals being now reasonably excited, this would probably cause disturbance which might be serious. On the

other hand, if we support the landlords by military force they will be far less likely to be moderate and forbearing.

"On the whole the Lt.-Governor ventures to presume that after all that has passed, and seeing how much the course which he has followed has led the people of the Sonthal Pergunnahs to expect redress of some sort, the Government of India will not deem it advisable to let things remain as they are; and the Lt.-Governor will anxiously await a decision as to the course which should be followed.

"There would be many difficulties in the preparation of a special law providing for all cases, many difficulties in passing, and many difficulties in making it effective, when passed, for the benefit of such people as the Sonthals, and the Lt.-Governor ventures strongly to urge the deputation of a more general deregularising law of the same character as that passed in 1855 as proposed in the 13th paragraph of this letter."

The letter of Mr. Rivers Thompson was accompanied with a report from the Commissioner of Sonthal Pergunnahs, with enclosures. The letter of J. W. Dalrymple, Commissioner of Sonthal Pergunnahs, was dated Camp-Monghyr, the 18th November, 1871. The Commissioner forwarded a lengthy report of Mr. Brownwood, Deputy Commissioner of Sonthal Pergunnahs, and copy of a petition from a number of the zamindars in that district who were apprehensive that the Deputy Commissioner's report may lead to legislative and other measures prejudicial to their interest.

The Commissioner had pointed out that the main complaints of the Sonthals were that many of their *manjees* or headmen had been deprived of their villages, because they did not agree on the expiry of the leases to renew it on exorbitant rent and that the villages had been leased at these enhanced rents to strangers who have rack-rented them. In some cases the *manjees* had agreed to exorbitant terms and had been obliged to levy excessive rents on Sonthals as well.

The Commissioner had pointed out that Sir George Yule who had organised administration in the Pergunnahs was of the opinion that the zamindars had a legal right to enhance the rents on *manjees* at pleasure on the expiry of the leases. The Commissioner doubted this opinion of Sir G. Yule and the judicial decision to that effect of Mr. Money, his predecessor. All this had led to considerable excitement among the Sonthals at Hundwah in later years.

The Commissioner agreed with the Deputy Commissioner that all the *manjees* or headmen of the villages founded by first clearing of the jungles should be declared to have had rights of occupancy and should be restored to their villages. But a very large proportion of the *manjees* did come under these category. After the Sonthal insurrection when nearly every village was deserted many Sonthals returned not to their original clearing but to some other, and to a new zamindar with whom they had no quarrel. The Commissioner thought that it was undesirable that villages that Sonthals inhabit should be leased to others than Sonthal headmen and he considered that these should get back their villages and they should do so after the existing leases have run out. The Commissioner also recommended that it should be enacted that in future no Sonthal *manjee* should be turned out of his village without an order of court.

The Commissioner agreed with the Deputy Commissioner that except in the case of some estates owned and farmed by European gentlemen rents were not excessive; but if the improvements made by the Sonthals be taken into account they are too high. The rates in some parts were beyond doubt too high for Sonthals. It was decided by the Government that full effect to Act XXXVII of 1855 should be given to Sonthal Pergunnahs. The consequences of this would be that neither previous regulations and Acts nor those subsequently passed have any effect in the Sonthal Pergunnahs unless they are either expressly mentioned or have been introduced by a separate order of Government. The Governor-General in Council entirely agrees that something must be done to remove the Pergunnahs from the operations of the laws applicable generally to the lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. It was thought that the best mode of effecting this object was to bring the Pergunnahs within the scope of Act XXXIII, Chapter 3 of Victoria. The idea was to put all the non-regulation parts in India under XXXIII, Vic. Cap 3 and ask the local Governments to frame rules for them.

The Memorandum of observations on these papers referred to E. C. B. on the 6th July, 1871 mentions "the substantial difficulty is, however, greater and it seems quite clear if the Sonthals were once driven into rebellion by the energetic money lenders, then the energy of "English enterprise" and the glorious uncertainty of English laws are likely to terminate even more speedily in the same result..... If, on the other hand, administration is to be paper administration with the object of applying theoretical perfections of law to savage habit the practical remonstrance of the savage at resulting injustice will be, as before, rebellion."

On 10th July 1871 the Lt.-Governor entered a very strongly worded memorandum. He wrote that it was hardly possible to believe that such things could have taken place under the very eyes of a series of Commissioners of Bhagaulpore and they were not brought to the notice of the late Lt.-Governor on the spot and this system of oppression should be allowed to go on since at least 1862 without ever having been made known to the Government of India. Sir C. C. Beadon was held to have made a mistake and by his extraordinary conduct by one stroke of pen, he appeared to have reversed the policy that was laid down for the Sonthal Pergunnahs after the insurrection and the Lt.-Governor found his conduct inexplicable. The Lt.-Governor in the course of the memorandum mentioned. "There can hardly be found a greater instance of keener and more diabolical oppression having been practised and of those practised on an estate leased by our own Court of Wards..... It is almost too horrible to think that the same people who rebelled in 1855 should be again driven into insurrection and that there is more than a probability that we shall be obliged to order our military troops to go out and shoot poor ignorant Sonthals who have certainly the balance of right on their side."

The Lt.-Governor mentioned in very strong words that he was prepared to break every lease that had been made by the Court of Wards and he was prepared to take the strongest precautions to prevent these oppressions from extending into the *Damin* and the other portions of the Pergunnahs. He mentioned that he was prepared to separate the Sonthals at once from the Division of Bhagaulpore and to extend at once the provision of the Act of Parliament of last year to the whole of this district and that he was prepared to place the ablest and most determined officers they can find in the non-regulation districts of India, in charge of the Pergunnahs. His Excellency also mentioned that he was prepared to support steps, however strong to stop these inequalities.

The Members of the Council entirely agreed with His Excellency and one of them J. F. S. mentioned that he regarded the Advocate General's opinion on which these proceedings were founded as altogether absurd.

As a result the Commissioner of Bhagaulpore and Sonthal Pergunnahs was informed in no. 4957, dated the 9th October, 1871, by the officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal that after consideration and consultation with the Government of India the Lt.-Governor was of opinion that the letter no. 2656 of the 11th April, 1863 declared in effect with Act XXXVII of 1855 was

unconstitutional and limiting its application was founded by mistake.*

The Secretary of State in his Despatch (no. 40, dated London, the 4th October, 1871) to the Government of India expressed the hope that the Lt.-Governor would be able to introduce a system of administration more in unison with the peculiar character of the Sonthal population than that which now existed.†

Administrative History

The subsequent history which followed the Santal Rebellion is almost administrative and is more or less, associated with the names of successive Deputy Commissioners. Ashley Eden as stated before was the first Deputy Commissioner of the district. He was succeeded in 1856 by River Thompson. His successor William Robinson held office from 1858 to 1860, and was responsible for the abolition of the *Kamiya* system. He was succeeded in 1860 by one of the uncovenanted assistants, Browne Wood who held the office till 1873. The period from 1856 to 1873 was important for various administrative measures that have been covered earlier.

From 1873 to 1879 when Browne Wood was employed in carrying out the first settlement operations of the district, John Boxwell officiated as the Deputy Commissioner. During his time, in 1874-75 there was a certain amount of unrest arising partly from the excitement attending the settlement operations and partly from the Kharwar movement. Two ring leaders of the movement were Bhagirath Manjhi and Gyan Parganait. They were imprisoned, and as a further precautionary measure, additional police were sent to the district and a wing of the 4th Native Infantry from Bhagalpur was posted at Dumka.

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*By Home Department Judicial Proceedings, April 1872, no. 21 "it was resolved, that the proposal of the Government of India, that the provision of Act 33, Vic., Cap., 3, be extended to that part of the Presidency of Fort William which is called the Santhal Pargunnahs, be approved, and take effect from the 15th March, 1872." (The document is in the National Archives of India, Delhi.)

Home Department (Judicial) Peoceedings. 20th January, 1872, nos. 38, 39.

Home Department (Judicial) Proceedings, May, 1872, no. 61, no. 83, no. 64, no. 66, no. 67.

Also Home Department (Judicial) Proceedings, A-2 September 1871, nos. 46-47

Home Department (Judicial) Proceedings, August, 1873, no. 42.

Home Department (Judicial) Proceedings, March, 1875. no. 109.
(gives the story of Bhagrut Majhi).

Home Department (Judicial) Proceedings, September, 1875, nos. 141-142, 142-144.

†Home Department (Judicial) Proceedings, 11th November, 1871, no. 20.

The next Deputy Commissioner was W. B. Oldham who held office for five years from 1879 to 1884. It was during his time that in 1880-81 there was a revival of the Kharwar movement, which gave much trouble during the preparations for the census of 1881. The Subdivisional Officer of Dumka was besieged in his tent by a mob for a whole night, the subdivisional bungalow at Jamtara was burnt down, and Mr. Casserat, the officer-in-charge of the census of the Damin-i-Koh, was surprised and taken prisoner at Katikund.

After the completion of the census operations of 1881 W.B. Oldham, with a view to improve the administration and to break up the clannish feeling among the Santals to which the disturbances of 1880-81 were attributed, submitted proposals for the extension of the police system on the model of the existing in the Deoghar subdivision to the zamindari portions of the subdivisions of Godda, Pakaur and Rajmahal. His proposals were fully approved by G. N. Barlow, the Commissioner and Munro, Inspector-General of Police. The proposals were approved by Government in letter no. 270-J., dated the 31st July, 1882.*

Oldham was succeeded after a brief interval by Carstairs who held office from 1886 to 1900. During his tenure the Regulation II of 1886, Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893 which was subsequently amended by Regulation III of 1899 and the Santal Parganas Rural Police Regulation III of 1900 were passed into law. It was declared by Government in Nolan's letter no. 86-T.R., dated the 6th October, 1887, † that the occupancy rights were not saleable except when expressly recorded at the settlement.

His successor C. H. Bompas held office from 31st October, 1900 to 1st February, 1906. During his tenure of office many important questions connected with the administration of the district and of the Damin-i-Koh were passed in review, the discussions raised by the settlement operations resulting in three important amendments of the Santal Parganas Settlement and Rent Regulations, viz., Regulation II of 1904, III of 1907 and III of 1908. He also introduced the system of grain-*golas* in the Damin and subsequently into the Wards estates. Bompas was succeeded by H. W. P. Scroope who remained there till 1st April, 1910.

The next Deputy Commissioner was Allanson who after completion of the settlement operations succeeded Scroope and held office till the 14th October, 1912. It was on the recommendation of Allanson which was strongly recommended by E. H. C. Walsh,

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**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938) by S. C. Mukherji.
† *Ibid.*

the Commissioner that the settlement of the unsettled Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal was sanctioned by Government in December, 1912. The details of the survey and settlement operations have been covered in the chapter on the Revenue Administration.

H. R. T. S. Perrot succeeded Allanson. His tenure of the Deputy Commissionership was from 11th December, 1913 to 31st March, 1917. Perrot was succeeded by E. Lister, E. R. J. R. Cousins and Tanner each of whom was in charge of the district for short periods. Tanner was succeeded by A. C. Davies who held charge of the district from 7th December, 1920 to 31st August, 1922. He was made the Settlement Officer of the Revision Settlement Operation which was started in 1922 and concluded in 1935.

R. E. Russell succeeded Davies and was in charge of district from 19th October, 1922 to 24th February, 1926. Russell made a thorough enquiry into the position of village headmen and the possible ways of improving it. His recommendations were approved in Government, Revenue Department letter no. 384-III P-3/24/RT, dated 11th July, 1924 and Regulation VII of 1925 was promulgated. Rule 8-A was added to the Santal Civil Rules and the form of annual quittance receipts to be granted by the zamindars to the *Pradhans* was prescribed. The Santal Civil Rules were revised during the time of Russel. He was succeeded by E. S. Hoernle who held charge of the district from 1st April, 1927 to 16th October, 1932. Santal Civil Rules 39 and 41 were revised during his time. Hoernle was an old settlementarian associated with the Revisional Settlement Operations. Hoernle was succeeded by S. C. Mukherji who held charge of the district from 17th October, 1932 to 3rd November, 1936. He was the first Indian to become the Deputy Commissioner of this district. It was during his time that the Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893 was amended by Regulation IV of 1933 which provided empowering Magistrates of the First Class subordinate to Deputy Commissioner to exercise powers under section 30 of Criminal Procedure Code, and also to hear appeals that lie to the Deputy Commissioner. Regulation III of 1872 was also amended by Regulation I of 1934 prohibiting decrees being passed by any court for the sale of the right of a raiyat in his holding or any portion thereof and also empowering the local Government to make rules regulating the cutting, removal and sale of *sabai* grass, timber and other forest produce in and from the Sauria Paharia hills. It was Mukherji who edited the revised *District Gazetter of Santal Parganas* in 1938. In 1938 the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee was constituted to review the problems connected with the administration. The Committee made a number of recommendations, most of which was

accepted by the Government. Russel who was once the Deputy Commissioner of the district was the Chairman of this Committee. Shri Binodanand Jha and Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, the Ex-Chief Minister and the present Chief Minister were members of this Committee.

Regulation V of 1893 was further amended by Regulation III of 1940 and was brought into force on the 1st January, 1943. Regulation V of 1893 was subsequently amended by Regulation I of 1947 by which criminal justice of the district was placed under the superintendence of the High Court and the judicial control of the Commissioner over the criminal courts was withdrawn. Separate judgeship was created for the district in 1947. The police administration of the district underwent a great change with the establishment of the regular police-stations in the Damin areas. All this has been covered in the text on 'Law, Order and Justice'.

There was some tension in the district in 1956 when the States Reorganisation Commission held their deliberations. There was no change so far as this district is concerned.

Freedom Movement

The history of the recent freedom movement in Santal Parganas has its roots in the past. The physiography of the district has helped to nurse the spirit of abandon and freedom in the minds of the people. The original settlers, the Sauria Malers were a freedom loving people and when they were pushed back by the more advanced Santals they retired to the hill tops where they could live an uninterrupted life and wedded to their traditions. The inhabitants were intensely conservative and freedom loving. When they found that their freedom and their social and religious customs were tampered with they murmured and they actively agitated. That is why, the earlier British administrators like Captain Brooke, General Barker, Captain Browne and Mr. Cleveland had tried to introduce peace and stability by following a policy of conciliation and consolidation. Mr. Sutherland and Mr. Ward in the first quarter of the 19th century followed a tactful policy which was continued by Mr. Pontet. Mr. Pontet was a friend of the Santals and did everything in his power to assist their settlements. The love of freedom of the Santals and their intense desire for free enjoyment of all which the labour can obtain from the unfertile soil was observed by Dr. Buchanan in the first quarter of the 19th century as well and by Captain Sherwill of the Revenue Survey who visited the Damin-i-Koh in 1851. The causes of the Santal Rebellion of 1855 have been indicated. It will be correct to say

that the cause of the disturbance was not merely agrarian discontent as H. Mcpherson in his Final Report of the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Santal Parganas (1898—1907) has observed:—

"The Sonthals were excluded from the working of Regulation I of 1827 and exposed to the rapacity of police and civil court underlings of Bhagalpur, working hand and glove with extortionate *mahajans* and outside the Damin-i-Koh, oppressive zamindars. Mr. Pontet had no police or magisterial powers and could not do much to protect them. When he attempted to interfere, he was snubbed. Although the officially ascertained causes of the rebellion were the grievances above related, it is now generally recognised that a deeper, or at any rate, a supervening cause was the Sonthal yearning for independence, a dread of the ancient days when they had no overlords, perhaps a memory of the pre-historic times when according to some speculators they were themselves masters of the Gangetic valley and had not yet been driven back by the Aryan invaders. Be that as it may, there has been observed at various times a peculiar movement amongst the Sonthals to which the name 'Kherwarsm' has been given. 'Kherwar', according to the Rev. Mr. Skrefsrud, 'is the ancient tribal name of the Sonthals, and in their minds his inseparably associated with the golden era of their history, namely, the time when they lived in Champa in absolute independence and had no rent or tribute to pay, but only to bring a small annual offering to their leaders in virtue of their office'. Ordinarily Sonthals are quiet and contended, but when any grievance rankles in their minds, the spirit of unrest arises and their leaders or self-interested agitators appeal to the ancient traditions of the race and the hope of independence. On this subject Mr. Oldham writes:—"It (the yearning for independence) is not the popularly received cause of the insurrection of 1855; but after reading all the correspondence connected with the introduction of the Sonthals into the Damin-i-Koh, and its administration by Mr. Pontet, till the rising, the large part which this idea and hope played in that outbreak becomes plain to my mind. The movement so originated drew to it all those whose patriotism was stimulated by the recollection of their suffering at the hands of the usurers and the police; but the fundamental idea at work and that which was attempted to be put in practice was the establishment of a Sonthal realm and kingdom".

As a result of the Santal rebellion the district of Santal Parganas was created. In the movement of 1857 the Santals as a class did not join as they had been only too recently repulsed. Nevertheless the 1857 movement did affect the district as has been already indicated. The Wahabi Movement with its centre in Patna

also had some repercussion on the district of Santal Parganas. A detachment of two Companies of the 32nd N.I. while proceeding from Barhait in the Rajmahal subdivision to the headquarters of the Regiment at Suri (now in the Birbhum district) had mutinied on the way at Rampurhat (now in the Birbhum district). Mobarak Ali became the principal leader of the Wahabi Movement at Patna after the removal of Ahmudullah the rebel Magistrate in Patna and Yahya Ali.* One Ibrahim Mandal was the chief disciple of Mobarak Ali at Santal Parganas and he used to be visited from time to time by Wahabi emissaries. Several arrests had been made in Santal Parganas in connection with the Wahabi Movement.

The Indian National Congress Movement started in 1885 does not appear to have had much effect on the district of Santal Parganas till the end of the 19th century. Cultured middle class Bengalees from Calcutta and its neighbourhood colonised the district, particularly the townships of Deoghar, Jasidih, Madhupur, Karmatanr, etc. Santal Parganas was then a part of Bengal and in close connection with the districts of Birbhum and Midnapur. A number of Bengalees with very advanced views started settling down at these places or used to come and stay a considerable part of the year because of the more salubrious climate. Some of them were Sri Raj Narayan Bose, the maternal grandfather of Sri Aurobindo Ghose and Sri Barindra Kumar Ghose, Sri Krishna Kumar Mitra, the veteran Editor of the Bengali paper *Sanjibani* (who was detained later with Lala Lajpat Rai and others without trial), Sri Sisir Kumar Ghose, Editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghose of *Basumati* and Sri Bhupendra Dutta. These men and their associates were at the vanguard of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal in the first decade of the 20th century and their active association with Santal Parganas encouraged Swadeshism in the district. A few of them were actively associated with the revolutionary fighters for freedom. Aurobindo Ghose used to spend long spells at Rohini village near Deoghar along with his brother Barindra Kumar Ghose and other friends. In the famous Alipur Bomb Case it was disclosed that a few revolutionary young Bengalees used to make bombs in a house known as Sill's Lodge and experiment on the bombs at a hill in the neighbourhood. After the arrest of Sri Aurobindo Ghose and his associates the house where he lived at Rohini village was searched and it was alleged that a number of arms and ammunition were found. In the Alipur Bomb Case there was an important witness from Rohini village who, however, denied any knowledge of the youngmen making bombs and experiments. One

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*"*Inside Bihar*" by P. C. Roy Choudhury (1962).
"*Freedom Movement in Bihar*" by Dr. K. K. Datta, Vol. I.

Sakharam Ganesh Deoskar, belonging to a Marathi family long settled at Karun village in the Deoghar subdivision was a scholar, patriot and writer. Sri Bhupendra Dutta and others were disciples of Sri Deoskar. The Sedition Committee Report (1918) mentions about the association of this district with the revolutionary movement. In the Rodda Arms Case concerning theft of pistols, consigned to Rodda and Company, a firm of gun-makers in Calcutta, Sri Prabhu Dayal Himat Singka was an accused. Some details of this case will be found in Dr. K. K. Datta's *"Freedom Movement in Bihar."**

There is no doubt that the ground was well prepared in the district by these pioneers of freedom movement for receiving the message of Gandhiji. His non-violent non-cooperation movement had a special significance for this district which had nursed quite a few young Bengalee revolutionaries who had fearlessly played with bombs and blood. The district and particularly the intelligentsia had started wondering whether the gospel of revolution through fire-arms could bring independence when the message of Gandhiji came as a soothing balm and the district quickly rallied round him.

In Santal Parganas the movement was, in a way, led by young students some of whom have now become prominent in public life. The students of the Jamtara H. E. School boycotted the school on the 31st January, 1921 in response to Gandhiji's call. The boys of the Deoghar H. E. School met and passed a resolution demanding a National School there. †

The movement quickly spread to Madhupur, Jamtara and Sahibganj and from these townships it spread to the villages. Young volunteers, and one of them was Pandit Binodanand Jha, used to carry loads of *khaddar* cloth on their head and hawk it in the villages and in the towns. Sahibganj which was taken to be a disturbed centre in January, 1922 owing to a strike of Eastern Railway was visited by the armed police and the Deputy Commissioner and drastic steps were taken. A number of persons were arrested and sentenced under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

From 1923 onwards the Congress movement in its various phases had active support in Santal Parganas. The district gave considerable help in 1923 and 1924 when the Swarajya Party was

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*"*Freedom Movement in Bihar*" by Dr. K. K. Datta, pp. 119-120, Vol. I.

†It may be noted that the ex-Chief Minister of Bihar Pandit Binodanand Jha and the present Chief Minister of West Bengal Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen were both students of Deoghar H. E. School and had taken their first lessons in freedom's fight while students there.

organised and elections were held. Several of the Swarajya Party candidates were returned from this district. Another plan of the movement was the anti-liquor move and it was quite a success at some places.

Gandhiji's first visit was at Deoghar in 1925. In the meetings he wanted that there should be a persistent agitation among the Santals against the drink habit and wanted the spread of the *Charkha* work. He visited a number of places in this district including Kharagdeha and Madhupur. At Madhupur he performed the opening ceremony of the Town Hall and visited the local national school.

There was the usual repression throughout the district when the peaceful meetings were broken up by the police and Congress office was searched. Arrests and processions were quite common from 1926 onwards. Even social reform work was thwarted.

At the time of Salt Satyagraha the Santal Parganas too gave a considerable support. The convictions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Sri J. M. Sen Gupta strengthened the Congress movement in the district and a series of meetings were held at Madhupur, Sarwan, Dakhusia, Babhangama, etc. By this time Pandit Binodanand Jha had set himself in organising the entire district and raising volunteers and this stood through the very stern measures taken by the State Government to crush the Civil Disobedience Movement from 1930 onwards. A number of the leaders were prosecuted and a few Santals were also convicted.

Later political events and their impact on the Santal Parganas district were almost on the same pattern the story of which has been covered at some length in Monghyr and other District Gazetteers. One incident, however, may be mentioned here to show that the leaders had not lost their balance. At the thick of the movement the Governor of the Province once visited Deoghar and there was a talk of a black flag demonstration against the Governor. The district authorities sent for Pandit Binodanand Jha who was leading the movement and requested him not to organise the black flag demonstration as the district wanted a lot of money from the Governor for development work. Pandit Binodanand Jha straightaway gave the assurance that no black flag demonstration would be held and he implemented it in spite of murmurs of discontent from his colleagues. Swami Sahajanand Saraswati toured in Santal Parganas in 1938 and propagated the Kisan movement for the improvement of lot of the cultivators. After the resignation of the first Congress Ministry on the 15th February, 1939 which was formed in 1937 there were strong Muslim

League activities in the areas of Rajmahal, Sahibganj and Borio. This was the first time that the Muslim League extended its activities to the Damin-i-Koh area. During the Individual Civil Disobedience in 1940, the Congress activities were on the increase in the Santal Parganas. Several persons were prosecuted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for offering Satyagraha. The National War Front became a flop as there was intense popular feeling against this State-sponsored movement to counteract the Congress activities. The Quit India Movement, followed by the August, 1942 Movement received support in this district. Hartals were observed and processions were taken out at various places. A large procession at Deoghar under the leadership of Pandit Binodanand Jha was broken up by the police, particularly when the volunteers attempted to hoist the National Flag on the Court building at Deoghar. On the 13th August the National Flag was hoisted on the building of the Courts at Godda.

As in other districts the movement from the 13th to 14th August, 1942, went underground and there were sabotages of railway lines, signal wires, telegraph and telephone lines, etc. A number of Government buildings at Madhupur, Jasidih and Deoghar and other places were damaged. The Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas visited Deoghar on the 15th August, 1942 with armed force and military police was posted at various places. But the movement went on unabated. The Congress flag was hoisted on the office of the Deputy Commissioner's Court buildings at Dumka where a large number of persons were arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules. Similar occurrences took place at various places in all the five subdivisions. At Dumka a very largely attended procession of school students, ladies and others was broken up on the 17th August, 1942 and 17 persons including two ladies were arrested. At several places in the district Government buildings, namely, Post Offices, police-stations were attacked and the Congress flag was hoisted. The military had to open fire at a number of places. The movement spread to the Santals and Paharias. On the 25th August, 1942 some of the Santals and Paharias organised themselves and burnt the Dak Bungalow and Forest Guard Quarters at Alubera and damaged the equipments at Alubera outstill.

Repressive measures were taken by the Administration. Special Criminal Courts were established. British platoons were deployed at Madhupur, Godda, Rajmahal and Jamtara. A contingent of Anti-tank Company was posted at Dumka. A platoon of battery was also sent to Dumka. The death of Shri Trigunanda Khabare through firing produced great consternation and a wave of unrest swept throughout the district. A strong military force was sent to

Deoghar under an officer who was to be in charge of Deoghar, Jasidih and Madhupur along with the villages on the railway lines. Madhupur and Jhajha (in Monghyr district) were important railway stations and had to be given protection so that the railway communication in northern area was kept open and free military movement could take place.

Within a few days of the starting of the 1942 movement a number of persons who were leading the movement like Pandit Binodanand Jha, Gouri Shankar Dalmia and Chhabilal Jha had been arrested. It is estimated that the total number of arrests in the district was 890 and 588 persons were imprisoned while four persons were sentenced to whipping.*

From the end of 1943 the Congress took up a constructive policy and Government repressive measures were slightly relaxed. After the Second World War came to an end in the month of September, 1945 the ban on the Congress was removed and most of the political prisoners were released. The leaders of the district started a constructive programme and Khadi industries were started at various places. The political trends were on the same pattern all over the State.

Elections both to the Central and Provincial Assemblies were held. As the Congress candidates were returned in overwhelming numbers to the Provincial Assembly, a Congress Ministry was formed again with Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha as the Chief Minister in 1946. On the 15th August, 1947, India became independent. When the new constitution was promulgated in 1950, India became a Republic.

Excluding the election of 1946, three elections have been held so far and the Congress has continued to be the majority party and has been in power. The Congress Ministry has taken up a large number of developmental projects and economic measures for the fulfilment of the objective of a Welfare State. A lot of work has been done during the last two Five-Year Plans, and the Third Five-Year Plan programme has now been taken up. The Chief Minister of the State, Dr. S. K. Sinha died in January, 1961 and had been succeeded by Pandit B. N. Jha—a man of this district who had been associated with the Congress movement since his youth. Pandit Binodanand Jha was chosen the leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature after the death of Dr. S. K. Sinha and he continued to be the Chief Minister till the elections were held again in 1962. Pandit B. N. Jha was again chosen as the leader and continued to be the Chief Minister till October, 1963

*"*Freedom Movement in Bihar*" by Dr. K. K. Datta.

when his resignation in furtherance of the Kamaraj Plan was accepted by the Congress High Command. The leadership fell on Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, Minister of Planning and Co-operation and a Congressman since his early youth. Shri K. B. Sahay chose Shri Bariar Hembrom, a man from the Santal Parganas as a Minister. This is the first time (October, 1963) that a Santhal was chosen as a Minister since the Congress came to power.

APPENDIX TO HISTORY TEXT

No history of early administration of Santal Parganas could be complete without a separate reference to some of the pioneers who carved out Damin-i-Koh and stabilised the district of Santal Parganas. The very rare book of W. B. Oldham, I. C. S. "Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District (1894)" has references to some of them.* Oldham was once posted at Dumka and had studied the old records in Dumka Record Room. The records he had studied are now not available and whatever little remained were burnt down in an unfortunate fire that broke out in the Record Room three years back. Oldham's references to Cleveland, Pontet, Scott, Sutherland and Ward, are quoted *in extenso*. This gives a clear picture of how Damin-i-Koh was carved out and how the Santals were introduced to the district. It will also be of interest to quote Oldham's references to Belpatta, Santal and Stipends which will help in appreciating the early history of this district.

"Cleveland-Augustus—a very young Civil Servant, who in 1779 became Collector of Bhagalpur and succeeded Captain James Browne in charge of the Rajmahal Hills. To protect the hillmen he formed the Government Estate Damin-i-Koh, by taking the hill tracts out of the *zamindaris* to which they belonged. To complete it, he got *parganas* Ambar and Sultanabad from the old district Rajshahi, and *tappah* Belpatta from Birbhum transferred to him. He appointed stipends for the chiefs, made the hillmen absolutely rent-free, and raised local crops, the whole costing Rs. 55,000 *sicca* yearly, which he recouped by an additional assessment on the plains. He gave the hillmen a code for holding trials, and immunity from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. He did not know the difference between the Maler and the Mal, and was not acquainted with the south of the Damin-i-Koh. So he appointed stipends to the Sankara hills, though they were a regular *taluk*, and to Sundardihi, though it was outside his new *tappah* Belpatta. His measures went beyond what the circumstances required and were much more generous than just.

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* A copy of this rare book is in the National Library, Calcutta and was kindly loaned for a reference.

"Pontet—Mr. James Pontet was the senior Deputy Collector in Bengal, and in 1836 was appointed with the express object of settling Santals' Superintendent of the Damin-i-Koh. This word (q. v.) was for this appointment used in its most technical sense, for Mr. Pontet was to have nothing to do with the hills and hillmen, and with the working of Regulation I of 1796 (q. v.) but only with the culturable slopes and valleys. The distinction was impracticable, as some of the best arable land is on the flat hill tops. It was mischievous and had much to do with the Santal rebellion (v. Santal), for which Mr. Pontet was most unjustly blamed by Sir F. Halliday's Government. Mr. Pontet was the first to reach the scene of outbreak, where he was seized and conveyed to safety by the Santals themselves, as they could not answer for their young man, once massacre began. He was removed soon after from the Superintendentship, and died broken-hearted in 1857. There is no name so revered among the Santals as that of Ponteen, as they call him, and they delight to tell of his constant care for them, his justness, his incorruptibility (which was exposed to much temptation), and his scrupulous dealings with themselves for the supplies they brought him. Yet his position was very weak, and would have been altogether untenable but for the support given to him by the Board of Revenue. He had no criminal powers. The police used to harass him, and successive young Magistrates of Bhagalpur to snub and thwart him, while he always stood in well-founded dread of the Civil Courts whose action was the real proximate cause of the Santal rebellion. He was somewhat inarticulate. His first duty was to ascertain Mr. Ward's (q. v.) boundaries, and in doing so he became conscious that the Resumption Commissioner of the day had decreed to *pargana* Ambar (q. v.) the whole of *tappah* Sumarpal (q. v.) which Cleveland had taken from it in 1781 to form his Damin-i-Koh. He at once wrote a strong and not grammatical protest direct to the Resumption Commissioner, and though the error was afterwards rectified, he never recovered from the rebukes showered on him from all sides for his presumption. He raised the revenue of the Damin-i-Koh from a minus quantity to Rs. 80,000 annually which has since risen to nearly two lakhs; and he performed the feat of dividing it into *mauzas* and fiscal areas corresponding with *parganas* which he called bungalows; and this without the aid of a map, though it has been found quite possible to map his divisions with accuracy. Owing to his being severed from charge of the hillmen, he was ignorant of their existing fiscal divisions, with which his bungalow areas do not correspond."

"*Scott—Mr. David.*—A young Civil Servant, afterwards distinguished in Northern Bengal and Assam, who was sent to settle the *Ghatwals* of Sarath-Deoghar in 1813. He was well treated by them, for his report describes them as a manly race, surrounded

by 'numerous armed retainers', whose police arrangements were quite adequate. He revised, by compromises, their quit-rents, and his memoranda of these, with his report, are the only records of his settlement which was confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814. In 1879 Sarath-Deoghar was found with greatly increased revenues and inhabitants, with a comparatively criminal population and with a far more inadequate rural police than any area in the district. Search began to be made for the 'numerous armed retainers' described by Mr. Scott, and for means for enforcing the *ghatwals'* obligations. In the course of the enquiry the aged Bhuinhar Ghatwal of Bawanganwa (v. Sarath-Deoghar) was examined. He remembered Amin Scott Sahib's visit well, and gave valuable testimony as to the conditions which Mr. Scott thought adequate. They then began to be enforced."

"*Sutherland—Mr. James.*—A Civil Servant who in 1818 was sent to enquire into the charges made against Abdul Rasul Khan, the Hill Sazawal, Cleveland's lieutenant and successor in the Damin-i-Koh and also to examine and report on that territory. The report was submitted in 1819, but owing to the troubles with the Pindaris, and then with Burma, which ended in the war, orders were not passed on it till 1825 (v. Stipends). These orders resulted in Mr. Ward's being deputed to demarcate the territory. Mr. Sutherland's report was not printed till 1882, and then without editing and with many mistakes. It is a most graphic and interesting report as far as it goes, but it was not complete. It omits the Colgong (q. v.) hills, though Cleveland's stipends for them continued to be paid up till 1881. The extraordinary position of Sankara (q. v.) had been established, but Mr. Sutherland barely notices it, and left out altogether the hill territory to its south and west as far as Sundardihi in what was then Birbhum. Mr. Ward, who thought the whole hill system absurd, took advantage of these omissions to ignore all these hills in his demarcation."

"*Ward—The Honourable John Petty.*—The self-willed and autocratic officer who demarcated the Damin-i-Koh in the years 1826 to 1833, and greatly curtailed it (v. Sutherland). Mr. Ward, who was a brother of the third Viscount Bangor, came to India in the Civil Service in 1810. He was a very able officer, and his style of writing, which is either graphic or incisive, stands out in strong contrast with the prolixity and rhetorical flourishes of the other correspondence. His views too were in advance of his time, and though contemptuously expressed, were distinguished by strong common-sense and have been or would be all accepted since and now. He had no sympathy with Cleveland's measures (which though by a succession of accidents continued to this day, were only intended as provisional by Cleveland himself); he wrote without hesitation of the 'preposterous claims of the *Paharias*'

and he curtailed the Damin-i-Koh to the smallest possible limits, and obtained the passing of Regulation I of 1827, to replace Regulation I of 1796 which made such instances as the Sankara case possible (v. Sankara). Finally, in the teeth of the Government orders, he introduced the Santals (v. Santal). A valuable piece of work done by Mr. Ward while engaged on the demarcation was an inquiry into and report on the *ghatwalis* of Bhagalpur, of which there were at least three kinds. The fact of Mr. Ward's work after his retirement being so discredited probably accounts for the neglect of this report. Had it been regarded, the Bengal Government a few years later could not have incurred the scathing comments passed on it by the Privy Council in the famous appeal of Raja Khadir Ali (q. v.) in 1845. In 1884 a reference to this report was made, and it could not then be found in the records of the Bengal Office. There is an unattested and defective copy of it in the Dumka Record Room.*

The great differences in the method and records of the demarcation of the Damin-i-Koh need accounting for. Mr. Ward began the work in Manihari (q. v.) in 1826, and placed his first pillar a few miles south of Pirpainti, now a railway station, and worked thence, to the north and east. Each step of the first and second seasons' work is recorded with the utmost care, and the reports contain many interesting references to the local history. It was in this part of the work that the Colgong (q. v.) hills were cut off, with no report of this action (v. Sutherland), and with no interference with the stipends (v. Stipends), with the payment of which Mr. Ward in his special capacity has nothing to do. Then occurs a vast hiatus which has never been satisfactorily filled. Mr. Ward was sent to Purnea to enquire into a grave scandal affecting the Judge of that district. In 1830 he was appointed to be Commissioner of Aligarh, but did not join that appointment. His report on *ghatwalis* shows him to have been engaged in the west of South Bhagalpur and Monghyr, and in 1830 he was Magistrate of Bhagalpur. In 1832 the Government awoke to the fact that not a fourth of the demarcation work had been done, though Mr. Ward's establishment was still retained solely for it. Explanations, recriminations, and censure followed, and the Board of Revenue deservedly came in for the greatest share of the last. The brand new Commissioner of Bhagalpur sought to make Mr. Ward answerable, but after the latter's reply, which is the most contemptuously insubordinate document, considering the position of the writer, which I have seen, there is no record of blame being affixed to him till after his retirement in 1834, when it became abundant. He was, however, ordered, to complete his proceedings

* This is not available now. (P.C.R.C.)

forthwith, and the remainder of them appear from the map, which is their only record, to have been done by a few strokes of the pen. On the east the line was drawn straight as the crow flies through Ambar and Sultanabad, severing many a hill and Paharia village, till it reached the Brahmini river. This was followed as the southern boundary, cutting off the Ramgarh and Sankara hills without a word of report, and as before, leaving them with their stipends, and then taken in a bee line north till it rejoined pillar no. 1. The Ambar Brahmans made no sign, but in 1837 obtained from the Resumption Commissioner a decree for the whole of Sumarpal (q. v.), thus absolutely ignoring Mr. Ward's imaginary line. Had they not so overreached themselves, they could have given much trouble about it. The proprietress of Sultanabad was an infant, and her husband, the late Maharaja Gopal Chandra Singh, a boy. Afterwards, while still a lad, he gave Mr. Pontet much assistance in securing Mr. Ward's line, which had given him several Paharia villages and an unexpected slice of territory west of the hills (v. Sultanabad), and this part of the line has always stood without dispute. Birbhum, of course, with so large an area restored to it, made no objection. Nevertheless in 1887 Mr. Pontet found it impossible to ascertain whether Mr. Ward's line northward had started from the Brahmini, or the Eru which flows into it, and Sumar Singh (q. v.) had taken possession of the country between these two rivers. The point was decided on finding that this strip of country belonged to Marpal (q. v.). The Raja of Hendue was astounded at finding a strip of the Sultanabad *zamindari* interposed between part of his territory and the hills. Since the defection of the Kumarpal Paharias to Sultanabad, he had reason to fear that powerful house, but the line bordering Hendue has given much trouble since. The Bhuiyas of Passai were still full of gratitude for their release from the domination of Kharakpur (v. Lachmipur), and accepted the line. North of Passai to pillar no. 1 a fairly good-natural boundary exists, but like most of the lines, except the Sultanabad portion, that bit had to be redemarcated in 1868. In 1882 the spaces between the pillars were planted or sown with palmyra palms, and for some lengths with excellent results. Mr. Ward retired in much disgust in 1834."

"*Belpatta.*—A huge *tappah* of the Pathan Raj of Birbhum, now one of the Santal Parganas.

Transferred from Birbhum to Bhagalpur in 1781 at Cleveland's instance to complete his system of protecting hillmen.

Was included in Cleveland's Damin-i-Koh, but was for the greater part severed from it by Mr. J. P. Ward between 1826 and 1833.

Contains the hill *tappahs* Marpal and Danrpal, still in the Damin-i-Koh.

Contains the Mal state Sankara.

And large ranges of hills to the south, held by Paharias (Mal) who have disappeared since Mr. Ward's proceedings."

"*Santal or Sontal.*—This word is generally spelt in vernacular Saontal or Saontar, v. Samanta. A Kolarian tribe, the first mention of which in English records known to me occurs in Sutherland's report of 1818 (v. Sutherland). He met a few individuals of the tribe whom he calls Soutars on the extreme southern edge of the present Daman-i-Koh, and notes their celebrity as hard-working 'farmers'. There were none of them in the Daman-i-Koh. Ten years later Mr. Ward reported their presence in large numbers on the west face of the Daman-i-Koh, and was desired to examine their spokesmen and ascertain who they were. A number of depositions are appended to the report given by him in compliance. All are to the same effect, that they had left and were still leaving Singhbhum because of the disturbances there, and only sought waste lands which they might clear for rice cultivation for which they would pay rent. No orders were passed on this report; but in 1832 Mr. Ward, without authority, and in the teeth of the orders of Government which reserved the Daman-i-Koh for its existing residents, settled four Santal villages in its Godda *pargana* and assessed them to rents aggregating Rs. 3,000. Of this he boasted when his demarcation business was wound up in 1833, but it remained unnoticed. In 1836, on the recommendation of Mr. Dunbar, then Collector of Bhagalpur, and afterwards a Member of the Board of Revenue Mr. James Pontet (q. v.) was appointed to be a Deputy Collector and Superintendent of the Daman-i-Koh in the strictest sense of that word (v. Daman-i-Koh), in order to have it cleared and cultivated by Santals, who thenceforward began to pour into it from the south and west. The fatal mistake was made of excluding them from the system provided by Regulation I of 1827 (q. v.), and they became a prey to the local police and Civil Courts and to the money-lenders from Bhojpur who settled among them, while outside the Daman-i-Koh they were similarly oppressed by the *zamindars*. They were also ill-treated by the underlings of the railway then being constructed to Rajmahal. So in July, 1855 they rose in bloody rebellion which began close to Barhait, the capital of the Daman-i-Koh, and extended to all the immigrant Santals of Bhagalpur, Birbhum, Eastern Hazaribagh and Northern Manbhum, but did not affect the old settled Santals to the south and west. The cry of the revolters was death to the police, to the *mahajans*, to the Civil Court officers, to the railway *sahibs*, and to the *zamindars*; in particular to Sumar Singh (q. v.),

the Paharia Raja or *talukdar* of Sankara, whose natural death just then saved him from a worse fate. Some members of all the other classes were either killed by arrows or hewn to pieces. On two occasions British columns were overwhelmed and cut to pieces by the insurgents, whose tactics were those of the Zulu in 1879, and whose deadliest weapons were their axes. They sustained, however, a crushing defeat at Sangrampur from a wing of the Paharia Hill Ranger Corps commanded by Captain Fagan. Some 8,000 troops were subsequently employed ; the hills were hemmed in, and it is estimated that 10,000 Santals perished in the operations. The Paharias were levied against them, though it subsequently appeared that for the most part they had befriended the refugee insurgents. The revolt was speedily put down and the elder of the two brothers who had originally headed it was hanged by Mr. Pontet at Barhait.

The word Kharwar (q.v.) does not appear in the records of this time. Colonel Dalton had heard of it before 1872, and in 1871 our officers became aware of a revivalist movement among the Santals,the adherents of which were calling themselves Kharwar. This movement, which is still in progress, has given much trouble from time to time since, and was prominent in the disturbances of 1880-81, when it was closely investigated by the present writer. The accounts given varied, but were unanimous that Kharwar was the old name of the Santal, and that, when they were Kharwar, they were self-governed race and had not to pay rent for the land which they had made productive. But the new Kharwar also affected Hinduism. They, called themselves Safa Hor, or the pure men, and an individual's full title was Ram Hindu Kharwar. Their deity was the goddess of Mandar (q.v.), and they eschewed pigs, fowls as well as alcohol, though they used *ganja* in its place. The explanation of this phase was that the Santal or Kharwa had never been able to attain prosperity or prominence while keeping to their animistic faith while the Bhuiya had preserved their greatness by becoming Hindu, and it was necessary for the Santal to do likewise.

It is not clear how far Mr. Risley in the "Tribes and Castes of Bengal" thinks the accounts of the later immigrations of the Santal to be authentic, or if he knew of Mr. Sutherland's and Mr. Ward's records on the subject. He observes that their recent movements have been, as might have been expected, to the east. It is to be added that they will not move, and are not found, beyond the laterite soil. For many years past they have crossed to Malda, but they will not settle there in spite of the attractions of its jungle. Attempts have frequently been made to settle them in the sub-Himalayan tracts which they visit as temporary labourers.

but languishes and requires considerable expenditure. The present writer has used their acquaintance with him to bring them over in large numbers to the Chittagong hills, but though offered virgin soil on the most favourable terms, with advances on which to start, they refused to settle or to engage for longer than a year, and for fear of being importuned they will not bring their bows or axes, or, while in these hills which swarm with game, engage in hunting at which they are incomparable.

As regards their seat before they were in Singhbhum and Silda, the main relevant fact we have is that the Damodar is to them what the Ganga is to the Hindu. The river is a long way from the Daman-i-Koh, and is remote from the nearest point to it of the Santal Parganas. Yet parties of Santals from the extreme north are often met journeying to cast into it the bones of some revered member of the tribe. Still more distant was the Damodar from Silda, and it is natural to believe that their traditions of Champa and of Chai are as accurate as their recollection of the Damodar and of the name Kharwar."

"*Stipend.*—The allowances granted by Cleveland to the chiefs of *parganas* (*Sardars*), their deputies (*Naibs*), and the headmen of hills (*Manjhis*), in his Daman-i-Koh. These stipends aggregated over Rs. 15,000 a year, and though Mr. Sutherland in 1818 pointed out that Cleveland had not meant them to be perpetual, and the Government in 1825 ordered them to be resumed as opportunity arose, they remained absolutely unchanged in amount till 1879, when they began to be resumed for misconduct, and not to be regranted to others as had been the practice. This practice was the consequence of the divided control over the Daman-i-Koh which prevailed from 1784, when Cleveland died, till 1872. His Sazawal and Lieutenant, Abdul Rasul Khan, had it till 1818. From 1826 till 1833 Mr. Ward had the demarcation, but not the internal control, and no one else went near it. From 1836 till 1856 Mr. Pontet had the valleys and the Magistrate of Bhagalpur the hills. From 1856 till 1872 it was controlled by the Sub-District Officers of Rajmahal, Godda, Pakur and Dumka, none of whom knew the history, while their Deputy Commissioner had become a purely judicial officer residing at Bhagalpur. Sir George Campbell put a stop to this state of things and made Dumka the capital of the Santal Parganas.

In 1882 I proposed a settlement with the Paharias. They were to get records of their property (of which they have none, a constant source of dispute and litigation) by a survey, and of their rights. The only records are of their privileges. In return they were to pay Rs. 12,000 to which the stipends had by them been reduced instead of Government's doing so by an assessment

which would have come to about an anna per acre. The Bengal Government assented to the scheme provided the Paharias would accept it. This they would not do."

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CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

Growth of Population

An experimental census was conducted in the Lower Provinces of Bengal by H. Beverley in 1869 and his report was published in 1870. In the district of Santal Parganas experimental enumerations were made both within and outside the Damin-i-Koh area. According to the "Report on the Experimental Census Operations" (page 105) the total population of the places named below was as follows:—

Name of the place.	Total population.
1. 73 Villages in Rajmahal	9,699
2. Nya Dumka	13,259
3. Parganah Barkop in Godda ..	736
4. Parganah Manihari in Godda ..	2,379
5. Parganah Motia in Godda	1,871
6. Godda Parganah	7,318
7. First Karmatar Bungalow in Damin-i-Koh in Godda.	1,381
8. Second Karmatar Bungalow in Damin-i-Koh in Godda.	1,075

The first regular census was taken in 1872. The total population of this district as recorded in 1872 1881 and 1891 census years was 1,259,185, 1,567,966 and 1,753,775 respectively* The statistics given below will show the population of the Santal Parganas district as recorded at different census years since 1901.

*Source of information : *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), page 72.

Census year.	Person.	Variation.	Percentage of increase.	Males.	Variation.	Females.	Variation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1901	1,804,526	..	..	893,841	..	910,685	..
1911	1,877,486	+72,960	+4.04	930,753	+36,912	946,733	+36,048
1921	1,793,742	—83,744	—4.46	893,521	—37,232	900,221	—46,512
1931	2,050,258	+256,516	+14.30	1,025,296	+131,775	1,024,962	+124,741
1941	2,234,497	+184,239	+8.99	1,121,410	+96,114	1,113,087	+88,125
1951	2,322,092	+87,595	+3.92	1,172,594	+51,184	1,149,498	+36,411
1961	2,675,203	+353,111	+15.21	1,351,149	+178,555	1,324,054	+174,556

Source of information: (1) District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas (1956), page 3.
(2) Census of India, Paper no. I of 1962 (1961 Census), pages 332-333.

The first census of 1872 was unpopular. "In 1872 a number of wild rumours were afloat in the Damin portion of the Godda subdivision, e.g., that people were to be taken from each village and deported to clear jungle in Assam and the Duars, that they were being counted in order to convert them to Christianity by force, etc. The *ryots* of Boarijor drove the *Parganait*, and the *manjhis* who were assisting him, out of their villages, and refused to allow the census to proceed. When the Extra Assistant Commissioner arrived on the spot, he found about 1,500 people assembled, in real terror of the evils which would come upon them if they were counted, the men declaring that they were helpless as the bare mention of a census was enough to make their women and children frantic. It seems, however, that they never had any intention of offering a serious resistance to the census, for when it was explained that the *Parganait* had only been acting under the orders of Government, the crowd readily dispersed, with the remark that the *sarkar* might do what it pleased, but they would rather not be counted. Elsewhere the census passed off quietly, but primitive methods had to be employed for enumerating the people in parts of the Damin-i-Koh owing to the ignorance of the people and the fear of the alarming and easily excitable population. The Santals have no written language of their own, and there were comparatively very few of them who can write Hindi or Bengali. Recourse was had, therefore, to their own national method of counting, viz., by tying knots on a number of strings, which were coloured differently, so as to distinguish males from females and children from adults.

"In the Damin portion of the Rajmahal subdivision such coloured strings were distributed through the *Parganaits* or heads of communes to the *manjhis* or village headmen of the Santals, and through the Paharia *sardars* to their *naibs* and *manjhis*. These strings were of four colours black for male adults, red for female adults, white for boys, and yellow for girls. The people were counted by the *manjhis*, and their numbers recorded by tying a knot for each person on the string representing the proper sex and age. Within the portion of the Damin-i-Koh attached to the Godda subdivision, the Santals and Paharias were similarly enumerated by means of knotting different coloured strings representing the males, females and children separately. In some villages three people were told off to keep the reckoning, which was done by so many seeds or small pieces of gravel, one person keeping a reckoning of the men, another of the women and a third of the children. This enumeration is known to have been incomplete, and in 1881 there were outbreaks which vitiated the results, the final nocturnal enumeration being omitted. The first reliable census was that of 1891, but even in that year the

enumeration was the occasion of wild rumours in the Rajmahal subdivision, e.g., it was stated that Government was numbering the people to enable it to send them as coolies to Assam, that enhanced rents were to be levied, and that all Santals except the Kharwars were to be made Christians. An army of 4,500 men had to be drafted into the district to prevent a general rising.

Census of 1901*—"The Census of 1901 showed a net increase of 55,962 persons or 3.2 per cent a surprisingly small rate of growth for a healthy district with a prolific population. This result was attributed to the large scale on which emigration had taken place : it was, in fact, estimated that about 182,000 persons left the district during the previous 10 years, and that but for this the increase of the population would have been at least 10 per cent"†.

The conditions prevailing in, and the results of the census of, 1911, 1921 and 1931 as recorded in the Bihar and Orissa Census Reports of 1921 and 1931 are as follows:—

Census of 1911.—"Between 1901 and 1911, there were three consecrtive years of bad crops in 1905, 1906 and 1907 as a result of which the Dumka and the Godda subidivisions were on the verge of famine in 1908 and were only saved by a good crop of lac. The recorded net excess of births over deaths for these ten years was 191,000 and the rate of growth of the population was again prevented by emigration. The census of 1911 showed a net increase of 73,236 persons or 4.05 per cent. The increase occurred throughout the district except in Dumka and Godda, where the distress of 1908 had been most acute and from which there had been most emigration. The greatest increase was in the Rajmahal subdivision where plague had emptied the town of Sahibganj and where in 1911 a large labour force was collected at the quarries from which stone was being supplied to the Sara bridge.

"*Census of* 1921.—From 1911 to 1917 events followed a fairly normal course, good seasons alternating with indifferent ones and the general state of public health being fairly satisfactory except for one or two severe outbreaks of cholera. But in 1917, the sudden

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*There are slight differences in the figures in comparison to the table given before, this may be ignored.

†*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pages 72-73.

rise in the cost of living was beginning to make itself felt, and the people had little reserve to fall back upon when the crops failed altogether in 1918. Famine had to be declared in 1919. While in Dumka and Godda also the distress was acute. Nor was any effective resistance offered to fierce onslaught of the influenza epidemic which raised without intermission in this district until well on in 1919. During these two years, out of 149,000 deaths reported, 130,000 were attributed to fever. At the census of 1921 it was found that the population of the district had decreased by 4.46 per cent since the previous census. It is significant, however, that in spite of the misfortunes which characterized this period, the flow of emigration from the district was checked, the number of emigrants recorded in 1921 being less by 23,000 than it had been 10 years earlier.

Census of 1931.—"Public health in 1921 had not yet attained the exceptionally high level which it reached in the subsequent years, but it showed a distinct improvement over what had gone before. The outturn of both the principal crops—rice and maize—was well up to normal. So the new decade may be said to have opened well. For the next nine years there was no serious check in the progress registered by the district. Bumper rice crops were obtained in 1922, 1924 and 1928. The only year in which the outturn of the crop was seriously deficient throughout the district was 1927, when it amounted to only half the normal yield. But an unusually good maize crop compensated to some extent for this disappointment. In the Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions the harvests of 1923 were poor. Fairly severe outbreaks of cholera were experienced for three successive years commencing in 1927 and small-pox was in evidence from 1926 to 1928. For the rest the district enjoyed remarkably good health, the survival rate was well over 10 per mile in eight out of 10 years. For the district as a whole the rate of increase recorded at the 1931 census was 14.29 per cent.*"

Census of 1941.—In 1931, the outturn of the principal crops was good and harvests were satisfactory in the two following years. *Bhadai* failed in 1934, but the yield of other crops was satisfactory. Next year there was a partial failure of all principal crops. But in 1936 the situation, however, improved. The rice crops failed partially in 1940 but the yield of other crops was satisfactory. Thus, as suggested in the Census of India, 1951, Volume V, Bihar, Part I at page 41, harvests were normal or better than normal throughout the decade (*i.e.*, 1931—40) except 1935 and 1938 when the crops failed partially in the district.

**The District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) from page 73 to 75.

During this decade (1931—40) there were no serious epidemics like cholera, etc. There was also reduction in the death rate from fever and small-pox. The 1941 census revealed an increase of about 9 per cent in population. The reasons for fall in the growth rate of the population during 1931—40 as compared with that of 1921—30 were as follows:—

> "There was a larger fall in the birth rate than in the death rate as a result of which the survival rate dropped from 11.5 in the preceding decade (*i.e.*, 1921—30) to 7.7 to this decade (*i.e.*, 1931—40). This may well be the true explanation, for the male ratio in 1941 was higher than in 1931 and there is nothing to show that 'the balance of migration in 1941 was more adverse than in 1931. In any case, the difference in the balance of migration could not have been so large as to account fully for the substantial decline in the rate of increase during the 1931—40 decade."*

Census of 1951.—In dealing with the growth of population, the Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar, mentions the following in the 'Census of India, 1951, Volume V, Bihar, Part I, Report' (41-42) about the growth of population during the decade 1941—1950 in the district of Santal Parganas: —

> "Public health continued to be good during the last decade (1941—50), although cholera did not completely leave the district during any year. Harvests were generally satisfactory in all years except in 1943, 1947, 1949 and 1950, when they proved deficient."

> "The winter paddy crops failed over large areas in 1943, and this resulted in considerable distress. The failure in 1947 was not so serious. In 1949 the maize crop suffered due to heavy rains in the summer months and winter paddy failed over large areas for want of sufficient rain after August. The monsoon in 1950 began very well, but rains stopped more or less completely after August. The cultivating classes who form the vast majority of the population were suffering from scarcity and distress at the time of the 1951 census which disclosed an increase of only 87,590 persons† or 3.9 per cent over the 1941 figure. In the preceding decade (1931—40), the population had

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**Census of India*, 1951, *Volume V, Bihar, Part I (Report)* page 41.

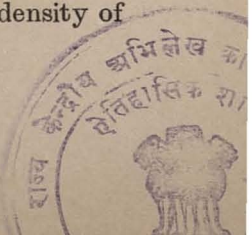
†The actual figure should be 87,595.

increased by 9 per cent. The registered figures of births and deaths indicate an increase of 15.2 per cent. It is known that during the war years and specially after the 1942 disturbances, there was an almost complete breakdown of vital registration in this district and the registration figures are therefore quite unreliable, but there is no doubt at all that the rate of natural increase during 1941—50 was probably not materially lower than that of the 1931—40 decade and the low rate of growth revealed by the 1951 census is due mainly to loss by emigration. Harvesting of winter rice takes place earlier in this district than in other parts of Bihar, and every year a large number of persons of the district go over to the bordering districts of Bengal for harvesting the paddy thereafter finishing the work in their own fields. In 1951, this exodus was probably heavier than usual on account of the prevalence of scarcity conditions caused by failure of crops in two successive years. It is also reported that many Muslims, particularly from the Rajmahal subdivision, went to Pakistan districts between 1946—50 either due to fear of riots or in the hope of better economic prospects. Some of these are known to have returned after the census."

Census of 1961.—The census of 1961 in the district of Santal Parganas disclosed an increase of 15.21 per cent. The rate of increase is considerably higher than that of the previous decade (1941—50) which was only 3.92 per cent. The reasons for the high rate of increase in the population may be due to the fact that there were no marked epidemics and there was also a general improvement in public health.

Density.

Density depends upon various factors, the more important of them being the fertility of the soil, employment chances, industries, trade and commerce, etc. The physical aspects of Santal Parganas have broadly determined the variation of density. The hilly portion which covers about three-eighth of the entire area (much of which is still covered with jungles) can only encourage scattered small villages, surrounded by patches of cultivated clearances. The hilly portion includes the whole of the Damin-i-Koh and the southern and eastern portions of the Dumka subdivision. There is a second portion of the district which may be described as the rolling country and this includes the whole of the west and south-west of the district. This portion has long ridges, depressions, rocks and scrub jungles. This area also cannot possibly contain a high density of



Jungles. This area also cannot possibly contain a high density of population. The third portion of the district consists of a fringe of low land between the Ganga and the hills. The land in this portion is comparatively fertile and largely cultivated. Beginning at the north-west corner of the district this follows a narrow and an almost continuous tract of alluvial soil, about 120 miles long lying for the most part along the loop line of the Eastern Railwy in the Raj-mahal and Pakaur subdivisons. The area of this portion is about 500 square miles. This has comparatively a larger population and also a greater density. The increase of population trend discussed earlier also shows that there has been a larger incidence of increase in population in Pakaur and Rajmahal subdivisions. The density has also moved in the same direction.

The development of industries, trade and commerce, the attraction of salubrious climate for settling down, and rehabilitation of the displaced persons from areas in Pakistan are also some of the other factors that encourage density.

According to the census of 1901 the density of the population of the district was 331 per square mile. In the census of 1931 the density was found to be 376 per square mile. This indicates that during the three decades (1901—1931) there had been very little change in the density of the population. The density of population of the subidivisions from 1931—1961 is given below :—

DENSITY OF POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE.

——	1931	1941	1951	1961	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Santal Parganas district ..	376	405	421	489	The density of population of the State of Bihar per square mile in 1941, 1951 and 1961 was 522, 577 and 691 respectively.
Dumka subdivision ..	319	346	364	425	
Deoghar subdivision ..	364	421	445	503	
Godda subdivision ..	456	488	524	609	
Jamtara subdivision ..	352	391	417	466	
Rajmahal subdivision ..	413	421	410	669	
Pakaur subdivision ..	394	400	397	499	

Population according to Subdivisions and Anchals.

The subdivision wise population and number of houses according to 1961 census are as follows*:—

Name of the subdivision.	Number of house-holds.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5
Dumka subdivision	1,17,492	6,09,812	3,07,020	3,02,792
Deoghar subdivision ..	88,306	4,82,704	2,46,294	2,36,410
Godda subdivision	96,357	4,96,653	2,49,640	2,47,013
Jamtara subdivision ..	59,808	3,24,745	1,63,828	1,60,917
Rajmahal subdivision ..	81,540	4,14,277	2,09,691	2,04,586
Pakaur subdivision	68,702	3,47,012	1,74,676	1,72,336

The population figures of 1961 and the percentage variation show an overall increase for the district as well as the six subdivisions. According to the increase subdivisions may be grouped as follows : Pakaur (24.21%), Rajmahal (19.59%), Deoghar (14.02%), Dumka (13.86%) , Jamtara (11.87%) and Godda (10.93%).

The revenue thanas according to the incidence of increase in population are grouped as follows:—

Rajmahal revenue thana (29.13%), Pakaur revenue thana (27. 57%), Pakaur Damin revenue thana (14.58%), Deoghar revenue thana (14.31%), Dumka Damin revenue thana (14.30%), Madhupur revenue thana (13.77%), Godda revenue thana (13.16%), Jamtara revenue thana (11.87%), Rajmahal Damin revenue thana (11.28%) and Godda Damin revenue thana (1.95%) The large increase in Pakaur subdivision (24.21%) is mainly due to the increase in Pakaur revenue thana (27.57%). Pakaur is opening up industrially. The stone industries are attracting more people. The population increase (19.59%) in Rajmahal subdivision is mainly due to increase (29.13%) in Rajmahal revenue thana. Rajmahal has a large trade and commerce by roads, railways and waterways. Rajmahal is also being developed industrially. Rehabilitation of displaced persons in this area has also led to some increase in population. Godda subdivision has the lowest population increase (10.93%). Godda Damin revenue thana has the lowest population increase (1.95%) out of all the revenue thanas.

*Office of the Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar, Patna.

The Damin revenue thanas are grouped according to population increase—Pakaur Damin (14.58%), Dumka Damin (14.30%), Rajmahal Damin (11.28%) and Godda Damin (1.95%). The increase of population in Damin areas has not been very large and this is as expected. The Damin areas are, more or less, the preserve of the indigenous tribal population and contain hills and forests. That there has been a slight increase was due to natural accretion and a certain amount of opening up of the areas which encourages a rise in the population. Godda Damin revenue thana has had sparse population and in the preceding decade (1941—51) there was an actual decrease of 3.9 per cent in population. The slight increase of 1.95% in 1951—61 decade is the result of the opening of the area and a general improvement in health.

In 1961 census the population figures according to revenue thanas were not recorded.

In 1961 the population of the Anchals was recorded which is as follows:—

Anchal.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1	2	3	4
DUMKA SUBDIVISION—			
1. Dumka Anchal	43,696	40,423	84,119
2. Jama Anchal	33,282	34,298	67,580
3. Shikaripara Anchal	33,215	32,726	65,941
4. Raneshwar Anchal	29,153	28,966	58,119
5. Ramgarh Anchal	38,335	38,471	76,806
6. Jarmundi Anchal	38,286	38,176	76,462
7. Masalia Anchal	33,206	32,809	66,015
8. Saraiyahat Anchal	28,714	28,244	56,958
9. Katikund Anchal	18,077	17,810	35,887
10. Gopikandar Anchal	11,056	10,869	21,925
DEOGHAR SUBDIVISION—			
11. Deoghar Anchal	55,291	50,303	105,594
12. Sarwan Anchal	28,038	27,682	55,720
13. Mohanpur Anchal	30,898	30,420	61,318
14. Madhupur Anchal	45,272	44,327	89,599
15. Karon Anchal	27,038	25,933	52,971
16. Sarath Anchal	30,620	29,426	60,046
17. Palajori Anchal	29,137	28,319	57,456

Anchal.	Male.	Female.	Total,
1	2	3	4
GODDA SUBDIVISION—			
18. Godda Anchal	48,516	47,665	96,181
19. Pathargama Anchal	39,765	39,405	79,170
20. Mahgama Anchal	30,441	30,019	60,460
21. Meherma Anchal	43,601	42,245	85,846
22. Poreyahat Anchal	42,044	42,212	84,256
23. Sundar Pahari Anchal	16,714	16,679	33,393
24. Boarijore Anchal	28,559	28,788	57,347
JAMTARA SUBDIVISION—			
25. Jamtara Anchal	49,782	48,552	98,334
26. Narayanpur Anchal	34,087	33,297	67,384
27. Nala Anchal	45,382	44,818	90,200
28. Kundahit Anchal	34,577	34,250	68,827
RAJMAHAL SUBDIVISION—			
29. Rajmahal Anchal	47,687	46,717	94,404
30. Barharwa Anchal	27,681	27,427	55,108
31. Sahibganj Anchal	31,364	27,527	58,891
32. Barhait Anchal	27,530	27,252	54,782
33. Pathna Anchal	17,845	18,176	36,021
34. Borio Anchal	38,784	39,310	78,094
35. Taljhari Anchal	18,800	18,177	36,977
PAKAUR SUBDIVISION—			
36. Pakaur Anchal	42,368	42,636	85,004
37. Pakuria Anchal	26,525	26,633	53,158
38. Maheshpur Anchal	45,767	44,855	90,622
39. Hiranpur Anchal	18,260	17,775	36,035
40. Litipara Anchal	26,211	25,807	52,018
41. Amrapara Anchal	14,545	14,630	30,175

MIGRATION

Immigration.—The district of Santal Parganas was formed in 1855. The *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) mentions that in the middle of the 19th century the migration of the Santals to this locality took place on a large scale.* It further mentions that many of the persons shown as immigrants into the district at the census of 1901 were the survivors of those who had taken part in that movement but by that time they were already on the move.

Mr. (afterward Sir) Edward Gait in his book, "*The Santals*" (1901) has given a brief description of the migration of the Santals—

> "The Santals are spreading north and east, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santal Pa ganas, but makes itself felt even further away, in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda, the elevated tract of quasi-laterite known as the Barind. These wanderings of the Santals have hitherto been confined to a laterite soil, and they are said to be averse to the payment of rent. In what direction they will spread when they have finished their work of reclamation in the Barind it is impossible yet to conjecture. The future alone can show whether they will then accept the inevitable and settle down as permanent rent-paying cultivators, or move further afield, overcoming their dislike to alluvial soil, or retrace their steps and rove once more in the infertile uplands of the Chota Nagpur plateau"†.

The Santals did, however, settle down in this area. They were actually brought here for clearing the jungle for which they were specially adapted and also because they had wander-lust. The countryside suited them temperamentally and from an essentially pastoral class the Santals became an agricultural class of a sort and took to a desultory *Jhum* cultivation. Their immigration continued mostly up to the end of the nineteenth century. In 1901 the total number of Santals in the district was, 6,70,535. In 1931 the number rose to 7,54,804. The figures relating to the increase in the Santal population suggest that during this period the immigration was not actively at work and the increase in the population was more of natural accretion. The Santals are now to be taken as indigenous to the district although originally they were immigrants.

Among the non-Santal immigrants mention may be made of Marwaris, Bhojpuri Hindus, Muslims and Bengalis.

Muslims.—The Muslims mostly migrated from Patna, Shahabad, Gaya and Jaunpur districts. Many of them belong to the army.

**Santal Parganas District Gezetteer* (1938), page 76.
†*Ibid*, page 76.

During the regime of Sher Shah and Akbar a large number of army personnel under the control of Raja Mansingh was semi-permanently stationed, particularly in Rajmahal area. Their families have continued in this area. Rajmahal was once a very important place from the administrative point of view. Many of the recent Muslim immigrants have gone there for business or profession. Many of the *ekka* drivers are from Shahabad district.

Miscellaneous Hindu castes.—Among the Hindu population, a wide range of castes, namely, the Goalas, Bhumihars, Brahmins, Rajputs, Mahras, Kurmis and *Harijans* from Saran, Arrah, Patna, Ghazipur and Ballia and the *Gangotas* from Pratapgarh and Faizabad districts have settled down in this district. They are all vaguely described as Bhojpuris. Some of them were money-lenders.

Bengalis.—Bengalis from Burdwan, Malda, Murshidabad, Lalgola and other districts of Bengal came here mostly for service under Government departments. The salubrity of the clime, the cheap prices and more employment possibilities attracted them and induced them to settle down. Some of them were also money-lenders.

Marwaris.—They came for trade and commerce and settled down. But the Marwaris have kept active contact with their native places in Rajasthan.

After partition of India in 1947, some immigrants mostly Bengalis, Punjabis and Sindhis from Pakistan have been rehabilitated, particularly in Rajmahal and Deoghar subdivisions. Many of them also came in search of business and have found suitable avocations.

In 1951 the total number of immigrants was 62,650 which constituted about 2.70 per cent of the total population. In 1931 the immigrants constituted 2.62 per cent and so it appears that during these thirty years the incidence of immigration was low.

Emigration.—The *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) mentions, "The first decade of the century (*i.e.*, 20th century) witnessed an acceleration of the outward stream of migration from the Santal Parganas. At the census of 1911 the number of persons born in that district and enumerated elsewhere was no less than 321,383, an increase of 95,000 over the figure recorded ten years earlier. Not all of this vast army of emigrants were Santals, but it is safe to say that a great majority of them were. For, although condition during the decade had been generally favourable for a rapid increase of population (particularly on the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the average rate of growth was 14 per cent), there was an actual decline in the number of Santals enumerated in their home district. The flow into the Barind was still strong, the districts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi being the recipients of most of the

fresh emigrants to this part of Bengal. Further to the north-east the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling absorbed a substantial overflow, while some 59,000 Santals were found still further afield in the province of Assam. But this decade saw also the beginning of a new movement into the purely alluvial tracts of Purnea and Hooghly districts. Moreover, the Santals were then showing signs of retracting their steps in a westerly direction. The increase in their numbers during this period (1910-11) in Manbhum, Hazaribagh and the Orissa State is too great to be ascribed entirely to natural growth. In the two first-named districts the coal-fields were the main attraction, and the partiality of the Santal for labour of this kind was responsible also for a marked rise in Burdwan district.

"During the next decade the eastward current of migration was very much less pronounced. The total number of emigrants from the Santal Parganas in 1921 was less by about 23,000 than it had been at the previous census, and despite the ill-health and economic distress of 1918—20 which prevented the population of the province as a whole from registering any progress, the number of Santals residing in the Santal Parganas was greater at the end of the decade than it had been at the beginning. This circumstance is the more remarkable because agricultural scarcity had compelled many who would not otherwise have left their homes to emigrate to the tea-gardens of Assam, and over 84,000 Santals were enumerated in that province in 1921, as compared with 59,000 in 1911. Very few fresh emigrants found their way into the Barind, but the thrust into Purnea and Hooghly continued, and there was a temporary movement across the north-western border of the district into Bhagalpur.

"The census of 1931 does not record the number of persons born in the Santal Parganas and enumerated outside the province. Emigrants from that district to other parts of Bihar and Orissa are almost, but not quite, as numerous as they were ten years ago, but there must have been a heavy decrease in emigration to Bengal and Assam. It is significant that in the province of Bihar and Orissa the strength of the tribe increased since 1921 by 16 per cent, while in Bengal the rate was barely 12 per cent. In practically, none of the Bengal districts, except the colliery areas of Burdwan, was the increase in numbers out of proportions to the natural growth of the tribe; and although of course it is not suggested that all the Santals who were enumerated in Bengal in 1921 have remained there ever since and have multiplied in the ordinary course of nature, the figures do indicate that there are now-a-days very few fresh emigrants who are making a permanent home in that province. In Assam the statistics of Santals were not compiled in the 1931 census but there has been a decline of just 1,000 in the number of

persons speaking Santali as their mother-tongue, and it is, therefore, probable that the number of Santals has fallen also. Within the province of Bihar and Orissa there has been a further development in the streams of migration to Purnea, Hazaribagh, Manbhum and the other States. The present indications, therefore, are that the movement of this tribe to the north-east has been definitely checked for the time being, and that a great number of them are settling down in their own district as permanent rent-paying cultivators. Such migration as is now taking place is not governed by any fixed principle but is the result of ordinary economic pressure, and its direction is determined by the availability of land (whether laterite or alluvial) and the scope for labour of a kind which appeals to the Santals, such as work on tea-gardens or in coal-mines."*

"A large number of Santals were previously found migrating to Assam and other parts of Bengal to work particularly in tea-gardens. An account of the supply of labour from Santal Parganas is quoted from a report submitted by the Deputy Commissioner in August, 1907 : "Labourers migrate from the Santal Parganas in large numbers annually, some to a distance for long periods, others to neighbouring districts for short spells, while field work at their homes is slack. The tea-gardens of Assam and Bengal have a great attraction for the people of this district; and the sturdy Paharias and industrious Santals alike make excellent tea-graden coolies. Both resent too much restraint and require tactful management, which, however, is well repaid. They expect frequent holidays, but while at work they labour hard. Their favourite drink, *pachwai* at times, renders them unfit for work, but it is thought by some to be a preventive against malaria. The coal-mines are in ill-repute with the Santals, for many a cooly has been lured to Raniganj by promises of well-paid work and thence hurried off to Assam against his wish. Prejudices die hard, and it may be long before this one is removed ; meanwhile, both gardens and collieries suffer. Still, the supply of labour to the mines from this district is considerable, and it is not likely to fall off. Jamtara and Deoghar are within easy reach of Asansol, and the fear of bad livelihood prosecutions drives many bad characters from the Dumka subdivision to the mines.

"Eastern Bengal and the country near the Ganges attract many agricultural labourers from the Santal Parganas, Malda and Dinajpur many earth workers. This year some 700 coolies have been supplied by this district for local works in various places, *viz.*, the Chittagong Hill tracts, Chittagong town, Rangamati, Jessore and the Sundarbans....Deoghar supplies a few men to the jute mills near Calcutta and others to Calcutta itself as porters and coolies.

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*W. G. Lacey, *Bihar and Orissa Census Report*, 1931 Appendix VI as quoted in *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), pages 77–79.

The main factors which determine the extent of migration from this district are the harvests and the *mahajans*; and the best season for recruitment is January or February."*

The last District Gazetteer (1938) mentions† that in 1916-17 and 1917-18 eleven thousand labourers were recruited from this district for the Mesopotamia and the France Labour Corps and 1,493 labourers for the Telegraph Engineering Department, Akayab. It further mentions that in 1922-23, 1,263 coolies were recruited for Tatanagar. The recruitment of labourers for the tea districts in Assam and Alipur-Duars in 1924-25, 1925-26, 1926-27, 1927-28, 1928-29, 1929-30, 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33, 1933-34, 1934-35 and 1935-36 was 1,788, 1,580, 6,861, 12,170, 10,000, 4,367, 3,585, 1,194, 883, 662, 236 and 490 respectively. The figures of recruitment are not available after 1935-36 except for the year 1945-46 in which 725 coolies were recruited as against 790 coolies during 1944-45 to Assam and Duars by the Tea District Labour Association.‡ It appears from the above figures that the recruitment was highest in 1927-28 and there has been a gradual fall and it was only 236 in 1935-36 due to lesser demand for labour resulting from the slump in the tea trade and also because of stricter control of indentured labour. Some tribals do go to work in the tea-gardens of Assam and West Bengal even now. Some of them have semi-permanently settled down in the tea-gardens but are in touch with their home.

The indigo planters of North Bihar drew away a good number of Santal labourers from this district and some of them have settled down permanently particularly in Purnea district. A small percentage has settled down in Champaran district. But with the disappearance of the indigo plantation the flow of migration of Santals to the North Bihar districts has declined considerably, if not totally stopped.

The fact that the Santals are good and honest in manual work has been fully exploited in the past by the tea districts and other Plantations requiring a large labour population. The Tea District Labour Supply Agency had its branch at Dumka with ramifications throughout the district. For decades the agency employed many dubious methods to recruit labourers for the tea districts. The recruits, commonly known as coolies, were given all kinds of allurement and taken away, often leaving the families without any adult

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**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pages 253–54.

†*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), page 254.

‡*Land Revenue Administration Report for the year 1945-46.*

The figures for the years 1944-45 and 1945-46 include only the labourers recruited from Sadar subdivision and so they do not represent the total number of labourers supplied from the whole district.

earning member. The promises were not always implemented and there were various complaints. Later on, statutory restrictions were imposed on the recruitment of the coolies and for some years the coolies had to be produced before a Magistrate who had to satisfy himself that they were going of their own accord. These restrictions led to a decline in the forcible indenture of coolies. The institution of Tea District Labour Supply Agency was later liquidated. But voluntarily seeking an employment outside the limits of Santal Parganas has continued. The neighbouring districts of Birbhum, Burdwan and Bankura in West Bengal have an indigenous Santal population. Marital relationship with them has encourged a certain amount of migration from Santal Parganas. The needs of these districts whether for cultivation or for collieries have offered a good avenue for employment to the Santals of Santal Parganas. A large number of Santals from this district usually go to Purnea, when paddy is reaped or jute is cut. They also go in hundreds to the tea districts of Assam and West Bengal. But their attachment to their hearth and home in Santal Parganas is very strong and thus migration is seasonal.

It also remains a fact that "*Sardars*" still visit the interior of Santal Parganas for recruitment of labourers in various large constructions, particularly for the projects. The Santals of this district are recruited and they find employment whenever dams are constructed or during the first phase of any big project. They are excellent for pioneering work in clearing jungles, levelling lands, etc. The Santals of this district are found in Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur where giant steel projects have been set up.

It may also be mentioned here that the Santals of this district were recruited as Sappers and Miners and also as members of the Civil Pioneer Force in the last two great World Wars. Even in the eighties of the 18th century Cleveland appreciated the military talents of the Santals and recruited a corps of 1,300 men. In the wake of the Chinese aggression in October, 1962, response to recruitment of combatants and non-combatants from this district has been encouraging.

In 1951 the total number of emigrants of this district within the State was 47,602 which is 2.05 per cent of the total population. This figure does not include the persons born in the district and enumerated outside the State. In 1921 the total number of emigrants within the State was 55,045 and outside the State 2,42,127 which was 16.25 per cent of the total population.* The reasons for the high incidence of emigration during the early decades of the present century has already been mentioned. Now the emigration

*Census of India, 1951, *Vol. V, Bihar, Part I*, page 64.

is somewhat declining because of the various projects, welfare schemes and development of cottage and small-scale industries in the district which provide employment to a large number of persons.

Impact of Migration.

The almost regular emigration of the Santals to the tea-gardens of Assam and Bengal improved their economic condition. They used to get good wages and returned home with savings. This trend has continued although the previous type of indentured labour has stopped. Both the Santals and the Paharias even now migrate to various districts of Bengal and Bihar during the harvesting season. This employment for about three months gives them savings. If they are in a neighbouring district like Malda or Birbhum, they are able to bring back a quantity of paddy as well as a part of their wages.

The tribals who have gone outside the district for employment become more conscious of the importance of education and imbibe a certain amount of smartness in dress and thoughts. During the investigation into the present conditions of the tribals, the Paharias of Harinduba village in Amrapara Block expressed their need for having a school in that area. The Paharias of this area usually go to Malda during the harvesting of paddy and it was found that they were somewhat more advanced in their thoughts than the other Paharias. Their belief in evil spirits and their association with diseases has begun to liquidate. This is, of course, more confined to those who have been outside the district for sometime or have been in long contact with the Hindu or Christian neighbours.

This impact of outside influence is seen not only in dress but in food habits as well. The tribals who have not gone outside are allergic to take tea, milk or any preparation of *ghee*. They feel sick if they are given *polau* (rice cooked with *ghee* and meat) or *khir* (sweet and condensed milk) which are delicacies to the non-tribals.

Extraneous influence has had its impact on Santali language as well. P.O. Bodding in his preface to the third volume of his book 'A Santali Dictionary' has mentioned that the Santali language has been influenced by the people with whom the Santals have come into contact. The Santali vocabulary has adopted many words that the Santals came across in their wanderings.

For instance the words *bazar* and *sohar* have become common with the Santals.

Distribution between Urban and Rural Population

The district lives in villages. The rural and urban population in 1961 were 25,32,556 and 1,42,647 respectively. The urban rural ratio in 1951 was 1 : 23 which came to 1 : 18 in 1961 census. In 1901 the district had three towns only, Madhupur, Deoghar and Sahibganj. Madhupur had in 1901 a population of 6,840 souls and the salubrious climate attracted a large number of Calcutta people building their houses in Madhupur. Many of the intellectuals of Bengal either settled down at Madhupur after retirement or used to pass a few months there. The railway colony also had quite a number of Anglo-Indians some of whom settled down there after retirement. Deoghar had a population of 8,838 persons in 1901. Deoghar was the headquarters of the administrative subdivision bearing the same name. The temple of Baidyanath at Deoghar attracted a seasonal floating population. Deoghar also was a favourite place of settlement of a large number of affluent persons of Bengal. Sahibganj had 7,558 persons in 1901 and was already noted for its trade and commerce owing to its proximity to the river Ganga. In 1931 five places were treated as towns, namely, Sahibganj, Deoghar, Dumka, Madhupur and Rajmahal. In 1951 census Pakaur and Mihijam were added to the list of towns. The concept of a town till 1951 census was the population of 5,000 persons and above. In 1961 the concept of a town was taken to be different. According to this, except for special reasons such as historical importance or industrial colony, only place with a population of more than 5,000 persons, the density of more than 1,000 persons per square mile and at least 75 per cent of adult male population engaged in non-agricultural occupations, fulfils the condition of being treated as town. According to the criteria, Jasidih, Godda and Jamtara were treated as towns for the first time in bringing the total number of towns to ten, viz., Sahibganj, Deoghar, Madhupur, Dumka, Pakaur, Rajmahal, Mihijam, Jasidih, Godda and Jamtara. A city in 1961 census means a place with one lakh and above population. The town has been divided into five classes—Class I represents town (technically called city) with population of 1,00,000 and above, Class II with population of 50,000 and 99,999, Class III of population 20,000—44,999, Class IV of 10,000—19,999, Class V of 5,000—9,999 and Class VI of less than 5,000. In this district, Sahibganj and Deoghar come under Class III, Madhupur, Dumka and Pakaur fell under the category of Class IV, Rajmahal, Mihijam, Jamtara, and Godda belong to Class V and Jasidih falls under Class VI town.

The table below shows all the towns in the district with the population figures from 1901 to 1961:—

Year.	Persons.	Variation.	Males.	Variation.	Females.	Variation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Sahibganj Town			
1901	7,558	..	3,763	..	3,795	..
1911	14,783	+7,225	7,557	+3,794	7,226	+3,431
1921	11,880	—2,903	6,308	—1,249	5,572	—1,654
1931	15,883	+4,003	8,530	+2,222	7,353	+1,781
1941	20,742	+4,859	11,045	+2,515	9,697	+2,344
1951	25,669	+4,927	13,741	+2,696	11,928	+2,231
1961	31,409	+5,740	17,045	+3,304	14,364	+2,436
			Deoghar Town			
1901	8,838	..	4,897	..	3,941	..
1911	11,394	+2,556	6,282	+1,385	5,112	+1,171
1921	12,355	+961	6,888	+606	5,467	+355
1931	14,217	+1,862	8,117	+1,229	6,100	+633
1941	19,792	+5,575	10,941	+2,824	8,851	+2,751
1951	25,510	+5,718	14,117	+3,176	11,393	+2,542
1961	30,813	+5,303	17,172	+3,055	13,641	+2,248
			Madhupur Town			
1901	6,840	..	3,657	..	3,183	..
1911	6,995	+155	3,863	+206	3,132	—51
1921	7,053	+58	3,882	+19	3,171	+39
1931	8,965	+1,912	4,997	+1,115	3,968	+797
1941	11,577	+2,612	6,260	+1,263	5,317	+1,349
1951	17,144	+5,567	9,101	+2,841	8,043	+2,726
1961	19,519	+2,375	10,274	+1,173	9,245	+1,202

Year.	Persons.	Variation.	Males.	Variation.	Females.	Variation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Dumka Town			
1911	5,629	..	2,982	..	2,647	..
1921	7,396	+1,767	4,070	+1,088	3,326	+679
1931	9,471	+2,075	5,317	+1,247	4,154	+828
1941	10,811	+1,340	6,112	+795	4,699	+545
1951	13,582	+2,771	7,556	+1,444	6,026	+1,327
1961	18,720	+5,138	10,652	+3,096	8,068	+2,042
			Rajmahal Town			
1911	5,357	..	2,870	..	2,487	..
1921	3,454	—1,903	1,860	—1,010	1,594	—893
1931	3,685	+231	2,052	+193	1,632	+38
1941	4,676	+991	2,450	+397	2,226	+594
1951	4,876	+200	2,519	+69	2,357	+131
1961	6,801	+1,925	3,687	+1,168	3,114	+757

The population figures of the towns that came to be recognised as such in 1951 and 1961 are as follows :—

Name of the towns.	1951						1961					
	Persons.	Variation.	Males.	Variation.	Females.	Variation.	Persons.	Variation.	Males.	Variation.	Females.	Variation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Pakaur	6,030	..	3,248	..	2,782	..	11,745	+5,715	6,221	..	5,524	..
Mihijam	3,969	..	2,624	..	1,345	..	5,431	+1,462	3,144	..	2,287	..
Jamtara	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,722	..	3,660	..	3,062	..
Jasidih	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,292	..	2,260	..	2,032	..
Godda	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,500	..	4,210	..	3,290	..

SOURCE OF INFORMATION —1. *District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* (1956), pages 6-7.

2. *Census of India*, Paper no. I of 1962, 1961 Census, pages 175—178.

The statistics given show some definite trends.

Sahibganj is now the most thickly populated town and it has had a remarkable increase of population since 1931. From the figure 15,883 in 1931 it has been adding a population of about 5,000 persons every ten years and in 1961 the population was 31,409. Deoghar also shows similar trends and from 14,217 persons in 1931 has now 30,813 persons. The increase in population in Madhupur has not been so striking. As a matter of fact the present number of houses in Madhupur may have accommodated a much larger population. Madhupur has started adding to the population at a slightly accelerated rate since 1951. The district headquarters, Dumka, is a small town and has started adding to the population at a somewhat increased rate since 1951. Rajmahal started dropping the population in 1921 but slightly made up since 1931. It has lost much of its importance as it is no longer the subdivisional headquarters which was shifted to Sahibganj as mentioned elsewhere. Pakaur had added more than five thousand persons since 1951. Mihijam, a township in 1951, has a population of 5,431 souls in 1961.

Displaced Persons

The problem of displaced persons has arisen out of the partition of India in 1947 and the creation of Pakistan. Along with the other States a number of displaced persons have also been rehabilitated in Bihar. The displaced persons were given financial aid to start their life anew. In some cases they have been helped to continue their own professions. A large number of fishermen from East Bengal (now East Pakistan) had been settled in colonies in the Rajmahal subdivision by the side of the Ganga river. Help was given to them to make their own fishing nets and boats and now these displaced persons in Rajmahal carry on a very successful trade in fishing. Many of the displaced persons of East Bengal have been carrying on their own occupation of making sweets, curd and other milk products. Some of them have settled in towns and are engaged in various types of business. A few of the displaced families from West Pakistan have taken to running trucks and buses while some have set up way-side eating houses. Cloth trade has attracted quite a few of the displaced persons from West Pakistan.

Business loans, outright grants and semi-permanent financial aid in cases of the unattached women and children have been liberally given. Medical facilities and facilities for vocational training have been provided for. Financial aid has been given to the displaced students to continue their studies in schools and colleges. The displaced persons have now completely integrated

themselves with the indigenous population of the district. They have been rehabilitated mostly in urban and semi-urban areas where they have more of employment chances.

In the district of Santal Parganas the total number of displaced persons received from East and West Pakistan was 4,712 (2,660 males and 2,052 females) according to 1951 census. The break-up figures of displaced persons who came to this district from Pakistan during 1946—1951 are given below* :—

Year.	East Pakistan.			West Pakistan.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1946 ..	394	242	152	9	9	..
1947 ..	1,836	1,085	751	91	51	40
1948 ..	1,195	569	626	42	13	29
1949 ..	667	439	228	20	13	7
1950 ..	430	219	211	1	1	..
1951 ..	27	19	8	..	..	..
TOTAL ..	4,549	2,573	1,976	163	87	76

The above statistics show that the number of displaced persons from East Pakistan (4,549) is considerably larger than that from West Pakistan (163). The displaced persons were rehabilitated particularly in Rajmahal, Deoghar and Pakaur subdivisions. According to 1951 census out of 4,712 displaced persons, 103 persons were found to derive their livelihood from cultivation, 9 persons from working as cultivating labourers, 97 persons from receiving rents, etc., 503 persons from production other than cultivation, 1,027 persons from commerce, 416 persons from transport and 2,557 persons from other miscellaneous sources. The number may be somewhat higher as it is well known that many of the displaced persons did not get themselves registered.

It may be mentioned here that due to the construction of Mayurakshi dam at Massanjore, 135 villages with 5,000 families were affected. In 60 out of 135 villages people were uprooted from their homes. In 9 out of these 60 villages the number of homes affected was small varying between 1 to 5 homes. In the remaining 51 villages the majority of the houses got submerged. Ten villages were entirely submerged and two villages, namely, Bank and Chakjagan became *be chiragi* (uninhabitated villages).

* *Census of India*, 1951, Volume V, Bihar Part II-A, page 338.

A Mayurakshi Rehabilitation Office had to be started at Dumka for the rehabilitation of the uprooted families—80 per cent of whom were tribals. About 35,000 acres of land were acquired for their rehabilitation and a sum of Rs. 2.75 crores was spent on rehabilitation and compensation.

The displaced families were resettled in 42 planned resettlement colonies covering 75 villages in the Mayurakshi Resettlement area within the Raneshwar Development Block.

In all about 500 families were resettled nearabout Raneshwar Block headquarters. 214 communal amenities schemes in 40 villages were sanctioned villagewise in the re settlement area. 13 school buildings were set up by the Mayurakshi Resettlement Office to provide greater scope for education in an otherwise sparsely populated area where population has now been augmented in consequence of the resettlement of the families displaced by the Mayurakshi Project.

The displaced persons have now completely settled down and taken up cultivation of the reclaimed land provided to them in lieu of cash payment for compensation. A few tribals could not adjust themselves in the colonies, left the place, and went to West Bengal particularly to Birbhum district where they have permanently settled down.

Language

The main languages spoken in this district are Hindi, Santali, Bengali and Malto. Hindi and Bengali languages belong to the Indo-Aryan group while Santali and Malto belong to Munda and Dravidian families respectively. The chart given below will show the number of speakers of the main languages as their mother-tongue since 1911.*

Census Year.	Total population of the district.	Hindi.	Bengali.	Santali.	Malto.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1911 ..	18,82,973	8,37,600	2,74,318	6,76,895	62,651
1921 ..	17,98,639	7,88,310	2,41,455	6,70,895	60,920
1931 ..	20,51,472	9,42,777	2,52,203	7,61,688	67,052
1951 ..	23,22,092	11,04,239	2,11,451	9,82,170	23,774

*The figures relating to 1911, 1921, 1931, 1951 have been taken from (*i*) *Census of India* 1911, Vol. V, Bihar and Orissa Part III—Tables, pages 58 to 65, (*ii*) *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. VII, Bihar and Orissa, Part II—Tables, pages 62 to 65, (*iii*) *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. VII, Bihar and Oriss a, Part II—Tables, pages 113—118, (*iv*) *District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* (1956), page 110, respectively.

It may be mentioned here that the figures of total population of 1911, 1921 and 1931 are 18,77,486, 17,93,742 and 20,50,258 respectively as mentioned in the *District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* (1956) at page 3 and the minor variation in the figures given above may be ignored. The census of 1941 did not record the number of persons speaking different languages in the district. In 1951 census besides the four principal languages, 249 persons were enumerated as speaking Marwari and 209 persons as speaking Oraon. In other census years, in addition to the four principal languages a small number of persons were also enumerated as speaking Gujrati, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Kora, Mahili, Mundari, Pashto, etc. It is clear that some of the languages spoken by much smaller number of people were left out in 1951 census.

In 1901 the main language of this district was Santali spoken by 64,900 persons out of the total population of 18,09,737. The number of persons speaking Malto was 59,476. Bihari which stands for Hindi was spoken by 13.5 per cent of the population as mentioned in the *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1910) at page 66. Bengali was also spoken by the same percentage (i.e., 13.5) of the population.* The district of Santal Parganas in 1901 was hardly opened up and the bulk of the inhabitants consisted of the indigenous population, Government employees and some businessmen, *Mahajans* and lawyers. The first few batches of Government employees came mostly from Calcutta side as the district was a part of the province of undivided Bengal which comprised Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Calcutta was the capital and the Secretariat was located there. Santal Parganas at that time did not attract many people from other parts of Bihar excepting the Maithil Brahmins who had already settled down in Godda, Deoghar, Dumka and other places. The *Pandas* of Deoghar and Basukinath are all Maithils. There were some men from Shahabad district who went there as *Mahajans*, contractors and businessmen. The healthy climate and very cheap living attracted a number of middle class Bengalees who had already started making houses in Madhupur, Deoghar, Dumka, Jamtara, Sahibganj, etc. The first few batches of lawyers, teachers, administrators, clerks were mostly Bengalees and they brought their relatives and other Bengalees to seek their fortune.

By 1911 the district had already been opened up and besides natural accretion more of Hindi and Bengali-speaking people had come to the district. It also appears that the previous flow of Bengalees as new settlers had dropped considerably and a larger number of inhabitants of different parts of Bihar started acquiring

*The figures relating to persons speaking different languages in 1901 were taken from *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1910), pp. 65—67.

land and building houses in the district. By this time a much larger number of Hindi-speaking persons had gone to Santal Parganas as teachers, clerks, administrators, doctors, etc.

The province of Bihar and Orissa was formed in 1912 with the capital at Patna. Naturally with the creation of the separate province, Hindi, the language spoken by the majority of the people of Bihar, came to have more importance and Hindi began to be taught in the educational institutions. Hindi came to be used much more in the Courts, Criminal and Civil. The Santals always spoke a *patoi* which was a mixture of Hindi, Bengali and Santali when they were not speaking Santali. It was quite easy for the Santals to follow Hindi when it came to be taught in the educational institutions. The Christian Missionaries had done a lot to develop the spread of Santali language through Santali literature in Roman character. They had also experimented in Bengali character and there are some Santali books in that character. At present Santali is also being written in *Nagri* character. The Benagaria Press of the Norwegian Mission since the later part of the 19th century has been printing Santali literature in Roman character. Nevertheless, all these factors have led to the spread of Hindi in the district. After Independence was achieved in 1947 Hindi has been adopted as the official language in this State. Bihar is one of the predominantly Hindi-speaking States. The spread of Hindi in Santal Parganas has been a natural process.

The 1921 Census which recorded a drop in the population speaking different languages indicated certain trends. In 1901 the Bihari (Hindi) speaking population was equal to that of the Bengali-speaking population which was at 13.5 per cent of the population respectively.* It is not clearly understood why there was such a wide divergence of the figures in 1911 census. According to 1911 census the number of persons speaking Hindi was 8,37,600 and the number of persons speaking Bengali was only 2,74,318.** Unless it be taken that there was a very acute immigration of Hindi-speaking people the extraordinary rise in the number of Hindi-speaking people cannot be explained. The total population of the district in 1911 was 18,82,973 and the percentage of Hindi-speaking population comes to be about 44.6, the Bengali-speaking population comes to be 14.6 of the total population. The calculation in 1901 census might not have been very accurate and it is also possible that in 1911 census many of the Bengali-speaking inhabitants were returned as Hindi-speaking. Many of the

Santal Parganas District Gazetteer by L.S.S.O' Malley (1910), page 66.

**Census of India, 1911, Vol. V, Bihar and Orissa, Part III, Tables, pages 58-59.

Bengali settlers in the district by 1911 had started going back to Bengal leaving their houses in the district. Madhupur and some other places have now hundreds of houses of the Bengalees lying unoccupied and going into ruins.

The figures of Malto-speaking population for 1911, 1921 and 1931 census years respectively as compared with the figures for 1951, show a definite decline. Malto is spoken by the Sauriya Paharias who are an older race in the district than the Santals. In 1941 census owing to war time emergency detailed figures for the district were not obtained. The figures of the Sauriya Paharia and those speaking Malto in these years are as follows :—

	Number of Sauriya Paharias.*	Number of Malto-speaking persons.
1911	62,734	62,651
1921	55,600	60,920
1931	59,891	67,052
1941	57,212	Not available.
1951	Not available	23,774

In 1951 there was no castewise enumeration and probably that is why the Sauriya Paharias were not enumerated as such. The figures of the Santals and the Santali-speaking population for these years are as follows** :—

	Number of Santals.	Number of Santali-speaking persons.
1911	6,17,158	6,76,895
1921	6,76,459	6,70,895
1931	7,54,804	7,61,688
1941	7,98,830	Not available
1951	Not available	9,82,170

*_Santal Parganas District Gazetteer_ (1938), page 107, and _Census of India_, 1941 Vol. VII, Bihar, page 86.

**_Santal Parganas District Gazetteer_ (1938), page 119 and _Census of India_, 1941 Vol. VII, Bihar, page 82.

The above figures indicate that there has been a definite set back in the figure of the Malto-speaking population. This is partially due to the fact that the Sauriya Paharias form a declining community. Because of their habit of living on the hill tops, some of them might have escaped enumeration. The Sauriya Paharias, as a rule, are allergic to come down and to live in the plains; but they are not of the wandering type now as the Kharias. It is also possible that in 1951 census some of the Sauriya Paharias had been enumerated as speaking other languages like Bengali and Santali which in the course of the contact they might have adopted to some extent.

There are slight variations in the figures of the Sauriya and the Malto-speaking population for the years 1921 and 1931. The census figures indicate that bilingualism has been misinterpreted or the figures are not absolutely correct. It is a fact that the Sauriya Paharias almost freely speak Santali and Bengali and a form of corrupt Hindi. The educated Paharias like the educated Santals do not like to speak in their mother tongue particularly before others. This may also be a reason for the decline in the number of Malto-speaking population. Malto is a Dravidian language and it appears that it has a close resemblance to the Kurukh language spoken by Oraons. This language has been influenced by Aryan tongues specially in its vocabulary and there are also some traces of the influence of Santali. It may be pointed out that Malto does not possess a literature of its own. Excepting the Psalms, the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were translated into it in the Roman character. The chief source of information about this language is a grammar published by Revd. E. Droese in 1884.

It may be mentioned here that the Missionary Societies have been working since the creation of the district, and all other census reports have recorded the number of persons speaking European languages. There is also a sprinkling of Anglo-Indians in Madhupur, Sahibganj and other places whose mother tongue is English. In 1911 census 412 persons were recorded with mother tongue English, 2 persons with German and 4 persons with other European languages; in 1921, 454 persons were found speaking English; in 1931 505 persons were recorded as speaking English and 44 persons other European languages. The census of 1941 did not record language statistics. The number of Anglo-Christians in this district according to 1941 census was 199 and this shows that in 1941 there were some persons speaking English as their mother tongue. The European Christian Missionaries of different denominations are still at work in this district and there are other Europeans or Anglo-Indians whose mother tongue is English or

other European languages. But the 1951 census had not recorded their number separately.

In Deoghar subdivision Hindi in the form of Maithili dialect is generally spoken, particularly by the *Pandas* of Deoghar town. In Dumka and Rajmahal subdivisions Hindi has been influenced by Bengali and Santali. Hindi is taken here to include Magdhi and Bhojpuri. People who have migrated to this district from Uttar Pradesh, Shahabad, Saran and Gaya speak Bhojpuri or Magdhi. Bengali and Santali in a distorted form are also freely spoken by the Hindi-speaking population of this district as subsidiary languages. Similarly Bengalees and Santalis speak Hindi as a matter of course.

In this re-written Gazetteer it is felt necessary to give a brief resume of the researches on the Santali language and the Santals. The European missionaries were the first to take an active interest in the Santals and to study their language and anthropology. The Santals, it may be mentioned came to this district a little less than two hundred years back. Rev. Philips who was a Baptist missionary living in Orissa had published in 1852 "*An Introduction to the Santal Language*". This work contains a grammar and a vocabulary. He used Bengali character for Santali. It is interesting to recall that this book was published three years before the Santal insurrection, which led to the creation of the district of Santal Parganas.

Rev. E. L. Puxley of the Church Missionary Society edited, "*A Vocabulary of the Santali Language*" in 1868. He discontinued the use of Bengali character, and since then, according to the Rev. P. O. Bodding, except for a few small books, no Santali text has been printed in the Bengali alphabet.

Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud's book "*A Grammar of the Santali Language*", Benaras, 1873 is mentioned by Rev. P. O. Bodding as follows:—

> "It is in certain respects very cumbersome, and unnecessarily so, there are a few mistakes in details and Skrefsrud tried to arrange the Grammar of an agglutinating language on the pattern of inflexional tongues. Dr. Wenger's Bengali grammar seems to have been a kind of model. But with these reservations, it must be said that the grammar is an astonishing work for a man who, when he wrote, had been among the people for less than four years."

Rev. Skrefsrud took care to collect Santali words with the object of publishing a dictionary. When Rev. P.O. Bodding came to India in January, 1890 Skrefsrud asked him to revise his Santali English Vocabulary into English Santali. In 1903 Skrefsrud handed over the entire material he had collected to Rev. P. O. Bodding. The collected vocabulary contained a little more than 13,000 words. Mr. P.O. Bodding spoke very high of Skrefsrud and remarked, "Skrefsrud was, as previously mentioned, an excellent linguist, he had an extraordinary ability to pick up a foreign language and to use it, he had few equals in this respect. If he had only had time and leisure to go on with the dictionary, I am confident that the result would have been excellent".*

Mr. Andrew Champbell's dictionary appeared in 1899 and was the second dictionary after Puxley's in 1868. The dictionary, in the opinion of Rev. P. O. Bodding, is a very creditable work but phonetically and grammatically it is not very satisfactory. Mr. P.O. Bodding has mentioned about his indebtedness to Champbell for his own dictionary in five volumes. Champbell's dictionary has gone into three editions. The third edition has appeared in 1953 and is in two parts—the first part being Santali-English and the second part being English-Santali. The third edition of the dictionary was edited by Rev. R.M. Macphail.

Rev. Paul Olaf Bodding was a Norwegian Missionary. He was mostly stationed at Mohulpahari, 15 miles east of Dumka. Bodding's contribution to the knowledge of Santal language and culture is monumental and he is still considered to be the greatest authority.

He completed the translation of the Bible into Santali in 1903. Thereafter, he took up the work of collecting materials for his Santal dictionary. He based his dictionary on Skrefsrud's vocabulary and took help from Champbell's dictionary but his own personal research and scholarship were remarkable. The texts of the five big volumes of a "*A Santal Dictionary*" by him are, in fact, an encyclopaedia of knowledge about the Santals. The first volume was published in 1932, the second in 1934, the third in 1935, the fourth in 1935 and the fifth, i.e., the last volume was published in 1936. All the volumes were published by the Oslo University. The Oslo University has done a great service by publishing them and other literature regarding the Santals.

Grammar.—A grammar by the Rev. L.O. Skrefsrud (1873) has been the leading authority on the language** up till 1929

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*P. O. Bodding : Preface to Santal Dictionary, Vol. I.

**G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 30—36 as quoted in the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (published in 1938) at page 81.

when *'A Santali Grammar for Beginners'* by P.O. Bodding was published. In the preface to the first edition the author has himself expressed the importance of the book in the following words:—"Quite a number of people are studying the Santali Language and as at present no short Grammer for the use of beginners is to be had, the writer has prevailed to give a sketch of the language." The book has gone into three editions, the second edition in 1944 and the third in 1952. The book was published by the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches and printed at the Mission Press, Benagaria. His other grammar entitled, *" Materials for a Santali Grammar, Part I and Part II"* was printed and published in 1929 from the same place. This book is for further study of the Santali language; the first part of the book is mostly phonetic while the second part is mostly morphological. The two books are still the best sources for learning Santali language.

Researches on Santhal Anthropology

Here anthropology has been taken in a larger sense and covers ethnology, culture, etc. The Santals have attracted quite a large number of researchers in the last few decades. As a matter of fact no other tribals of Bihar and very few tribals of India have had as many treaties in English, Norwegian, Bengali, Hindi and other languages. Many of these are mostly based on the standard works of the great scholars like Risley, Champbell and Bodding. Some of the refreshingly new researches are to be found in the writings of Johnnes Gausdel published from Oslo. A recent book on the Santals by Shri Charu Lal Mukherjee is a welcome addition to the growing literature about the Santals.

There are several books on Santal folk tales. In *"Nabya Bharat"*, a high class Bengali Monthly, about sixty years ago some of the Santal stories and research articles regarding their origin, etc., had been published by the late Khirod Chandra Roy Choudhury, an educationist who was once posted at Dumka in the Inspectorate for Education. The first sustained effort in publishing an anthology of Santal folk tales was made by Rev. Bodding in 1924 when he published *"Hor Khanico"*. The preface indicates that only a few out of a large number collected were published. Mr. R. Carstairs, a Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas had published *"Harma ! ak Ato"* in Santali language in 1946. There is an English edition, *"Harmu's Village"*. In the same year Murmu's book *"Hor Gidra Enck"* a book on the games, was published.

The tradition and institutions of the Santals had received an excellent Bengali Press about sixty years ago and several books and articles were published. In 1887 the famous book "*Horkorem Mare Hapramko Reak Katha*" was published. This book was recorded in Santali at the dictation of an old Santal Guru named Kolean by Skrefsrud in 1870-71. The book has had several reprints. The book is an authority on many of the customs of the Santals. The book was translated and published by the Oslo Ethnographic Museum as Bulletin six in 1942. Bodding again was the translator. With a great insight he divided the book into several chapters, namely, the ancestors' story, ceremonial cleansing, marriage, husband and wife, village life, crime and punishment, religion and worship, etc.

Rev. Bodding's "*The Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folk Lore*" is an invaluable contribution to the scientific literature on the Santals. The book mentions about medicinal herbs, used by the Santals and Mundas, belief and superstitions, etc. It could be very well used for further researches on the medicinal herbs. It is well known that even now indigenous Santals would use indigenous herbs for ailments from fracture to headache. Another earlier book is '*Santali and the Santals*' by E. G. Mann who was Assistant Commissioner of Santal Parganas (1867).

Chaitan Hembram, a Santal, published a book in 1937 in Santali on '*The Santal and the Paharias*'. Shri Charu Lal Mukherjee who is intimately connected with Santal Parganas published a book on the Santals in 1943. This book has been republished with large additions in 1962. Prof. P.C. Biswas of Calcutta University has published a book on the Santals a few years back.

A great researcher, Mr. Gausdel has been researching on the "*Santal Khuts*" (1960). A number of his articles on the Santals have been published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, etc. Mr. W. G. Archer who was once posted as the Deputy Commissioner had made some researches on the Santals. A number of articles on the Santals written by the Editor of this rewritten Gazetteer have been published in the recent English journals of Calcutta. "*The Maler*" is a recent publication by Prof. L. P. Vidyarthi.

Bilingualism

The table given below shows the number of persons who commonly use another Indian language in their everyday life in

addition to their mother tongue according to the census of 1951* :—

Mother tongue.	Total speakers.	Total persons returned as speaking a language subsidiary to their mother tongue.	Subsidiary languages.	
Hindi	11,04,239	65,773	Bengali ..	32,958
			Santali ..	31,587
			Malto ..	1,228
Santali	9,82,170	89,338	Hindi ..	49,546
			Bengali ..	39,356
			Malto ..	436
Bengali	2,11,451	28,450	Hindi ..	17,182
			Santali ..	11,209
			Malto ..	59
Malto (Paharia) ..	23,774	2,148	Bengali ..	1,180
			Hindi ..	931
			Santali ..	37
Marwari	249	40	Hindi ..	39
			Bengali ..	1
Oraon	209	80	Hindi ..	59
			Bengali ..	21

The script used for Hindi is the Devanagri character. In the rural areas and also particularly in the courts throughout the district *Kaithi* character is still used. In the census of 1951 Urdu has not been shown separately but grouped with Hindi. In 1951 Census Report, however, 99,501 persons have been shown as Urdu-speaking within the district.

**District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* (1956), page 117.

RELIGION AND CASTE.

The Hindus and the tribals taken together form the majority of the population. Next to them are the Muhammadans. The Christians form a minority group. The figures since 1901 are as follows* :—

Census year.	Total population.	Hindus.	Animists.	Muhammadans.	Sikhs.	Jains.	Buddhists.	Christians.	Jews.	Others.
1901 ..	18,09,737	10,15,753	6,32,068	1,51,993	..	..	..	9,875	..	48
1911 ..	18,82,973	9,64,529	7,31,328	1,76,614	45	277	..	10,163	..	17
1921 ..	17,98,639	8,23,381	7,83,631	1,80,396	..	224	..	11,001	6	..
1931 ..	20,51,472	9,49,198	8,65,128	2,23,702	73	25	..	13,346	..	..
1941 ..	22,34,497	8,38,166	11,29,885	2,62,836	50	302	..	2,708	6	..
1951 ..	23,22,092	10,61,325	10,37,167	2,19,240	24	49	3	4,284	..	542

*Figures of 1901 have been taken from *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1910), page 67; the figures of 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951 have been taken from (I) *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V Bihar and Orissa, Part III—tables, page 21—23, (II) *Census of India*, 1921, Vol. VII Bihar and Orissa Part II pages 21—23 (III) *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. VII, Bihar and Orissa Part II—tables, pages 131—133, *Census of India*, 1941, Vol. VII, Bihar, pages 32—37 and (IV) *District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* (1956), pages 120-121.

In the table relating to religion in 1951 census tribals have been clubbed together with the Hindus*. However, the population of tribals has been given at page 126.

The figures of population according to religion for the 1961 census have not been finalised as yet (June 1963) and so they could not be given.

Out of the total population of 23,22,092 in 1951, Hindus constituted 45.7 per cent, Animist or tribals 44.7 per cent, Muhammadans 9.4 per cent and Christian 0.18 per cent as against their percentage of 56.1, 34.9, 8.4 and about half per cent respectively in 1901.

The increase in the number of Animists or tribals and Muhammadans from 1901 to 1941 seems to be the result of natural accretion. The number of Hindus during half of the century has shown a little fluctuating tendency. The population figures given in 1951 census of both Animists and Muhammadans showed a marked decrease. This may be due to enumeration of Animists as Hindus and a large exodus of the Muslim population to Pakistan.

Christian Missions.

The Christian Missions have been working in the Santal Parganas areas for quite a number of decades and a large percentage of Santals have been converted into Christianity. According to 1931 and 1941 censuses, out of total number of 13,346 and 2,708 Christians, the number of Indian Christians was 12,813 and 2,509 respectively. In 1951 the Christian population is recorded as 4,284 souls. The 1961 census figures are not available. It appears that the drop in the figure from 1941 is not correct as it is not normal that there should be this large decline when we know that the missions are all working as before and there has been no large scale emigration of Christian population only.

It may be mentioned here that the principal Christian missions that have been working in Santal Parganas are the Scandinavian Mission of the Northern Churches, American Lutheran Mission, Roman Catholics and the Plymouth Brethren. The English Church Missionary Society is at work mainly in Godda, Sahibganj and Pakaur subdivisions and has also established a colony for Santal Christians in the Western Duars. Work was begun in 1862 the first missionaries being the Rev. E. L. Puxley and the Rev. W. T. Storrs. There are six main stations, the centres of congregational, educational and medical work of the society at Taljhari and Barharwa in Rajmahal subdivision, Pathra and Bhagaya

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* *District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* (1951), p. 126.

in Godda subdivision, Hiranpur in Pakaur Damin where a hospital is maintained and Deoghar where a residential girls high school is maintained. The Girls' School at Deoghar was first established by the Christian Women's Board of Missions, a Wesleyan Mission which subsequently changed itself into English Church Missionary Society under the Church of England.

The Christian community attached to this missionary society is now ecclesiastically under the care of the Anglican Bishop of Bhagalpur.

The Scandinavian and American Lutheran Mission has been established in Dumka subdivision for over 80 years. Work was started at Benagaria in 1867 by the Rev. H. P. Boerresen, a Dane and by the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, Norwegian whose Santali grammar was the first standard work on the language. The mission was also known as the Indian Home Mission to the Santals because it was the intention of the founders to raise in India all the funds required for its purpose. In accordance with an agreement with the Church Missionary Society its work in this district was confined to the tract south of the Bansloi river. In 1905 it took over an independent mission started in the Jamtara subdivision by the late Mr. Heagert who had his headquarters at Kairabani and had established two branches of his mission in the Dumka subdivision, one at Maharo and the other at Dharampur.

The name of this mission has now been altered to The Santal Mission of the Northern Churches with head office at Dumka. It has many stations in this district and also across North Bengal and Assam. In Assam it has a colony for Santal emigrants and there it owns a tea garden. In Dumka subdivision it runs the Saldaha Leper Colony and maintains training schools at Kairabani and Maharo. It has a printing press at Benagaria for propagative and educational work. This press has been publishing useful literature in Santali for decades now. The mission runs a well-equipped hospital at Mohulpahari near Baramasia which is also a training centre for nurses and midwives. The property of this mission is vested in a Trust. This hospital is very popular and is a model.

The Christian community attached to this mission has recently been organised into the Ebenser Evangelical Lutheran Church with Central Church office at Benagaria where the General Superintendent resides.

Other Protestant missions are the American Methodist Episcopal Mission which started work in the Pakaur subdivision under the Rev. J. P. Meik in 1884 and the Plymouth Brethren with their stations at Jamtara, Karamtanr, Mihijam and Sagjuria. The American Seventh Day Adventists are at work at Karmatanr and the Bengali Dipti Mission at Sahibganj and Rajmahal.

In recent years the Roman Catholic Church has also established itself in the district having founded mission stations with educational institutions at Dudhani and Guhiajori near Dumka, at Tinpahar, and at Torai near Pakaur. The Guhiajori Mission lands were acquired for the mission by the Zamindar, Mr. K. D. Lal of Bhagalpur in August, 1932. All these stations are under the ecclesiastical care of the Archbishop of Calcutta. There are also Roman Catholic Mission stations at Godda and Poraiyahat but these are within the Diocese of Patna. The Christian Santals have been separately described under the text on "The Santals".

There is no doubt that it were the Christian missionaries that really gave the first start for schools, hospitals and leper homes in the interior of the district. It is they who first studied the Santal culture and made their knowledge available in a large number of books.

Brahmo Samaj

Deoghar Brahmo Samaj was established in the year 1910. Missionaries of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj visited the place very frequently and divine services, religious discourses were held regularly which helped to form a local congregation of worshippers. The Samaj had a charitable Homoeopathic dispensary attached to it from which medical help was given to the people in the adjoining areas. Afterwards, the Brahmos having left the town the local congregation became weak. The Samaj building not being in use for a long time was in a bad state of repairs and the activities of the Samaj had also to be suspended.

Recently arrangement has been made to repair the Samaj building and revive the activities of the Samaj. Mission parties of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj have made frequent visits to the place and held divine services, religious discourses, lectures, etc. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in its programme of work has given priority in reviving all other activities of the Samaj in the near future.

Tribes and Castes

From ethnological point of view this district is the most interesting district of Bihar due to the presence of a large variety of races and castes.

Paharias

As already mentioned the earliest settlers in the district are the Paharias*, one branch of which, the Maler found a refuge in the Rajmahal hills. The other branch, the Mal Paharias had settled themselves in the south-west and were, more or less Hinduised.

**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), p. 86.

A third branch, the Kumarbhag is found also in the south-west. A sociological study of the Paharias has been given elsewhere.

The numerical strength of the Paharias from 1872 to 1941 as mentioned in *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), page 107 was as follows :—

Census year	Maler or Sauria Paharias.	Mal Paharias, Naiyas and Pujahars.	Total.
1872	68,335	18,000	86,335
1891	1,11,592	7,837+17,068	1,36,497
1901	47,066	41,048	88,114
1911	62,734	38,553	1,01,287
1921	55,600	39,972	95,572
1931	59,891	37,437	97,328
1941*	57,212	39,809+(9,301 Kumarbhag).	1,06,322

The Kumarbhag Paharias were separately enumerated as 9,301 souls in 1941 census. In the two subsequent censuses of 1951 and 1961 there was no census of Sauria Paharias, Mal Paharias or Kumarbhag as such.

The Special Officer for the Paharias' Welfare posted in Santal Parganas has supplied the figures given below for 1961. The approximate figures as available from the reports of Annual Administration of the Scheduled Areas of the district are given subdivision-wise :—

Name of the subdivision.	Sauriya.	Mal Paharia.	Kumarbhag.	Total.
Rajmahal	32,048	3,358	Nil	35,406
Pakaur	10,916	4,906	1,862	17,684
Dumka	Nil	27,291	752	28,016
Jamtara	Nil	1,670	Nil	1,670
Deoghar	Nil	1,224	86	1,310
Godda	10,512	1,501	4,895	17,008
Total	53,576	39,950	4,568 7,595	1,01,094

The fluctuations in the figures in the recent census years may be due to the fact that the Paharias mostly live at the top of the hills and also speak Santali and Hindi.

* *Census of India*, 1941, *VII*, *Bihar*, pages 63, 67 and 86.

Bhuiyas and Khetauris

Another tribal is the Bhuiyas who held the forest tracts and passes and owned allegiance to the Khetauris or Katauris. The Khetauris were a ruling race and from the chief seat at Kharagpur in Monghyr district they exercised supremacy over portions of Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts, till they were overcome by the Rajput adventurers from the north of India, who founded the Kharagpur Raj*. Mr. McPherson's observations regarding the relations the Khetauris and Bhuiyas as quoted in *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938) are as follows :—

> "Katauri domination was confined to the region west of hills, and the Bhuiyas were the aborigines of the forest tracts, over whom the Katauris exercised sway, and to whom they were closely related by blood and intermarriage. The Katauris had possession of the more open country to the north, the Bhuiyas held the forest tracts as *ghatwals* under the Katauris. The Bhuiyas belong to the same Dravidian stock as the hill Maler. They have lost the Dravidian tongue and have taken on a veneer of Hinduism. Their chiefs make the usual Kshettriya pretensions and calling themselves Surjyabansis disclaim connection with their Bhuiya kinsmen. But the physical characteristics of all are alike Dravidian, and in Captain Browne's time (1772—78) the chiefs never thought of claiming to be other than Bhuiya. The highest chiefs of the Bhuiyas are called Tikaits and are supposed to have received the mark of royalty. Inferior chiefs are called Thakurs, and the younger members of noble Bhuiya families are called Babus. Wealth and position do not always coincide with birth. The head of the Lakshmipur family, for example, is a Thakur, while the Patrol *ghatwal* a much less considerable person, is aTikait"**

The table below shows the numerical strength of the Khetauris and Bhuiyas from 1901 to 1941***:—

Census year.	Khetauris.	Bhuiyas.
1891	Not known	26,351
1901	1,431	1,19,059
1911	27,024	1,17,624
1921	20,946	82,000
1931	26,787	70,759
1941	20,702	Not known.

**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), pp. 87-88.
**Quoted in the *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer*, 1938, p. 87
***Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), p. 87 and *Census of India*, 1931, *Vol. VII, Bihar and Orissa Part II, Tables PR* - 143 *and* 149 *and Census of India*, 1941, *Vol. VII, Bihar*, p. 60.

In 1941 census the Bhuiyas do not appear to have been separately enumerated. As the censuses of 1951 and 1961 did not record the population figures of individual tribes the strength of the Khetauris and Bhuiyas in those years cannot be given. It may also be mentioned that the Khetauris claim to be the Kshettriyas. It is likely that many of them were not enumerated as Khetauris. This probably explains the fluctuating figures in different census years.

The Bhuiyas are a declining community if the census figures are correct. It is also likely that many Bhuiyas were enumerated under other groups. In the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) the Bhuiyas and the Khetauris have been considered as semi-tribals*. But in 1941 their population figure has been shown under "Selected Tribes**".

The Santals.

The origin of the Santals in this district may be reiterated. *The Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938) mentions at page 119, "Buchanan Hamilton's information was that disputes with the Birbhum zamindars drove the Santals into Handwe and Belpatta and the date of their settlement there may be placed between 1790 and 1810. It was probably a later influx (between 1815 and 1830) which brought the tribe to the notice of Mr. Sutherland in 1816 and of Mr. Ward, the demarcator of the *Damin-i-koh*, between 1826 and 1833. These poineers were soon followed by large numbers of their tribesmen, who between 1836 and 1851 flocked into the *Damin-i-koh*, where they cleared the jungles and received land on easy terms. According to Captain Sherwill, there were no less than 83,265 Santals in the *Damin-i-koh* alone in 1851. The marginal table shows their strength in the whole district at each census except that of 1881, when the figures returned (9,148) was obviously incorrect. The total number of Santals in Bengal at the 1931 census was 796,656, the most numerous being in Midnapur (169,750), Bankura (114,577) and in Burdwan (101,532). In Bihar, the Santals can be found in large numbers in Manbhum (282,315), Hazaribagh (129,103) and Singhbhum (108,890)."

1872	..	455,513
1891	..	617,158
1901	..	670,535
1911	..	668,149
1921	..	676,459
1931	..	754,804

In 1941 the Santals were recorded as 798,830 souls out of the total district population of 2,234,497†.

**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), p. 88.
***Census of India*, 1941, *Vol. VII*, p. 60.
†*Census of India*, 1941, *Vol. VII, Bihar*, p. 82.

Some of the figures of these numerically small tribals in 1941 were as follows :—

Agaria—13, Banjara—255, Bedia—56, Bhogta—21, Maulika (Ma)—549, Munda—485, Gorait—16, Gulgulia—40, Karmali—720, Kawar—220, Kisan (Nagesia)—12, Cheor—4, Ghasi—149, Pahaiya—17, Pahira—36, Pradhan—99, Pando—5 and Saunta—4.

The following tribals or semi-tribals had a larger population in 1941 census :—

Turi—14,322, Uraon—9,644, Kora—2,542, Mahili—17,660.

The corresponding 1931 census figures for some of them are as follows :—

Turi—3,644, Uraon—5,816, Kora—3,304, Mahli—17,687.

A cursory study of these figures will show that they are not very accurate and the enumerators appear to have taken a good deal of liberty in putting the tribals in different groups. The 1931 figure of 3,644 for the Turis cannot normally become 14,322 in 1941. Similarly the Uraon population of 5,816 persons in 1931 cannot normally become 9,644 in 1941. It is clear that there has been transposition of the groups.

For the censuses of 1951 and 1961 the tribals were not enumerated separately but the total population of the tribals was recorded. In 1951 there were 1,037,167 tribals consisting of 516,516 males and 520,651 females as against 1,023,078 in 1961*.

According to 1961 census figures Dumka subdivision has the highest population of the tribals while Deoghar subdivision has the lowest. The figure for 1961 shows a drop of 14,089 people from 1951 population. The decrease may be attributed to seasonal emigration. It is also possible that many of the tribals were recorded under the general category of the Hindus.

Castes

Castewise population figures were recorded only up to 1931 census. The table below shows the numerical strength of

Census of India, Paper no. I of 1962, p. 16.

the different castes as enumerated in 1901 and 1931 census years*.

Hindus.	1931 census.		1901 census.		Remarks.
	Number.	Proportion.	Number.	Proportion.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
(a) HIGH CASTES—					
Babhan (Bhumihar Brahmans).	11,027	.56	Not available	..	
Brahmans	42,668	2.08	34,136	1.0	
Kayasthas ..	10,769	.52	N.A.	..	
Rajputs	21,200	.01	42,191	2.4	
Others	..	..	13,153	0.7	
TOTAL ..	85,664	..	89,480	5.0	
(b) PASTORAL AND AGRICULTURAL CASTES—					
Dhanuk	12,228	.59	14,708	0.8	
Goala	1,23,177	6.00	1,08,689	6.0	
Kahar	19,115	.94	18,101	1.0	
Koiri	18,629	.908	14,464	0.8	
Kurmi	22,630	1.10	16,700	0.9	
Others	..	..	10,752	0.6	
TOTAL ..	1,95,779	..	1,83,420	10.1	
(c) TRADING AND INDUSTRIAL CASTES—					
Bania	14,990	.73	14,443	0.8	
Hajjam and Napit ..	23,497	1.14	17,867	1.0	
Kamar	26,412	1.28	24,407	1.3	The figure of 1901 includes Lohar.
Kumhar	31,233	1.52	27,473	1.5	
Tanti	13,146	.64	..	..	
Teli	54,679	2.66	42,873	2.4	The figure of 1901 includes Kalu.

* *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), p. 38 *and Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1910), p. 79.

Hindus.	1931 census.		1901 census.		Remarks.
	Number.	Proportion.	Number.	Proportion.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Barhi, Kandu, Kewat and Mali.	20,347	.99	16,915	0.9	The figure of 1901 includes Halwai and Mayara.
Suri and Kalwar ..	..	..	33,193	1.8	The figures do not include Kalwar and Suri which numbered 30,535 at the 1921 census as no separate figures are available of this caste in the 1931 census.
Weaving caste ..	..	..	21,110	1.2	
Fishing caste ..	..	..	10,566	0.6	
Others	..	..	24,622	1.4	
TOTAL ..	1,84,304	..	2,33,469	12.9	
(*d*) MOHAMMADANS—					
Jolhas	1,25,499	6.12	62,764	3.5	
Sheikh	N.A.	N.A.	77,425	4.3	
Others	98,203	4.8	1,804	0.6	
TOTAL ..	2,23,702	..	1,51,993	8.3	

The statistics indicate that among the Hindus, Goalas predominated both in 1901 and 1931 censuses. Jolhas among the Muslims predominated in 1931 census. Their population of 62,764 in 1901 rose to 1,25,449 which was normally not possible by natural accretion and normal immigration. The population of Sheikh was higher than the Jolhas in 1901 but it obviously dropped in 1931. No separate figures for Sheikhs have been given in 1931 census but from the figures given in the column 'Others' it may be inferred that the Sheikh population was less than 98,203.

In the censuses of 1951 and 1961 all the castes were not separately enumerated excepting giving the total of the Scheduled Castes.

N.A.—Not available.

Scheduled Castes were notified under the Constitution "Scheduled Castes" Order, 1950 for the following :—

Bauri, Bantar, Bhogta, Chamar, Chaupal, Dhobi, Dom, Dusadh (including Dhari or Dharhi), Ghasi, Halalkhor, Hari (including Mehtar), Kanjar, Kurarear, Lalbegi, Mochi, Musahar, Nat, Pan, Pasi, Rajwar and Turi*.

The total population of Scheduled Castes in 1951 was 1,44,363 consisting of 72,838 males and 71,525 females. The subdivision-wise population of the Scheduled Castes for 1961 census as supplied by the Census Office, Bihar, Patna was as follows :—

District and subdivisions.	1961 census.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Santal Parganas district	2,02,307	1,00,852	1,01,455
Deoghar subdivision	60,191	29,417	30,774
Dumka subdivision	30,158	15,215	14,943
Godda	38,506	19,194	19,312
Jamtara	32,779	16,904	15,975
Rajmahal	30,016	14,864	15,152
Pakaur	10,657	5,358	5,299

The population of the Scheduled Castes in 1961 shows an increase of 57,944 over 1951 census population. Deoghar subdivision has the highest concentration while Pakaur subdivision has the lowest incidence. The Scheduled Castes constitute roughly about 8 per cent of the total population of the district.

Religious Beliefs

On the basis of religion, the population of the district may be grouped under Hindus, Animists, Muslims and Christians. While the Hindus and Animists (who are tribals) form the majority, the Muslims and the Christians are the two minor groups.

The Hindus of this district have the same pattern of religious beliefs as the Hindus of the other districts of Bihar. A detailed

**District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* (1956), p. 123.

description has been given in the *District Gazetteer of Bhagalpur* and a repetition in details will be unnecessary.

It may, however, be pointed out that the existence of the Shiva temple at Baidyanath (Deoghar) and Basukinath near Dumka has put in a particular accent on Shaivaism—the worship of Lord Shiva particularly. In the text on culture it has been mentioned that Deoghar particularly has been a sort of confluence of different religious creeds which broadly come under Hinduism. Hindu religious beliefs and ceremonies and particularly the worship of Durga, Kali, etc., has had a deep hold on the tribals who freely join in these ceremonies. Religious *melas* have a great attraction for the Hindu population of the district. Pedestrians carrying Ganga water and marching in batches from the Shiva temple at Sultanganj in Bhagalpur district to the temples at Basukinath and Baidyanath at Deoghar are a common sight. Vaisnavism and monotheism have a number of devotees. The medieval saints like Kabir, Ramanand, Chaitanyadev and Ballbha Charya have also their adherents.

The *Pandas* who are Maithil Brahmins are a prominent feature in this district. The *Pandas* at Baidyanath or Basukinath temples provide facilities for lodging and boarding to the worshippers who come from different parts of the country. This institution has been very helpful in keeping up the religiosity of the Hindus. Three important festivals—*Basantpanchmi*, *Shivaratri* and *Sombari* are celebrated with very great pomp and attract thousands of visitors from outside. *Basantpanchmi* is held in the month of *Magh* (January-February), *Shivaratri* in *Falgun* (March), and *Sombari* in the month of *Shravan* (July). *Basantpanchmi* is celebrated as the occasion for the *Tilak* of Lord Shiva and *Shivaratri* as the occasion of Lord Shiva's marriage with Parvati. About one lakh of devotees on the average offer their *pujas* on these occasions at Deoghar. Basukinath temple also attracts thousands of visitors on these occasions.

Religiosity of the Hindus is also marked by the observance of the fasts (*Bratas*). The days on which the *Bratas* are commonly observed are *Ekadashi*, *Chaturdashi*, *Mangal* and *Chhath*. Many Hindus observe certain restrictions on every Sunday as well. The *Bratas* are more observed by the ladies.

Manners and Customs

The manners and customs of the Hindus of this district and the various ceremonies from conception to cremation are the same as observed by the Hindus in other districts which has been

covered in the *District Gazetteer of Bhagalpur*. The proximity of the districts of Bengal has a certain amount of impact on the manners and customs of this district. This impact is apparent in the daily habits of the people of different status, the mode of dress, social habits, food and the manner of greetings, etc. The influence of this district is also seen in the manners and customs of the neighbouring districts of West Bengal as well.

It may, however, be mentioned that the influence of western education and the impact of modern ideas about social equality, justice, individual freedom, etc., have started bringing in changes in previous religious beliefs, customs and manners of the people. The pace of change has, however, been very slow because of the strong hold of orthodox Hinduism and the presence of the temples. A few Hindu *Ashrams* like that of Shri Balananda Brahmachari, Satsang, Ram Krishna Mission, etc., have also kept up the older traditions to a large extent.

The religious beliefs and manners and customs of the Muslims are the same as given in the *District Gazetteer of Saran*.

Social Life

The discussion is confined here to the non-tribals. The social life of the tribals and non-tribals is fundamentally different from one another in spite of a certain amount of fusion.

Property and inheritance

The Hindus, who form the majority of the population, are governed by the Hindu Law. In matters of succession both the Mitakshara or Banaras school and the Dayabhag or Bengal school are the guiding authorities. The Bengali Hindus are governed by the Dayabhag school and the other Hindus by the Mitakshara school. The classification of the Hindus into the four traditional castes was very important as before the passing of the Acts which seek to codify the Hindu Law, different laws applied to the regenerate classes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishya) and quite a different law applied to the Sudras on various matters like marriage and adoption. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, etc., have swept away the distinctions and one and the same law has been sought to be made applicable for all. The Constitution of the Indian Republic does not recognise any discrimination in law on the ground of caste.

The Mitakshara law of succession was substantively changed with the passing of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956. The females, who previously had limited life interest in the property and suffered

from various legal disabilities, have been given almost equal rights. The succession by survivorship has practically been abolished and there is now only one mode of succession, i.e., by succession according to the Act.

Hindu Succession Act, 1956, has somewhat affected the joint family system which was already disintegrating to some extent due to the spread of western education and present economic trends, urbanisation, etc. Joint family system is on the wane in the urban areas. But it is still strong in the rural areas. A rapid sample survey was conducted by the Gazetteers' Revision Section in the Palajori Block. The details have been covered in the text on Economic Trends. It was found that the rural families constitute both direct and collateral descendants. Even a big joint family consisting of 25 members was found. The incidence of transfer of property through wills is small.

In case of the Muhammadans the inheritance is governed by the Muhammadan Law. The Muhammadan law has not had any change as in Hindu law.

Marriage and morals

Marriage according to the Hindu law now is both a sacrament and a civil contract. The *Dharmasastras* prescribe certain promises which the bridegroom, and the bride make at the time of marriage. This is in the form of *mantras* recited by them during *Saptapadi-gaman* before the sacred fire. The *Sindurdan* is an essential feature of the Hindu marriage.

Monogamy is an essential condition of a Hindu marriage. A marriage performed in contravention of it after the commencement of the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 will be void. So long as the marriage is not declared void or annuled by decree of nullity, the marriage remains valid and the children of such marriage will be legitimate.

The Christian law has always prohibited polygamy. Though the Quran permits polygamy there are very few Muslims now who have more than one wife. The present economic trends, public opinion and social shifts have led to the liquidation of polygamy.

Traditional restrictions on Hindu marriages

The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, has brought about great changes and the restrictions have been legally removed to some extent. Inter-caste marriage or marriages between persons of the same *gotra* are not by themselves invalid now.

Marriage customs and rituals have not been interfered with by the Hindu Marriage Act but there is a growing tendency to do away with some of the minor customs and rituals (*achar*). *Sindurdan*

and *Saptapadigaman* have, however, retained their sacramental prestige. The marriage vows before the scared fire continue to be in vogue.

The law has prescribed the minimum marital age of the groom as 18 years and that of the bride as 15 years but a contravention does not annul the marriage. There could, however, be a punishment if some one files a case for breach. The incidence of child marriage is going down.

Dowry system

In spite of legislation and apparent disapprobation, the dowry system exists extensively among the high caste Hindus. The bride's father is forced to pay both in cash and ornaments. Payment of dowry is one of the reasons for the incidence of indebtedness both urban and rural. This evil is slowly affecting the high Muslim families also.

Marriage of widows and divorce

In spite of Widow Re-marriage Act, 1856, the re-marriage of widows has not been popular. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, provides for the re-marriage of widows and divorced women. Widow marriage is in practice among the Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes. Widow marriage is sanctioned by the Quran and is more common among the Muslims. It is not generally encouraged. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, permits divorce at the instance of either party on grounds of adultery, conversion, lunacy, suffering from virulent form of leprosy, renunciation, desertion and impotency, etc. There are no reports of such divorce cases in the district. Though divorce is not prevalent in high caste Hindus nevertheless divorce as sanctioned by custom is quite common among the lower and poorer sections of the community. Divorce is looked with disfavour even in the Muslim Community. The *District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas* published in 1956 has given the table of divorce based on sample extraction according to age-group as follows*:—

Age-group.	Males.	Females.
5—14	..	2
15—24	23	22
25—34	26	154
35—44	58	77
45—54	80	102
55—64	46	60
65—74	45	21
75 and over	18	11
Age not stated	12	2

**District Census Handbook*, published in 1956, p. 99.

The table below shows the marital status of the people of the district* :—

Age-group.	Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed and divorced.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed and divorced.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5—14 ..	22,725	7,507	40	20,124	9,341	92
15—24 ..	3,666	16,477	210	2,270	15,295	444
25—34 ..	1,178	18,254	902	1,013	17,198	944
35—44 ..	247	12,233	1,245	758	12,766	1,515
45—54 ..	369	6,414	1,019	123	5,901	1,439
55—64 ..	282	5,075	957	13	3,428	1,439
65—74 ..	22	1,944	516	1	2,305	942
75 and over ..	67	905	428	..	664	843
Age not stated ..	168	204	95	16		12

The above civil condition was enumerated out of the sample survey of 234,959 persons out of which 119,096 were males and 115,863 females.

Economic Dependence of Women and their Place in Society

Among the non-tribals, women are still, more or less, dependent on men although many educated women are now in service. The tribal women have more independence. The sex disability in succession or franchise has been legally removed but the male-dominated Hindu or Muslim society has not yet allowed women-folk economic independence even if they could be earning their own livelihood. There is want of proper social education and a change of vision is still required.

Prostitution and Traffic in Women

Prostitution as an institution was never prevalent in Santal Parganas. In none of the towns of the district there was a regular red light area. Though prostitution had never flourished in Santal

*District Census Hand Book (1953), pp. 100-101.

Parganas, there were a few villages in the Godda subdivision of the *Khelatas* (dancers) among whom the standard of morality is said to be rather low. But now they have practically changed their profession and have become agriculturists. The Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act provides for the suppression of brothels and of traffic in women. The Act is enforced in the municipal areas. It is reported from the District Police Office that the incidence of traffic in women is practically nil. Rape is not common. The reports of the Police Office show that 50 sex crimes under section 376, I.P.C. were lodged in 1958, 45 in 1959, 40 in 1960, 33 in 1961 and 42 in 1962.

Drinking and Gambling

A form of prohibition has recently been imposed in the Deoghar town which is a place of pilgrimage. Prohibition has been discussed elsewhere. Drinking is not common among the non-tribals.

The incidence of gambling is not large in the district. Gambling is common during the night of *Diwali*. The police has to be vigilant in checking gambling. There were 19 gambling cases in 1958, 12 in 1959, 15 in 1960, 15 in 1961 and 10 in 1962.

Home Life

Dwellings

In the rural areas there is not much difference between the pattern of the houses of the common tribal and the common non-tribal man excepting that the house of a tribal is neater and has usually some ornamental paintings on the walls. The rural houses of the non-tribals are *katcha* or mud plastered with thatched roof. But such houses are not many. Double storeyed buildings in the rural areas are scarce. Brick is becoming popular for the houses of the middle income group. Use of cement is confined to the well-to-do only. The houses are quadrangular in shape. There are verandahs all round the building with an inner courtyard. Some of the houses have compound wall all round. There is no separate shed for kitchen and cattle. In the centre of the inner courtyard usually the sacred *tulsi* plant is installed.

Great changes have taken place in the design, layout and the architecture of the buildings that have sprung up in recent times in the urban areas. As mentioned elsewhere, the salubrious climate of places like Deoghar, Jasidih, Madhupur, Karmatanr, Jamtara and Mihijam, etc., had attracted many affluent persons of West Bengal to build big and well-planned buildings in these urban areas of

the district. Almost all such houses have gardens. Many of these houses are now deserted. The dwellings of the upper middle class and the average middle-income group are brick-built with tiled roof. The houses of the poor and the low-income group people are almost the same like the rural areas.

The houses in Deoghar and Sahibganj are rather congested with poor sanitary arrangements.

Furniture and Decorations

The non-tribals of the district have the same type of furniture and decorations as the people of Bhagalpur have. The observations in *Bhagalpur District Gazetteer* can apply also to the non-tribals of Santal Parganas. Kerosene lamps are commonly in use. In almost all the Hindu houses a small lamp, lit either with *ghee* or mustard oil, is kept near the altar of the *tulsi* plant. Stainless steel pots are seen only in the house of the rich people.

Dress and Ornaments

The observations on dress and ornaments in *Bhagalpur District Gazetteer* can also apply to the non-tribals of Santal Parganas. The discussions need not be repeated.

Food

The food habits are more akin to the Bengalis of the adjoining districts of West Bengal. Rice, fish and meat with vegetables are the common food. The Maithil Brahmins are not strictly vegetarians. Plenty of fish used to be available in the tanks, ponds and rivers and most of the people take fish and rice. Wheat is tolerated but not appreciated. The mode of cooking is also much akin to the mode in West Bengal. Milk and milk-products are in great demand particularly by the well-to-do people. *Chhena* and *Perha* of this district, two milk-products are well noted.

Amusements and Festivities

The amusements and festivities of the non-tribals are akin to what have been discussed in *Bhagalpur District Gazetteer*. Shikar has been a favourite sport of the well-to-do. The jungles of the district were once full of wild game.

Public Games and Recreation Clubs

Foot-ball is becoming a very popular public game both in rural and urban areas. Foot-ball matches attract large crowds. Games like volley ball, basket ball, badminton, and cricket, etc., have been taken up with keen interest. There are a number of organisations and societies which encourage sports and athletic activities. Recreation clubs are more confined to the officers and pleaders. At Dumka there are three clubs—Dumka Club, Popular Club and Lions Club. Lions

Club is a branch of an international organisation the membership of which is quite expensive. Meetings of the Lions Club are held in the Dumka Club. At Sahibganj there is a Robertson Club. The staff of the Eastern Railways has an institute there. There is also a Railway institute at Madhupur. All the subdivisional headquarters have clubs.

Among indigenous sports, wrestling was more popular before. *Kabadi* is also going out. Various indoor games like chess, various card games, etc., have become very popular. Idle gossiping and superficial discussions of the current topics take away a lot of the leisure of the average educated person. The students waste a very considerable time in the evening as there are very few healthy attractions for them excepting the cinemas which exhibit more of sexy pictures.

Pilgrim Centres

Baidyanath temple at Deoghar and Basukinath temple at Basukinath are famous centres of pilgrimage. Baidyanath temple during *Sravani mela, Basant Panchmi, Bhado Chaturdasi* and *Sivaratri* assumes a festive outlook and attracts a large crowd from within the State and outside. The pilgrims who visit Deoghar usually also visit Basukinath. *Ras Melas* of the district are famous. They are held at Kurba, Hijla and Barmasia. They have been discussed elsewhere.

Rathyatra, Durgapuja, Dipawali, Holi, Muharram and *Id* are celebrated with pomp. Anyone who observes cannot but gather the impression that there is zest among the non-tribals to enjoy life more than their brethren in many other districts. This is probably due to contact with Adibasi culture where there is a great element of joy in the tribals and an abandon to be in tune with nature.

Economic and Professional Groups and Classes in Relation to Social Life.

The traditional social structure of the district has undergone a perceptible change since the twenties of this century. The spread of western education and the missionary activities had already brought about great changes. The caste-professions have loosened to a great extent. Selling of milk was once confined to Goalas and members of other Backward Communities but now the high caste men do not hesitate to sell the surplus milk. The social disabilities of the Harijans have now been removed. They can draw water from the common well and can take meals in hotel and restaurants. They are visiting the temples, entry to which was debarred to them previously.

The old social structure of the society is being replaced by the economic aspect of the society. Now the status of the man is determined not by caste but by education and financial position. The abolition of the zamindari system, the chief citadel of the old privileged aristocratic class has also brought about a great transformation in the social structure of the society. The village leadership which was the monopoly of the aristocratic class has witnessed perceptible change in the recent *Gram Panchayat* elections. The prestige and position of the *Pradhans* and *Ghatwals* have been undergoing a great change. The Backward and Harijan communities have now become conscious of their rights. It was found that the majority of the *Mukhiyas* in the Palajori Block are of Backward and Harijan communities. In the *Gram Panchayat* election there have been contests between the upper and lower classes more on an economic than on caste lines. Owing to the numerical predominance of the lower class people the upper class people are not having an easy time. The growing political consciousness among all classes and castes of people has led to a rapid decline of the old social order. The Backward and the Scheduled castes have begun to assert their rights. Unfortunately there is a distinct decline in the sense of discipline and obligations. There is more clamour on rights and less on duties. The sense of the want of discipline has been very marked in the students and this is an alarming feature of the new society that is emerging.

The big casualties are the educated middle classes who have always supplied the leadership. The career politicians who have gained a great status have almost eclipsed the teachers, the lawyers and the doctors. This is, however, a period of transition and adjustments are already taking place. New values are emerging and people are becoming more critical. The economic struggle has overshadowed the social life of the non-tribals the majority of whom came from the poor, lower and upper middle class people. The discussions on the economic trends text have their bearing on the social life as well.

The Pandas of Deoghar

The Pandas of Deoghar form an exclusive community and a short description is indicated. The houses of the Pandas are concentrated at the *mahallas* Bilasi and Jhausagarh around the sacred temples of Lord Baidyanath. There are more than one thousand families of Pandas at Deoghar. The Pandas mostly belong to a branch of the Maithil Brahmans. The titles of the Bihar Pandas are *Jha, Ojha, Misra, Narauna, Khaware, Duare, Jajware*, etc. Some of the Pandas who came from Bengal are called *Chakravarti*. The population of the Pandas is about 12,000. About 10,000 of them are

non-earning dependants and 2,000 are earning members. The livelihood of the majority of the Pandas depends on the offerings given by the pilgrims visiting Deoghar every year. A large number of pilgrims visit Deoghar during the *Shravani mela, Bhadra Purnima, Shivaratri, Basant Panchami* and the *Durga Puja.* About 1,500 able-bodied Pandas were found actively assisting pilgrims in performance of various ceremonies during the *Shravani mela.*

The Pandas of Deoghar are usually physically strong like the Pandas of Mathura or Gaya. They usually take nutritious food. Their chief source of income is *dan* or gift from the pilgrims and they are always engaged in picking up new pilgrims. For avoiding clashes, the Pandas have divided the *jajmans* (pilgrims) regionwise which includes Nepal. The chief regional division appears to be a *pargana,* the fiscal unit. The first query of the Panda to the visiting pilgrim is what *pargana* he hails from. The Panda maintains the genealogical table of the *jajman* and this is considered to be patrimony. This is called the *jajmanika* property and is carefully preserved. Each Panda family has a house for accommodating the visiting pilgrim. Even family members vacate the residential portion if necessary. No separate rent is charged for the accommodation. Money, food and clothes are donated by the pilgrim. *Penra* is the chief sweetmeat of Deoghar and *penra* is also the *bhoga* (food) of Lord Baidyanath. The *prasad* of *penra* is taken home by the pilgrims.

The Pandas visit the railway stations, bus stops, *dharamshalas,* residential hotels and the bathing pond, Shivaganga for picking up the pilgrims. Many Pandas visit their *jajmans* at their villages or towns in lean season and keep up a vital contact. In these visits they also contract fresh recruits to their *jajmanka.* If there is a marriage or any other big function in a Panda's family he or his agent may visit some of the chief *jajmans,* invite them and also get presents of cash, cloth or jwellery.

A Panda's work at Deoghar starts from 4 A.M. in the morning and goes on till 1 A.M. in the night; there are two to three shifts when different sets work for picking the pilgrims. The next task is to escort the group of five to seven pilgrims at the proper time to offer *puja* and oblation to Lord Shiva. Like many temples the interior of the Baidyanath temple is dark and the space is very limited. The pilgrim has to undergo a sort of penance in offering *puja* especially when the rush is very great. The assistance of the Panda to the pilgrims on that occasion is necessary. Only the able-bodied and physically strong Pandas do this work.

The Pandas who have to work outside the temple go to the railway stations, Baidyanathdham and Jasidih junction. Three up and two down trains pass Jasidih junction in the morning (from

3.30 A.M. to 8 A.M.) and so one group of the Pandas has to leave their home at about 2.30 A.M. for Baidyanathdham railway station from which a train leaves at 3 A.M. for Jasidih. The Pandas pursue the pilgrims from the Jasidih railway station. If the visiting pilgrim knows the name of his Panda he is accompanied by the Panda to whom he belongs from Jasidih to Deoghar or his agent. After giving shelter in his house the Panda takes the pilgrim to Shivaganga to have the holy dip in the sacred water and then brings the pilgrim to temple. There the other member of his family remains ready since early in the morning for taking the pilgrim in the temple for oblation and the *puja*. It has to be stated that after performing ceremonies connected with the *puja* of the Lord Shiva by the chief priest, which is called *Sarkari puja*, the oblation is performed by the family of the Sardar Panda and other Pandas. The general oblation starts after that. During *Sarkari puja* only the selected Pandas are entitled to be within the temple and assist the chief priest in the ceremonies connected with the *puja*. The duration of the *Sarkari puja* is about 30 to 40 minutes. The general oblation begins from about 5 A.M. A short margin of time is allowed in opening and closing of the gate of the temple in consideration of the rush of the pilgrims. No one, not even the Pandas are allowed to enter within the temple unless one has taken the morning bath. So the Pandas who take the pilgrims inside the temple have to take their bath and *chandan* paste by 4.30 A.M. Light breakfast is also taken as the work in the temple concerning the pilgrims extends up to 1 P.M. when the gate of the temple is closed for rest of the Lord Shiva.

The Pandas usually take their day-meal after 1 P.M. Cooked food usually rice, pulse, vegetable and *ghi* is taken. Meat and fish may also be in the menu. The Pandas of Deoghar are non-vegetarian. Curd with sweet, usually *penra* is taken during the mid-day meal. No food is usually cooked in the night. *Chura* and *dahi* with sweet is the normal food for the night.

After taking the mid-day meal they usually enjoy a siesta, or play card and chess. Between 4 to 5 P.M., many Pandas take *bhang* in a moderate quantity. After that they again move about in search of new pilgrims.

During the *Shringar* (decoration) ceremony of the Lord Shiva in the evening when there is a rush of the pilgrims, the Pandas resume their work of assisting the pilgrims in seeing the *Shringar*. About 50 to 60 Pandas participate in the *arti* ceremony and recite the prayer of Lord Shiva for about 30 minutes. During this period mostly the children of ten to twelve years sell incense (*agarbati*), earthen *ghi* light and camphor. Some are engaged in showing *arti* to pilgrims standing before the temple and uttering prayers

and demanding remuneration. Children are in the habit of pursuing pilgrims even outside the temple for some money. The gate of the temple closes between 9 and 10 P.M. in the night. The Pandas working within the temple finish their work by night-fall. But the Pandas who have to work outside the temple for picking up pilgrims have to work in the night also. Several up and down trains pass Jasidih between 8 and 12 P.M. in the night.

Besides picking up pilgrims on the railway platforms they have to watch every bus coming to Deoghar. The pilgrims from Dumka, Bhagalpur, Chotanagpur division and the bordering districts, viz., Burdwan and Birbhum of West Bengal mostly come to Deoghar by passenger buses. Deoghar is very well served by bus services. About 60 buses come to Deogher daily from different places between 6 A.M. to 10 P.M. The pilgrims either take shelter in the house of their Panda or in the *dharamshalas*. The Pandas frequently pay visit to *dharamshalas* in search of the new pilgrims and taking the customary gift on the eve of departure from the old pilgrims. The persons who put up in the inspection and dak bungalows or hotels are also visited.

During the *melas* when there is a great rush of pilgrims, the Pandas have to work much harder and give up their wrestling bouts, siesta, games of card and chess. The Pandas usually get good dividend in the *mela* period. Even many of the Government servants who are members of the Panda families take leave and work within and without the temple to assist their family members in assisting the pilgrims.

The engagement of the Panda after *mela* period is practically very little. On the whole two months in a year the Pandas are fully occupied but for the rest of the year they have little work in the temple. During this long slack period they have to fall upon the savings made during peak *mela* period.

The women have practically little house-hold work. Their main duty in the house is cooking the mid-day meal. The morning breakfast is either purchased or supplied by the pilgrims. The usual breakfast is *chura* in which *kachauri* or *singhara* is mixed. The breakfast may also consists of *chura* and curd mixed with sugar or *penra*. Some take tea also. Chewing of *pan* is common. The ladies of the Panda families have a lot of leisure and frequently visit one another. They are comely and modest. Incidence of literacy is good.

The Pandas of Deoghar have started taking up other avocations. Some of them have become clerks, teachers, doctors, lawyers or businessmen. Some of them have taken active part in politics as well. Shri Binodanand Jha who was the Chief Minister of Bihar for a considerable period belongs to this community.

The Pandas of Deoghar were economically sound before but now the incidence of presents (*dan*) has been on the decline. Some of them own landed property, are better off and belong to the upper middle class. But the majority lives the life of a man who has not much savings after meeting all his expenses. But they cannot be said to be poor in the general acceptence of the term. Most of them have a lot of lean period. It is a good sign that there has been a shift to other occupations as the old profession of being purely a Panda cannot be exploited beyond a certain limit. The Pandas of Deoghar have a good community feeling among themselves and in this respect they differ from the Pandas of Gaya who have frequent quarrels. The incidence of literacy and education among the Pandas of Deoghar is much higher than the incidence among the Pandas of Gaya.

The marriages of the Pandas are normally confined to the other Panda families at Deoghar. The biological aspects of this inbreeding has not yet been fully studied but generally speaking the position is not as alarming as among the Pandas of Gaya. In Gaya marriages are absolutely restricted within the few Gayawal families of Gaya and the Pandas there are in a biological muddle. Most of the Panda families in Gaya are probably liable to be extinct within a few generations. Inbreeding has its impact and already many of the Gayawal families in Gaya are without a male offspring. It is understood that the ladies in some cases are running the profession of the family with hired men. The Pandas of Puri and the Pandas of Kapilas temple in Orissa are also inbred.

The background of the Pandas in Deoghar is somewhat different as they belong to the Maithil class among the Brahmins of India and it will not be a difficult problem if some of the enlightened and educated Panda boys or girls marry in Maithil families in other districts. At present the marriages are restricted within about 20 square miles with Deoghar as the centre. The gene logical tree of the Maithil Pandas is kept up-to-date by the *Panjikars* of Darbhanga. There is an allergy to strike marital relationship with the Maithils in other districts but there is no restriction. The girls are very keen to marry near their parents' villages. The biological aspects of inbreeding of the Pandas of various places is a fascinating subject for the human biologist and the anthropologist.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION.

General Conditions.

"In the level strip of land along the Ganga agricultural conditions are the same as the alluvial plains of Bihar. Elsewhere the surface is to a large extent composed of long undulating ridges, between which the drainage runs off to join the larger streams. The troughlike hollows that lie between the undulations of the surface are full of rich alluvial soil into which a detritus of vegetable matter has been washed. The crests of the ridges, however, are as a rule very poor, being made up of sterile gravel or stiff clay lying on a hard subsoil, which is dependent on the rainfall and yields even to irrigation but a meagre outturn. The slopes of these ridges, and the swampy ground between, supply the only land on which a rice crop can be raised. The soil is, in the first instance, brought under cultivation by cutting level terraces out of the slopes, a small bank to hold water being left round each plot. The slopes thus present the appearance of a series of steps, varying from one to five feet in height. When the slopes are too steep for terracing, or the soil too stony for cultivation, the bed of the stream is banked up and made into one long narrow rice field. The rice terraces are flooded as soon as possible after the rains set in, and the water is retained until the crop ripens in late autumn. After the crop has been reaped, the higher levels become dry and hard, but the lower fields often remain moist till February and March. The cultivable area which cannot be converted into rice fields is used for other crops requiring less moisture."*

Land Utilisation and Reclamation

The District Census Handbook of Santal Parganas, published in 1956 at page 160 has classified the land of the district as follows :—

Total area in acres (geographical area including unsurveyed).	Net area sown.	Area sown more than once.	Current fallows.	Area under orchard.	Cultivable waste.	Not available for cultivation.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
3,489,536	1,667,003	296,803	423,568	4,433	384,637	1,009,895

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 198.

The Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1956 published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bihar has made the following classification of areas in thousands of acres for 1956-57* :—

Land not available for cultivation.					Culturable waste land.		
Total area by village paper.	Forest.	Barren land.	Other garmazarua land.	Total.	Permanent pasture and other grazing land.	Culturable waste other than fallow land.	Other fallow land.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
35,13	8,22	1,59	3,29	13,10	71	1,99	1,50

Area sown.									
Current fallow.	Total.	Net area sown (excluding orchard).	Area sown more than once.	Total area sown.	Bhadai crops.	Aghani crops.	Rabi crops (excluding orchard).	Garma crops.	Orchard.
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
2,11	6,31	15,72	2,79	18,51	2,21	14,91	1,39	1	2

Thus according to the above statement about 37.3 per cent of the total area of the district is under land not available for cultivation, 17.9 per cent culturable waste land, about 44.8 per cent cultivated land, and that about 17.7 per cent of the cultivated area is twice cropped. About 23.3 per cent of the total area of the district is thus covered by forest. Excluding forest from land not available for cultivation only 24 per cent of the total area comes under land not available for cultivation.

The agricultural statistics supplied by the different sources vary and show a weak statistical base. It is appreciated that the conclusion drawn above on the basis of the statistics of the Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1956 if compared with the first table taken

**Bihar Statistical Handbook*, 1956, pp. 34-35.

from the District Census Handbook of Santal Parganas should not show any striking contrast. But even the slight decrease in the net area sown and area sown more than once is rather intriguing. The acreage of the net area sown and area sown more than once in the District Census Handbook is 1,667,003 and 296,803 respectively as against 1,572,000 and 279,000 respectively in the Bihar Statistical Handbook of 1956 though the acreage of the current fallow had decreased from 423,568 to 211,000.

The cultivated land in the district in 1961-62 was reported to be 2,056,128 acres out of the total district area of 3,539,812 acres.* The total area sown in 1956-57 was 1,851,000 acres which rose to 256,128 in 1961-62.

The overall picture of land utilisation has to be appreciated *vis-a-vis* the statistics of the cultivated area given in the Revisional Survey and Settlement of the District in 1922—35. The last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) had estimated the extension of cultivation by quoting the cultivable area of the last Settlement Report (1898—1910) and the Revision Settlement Report of 1922—35 as follows** ;—

	Zamindari area. Acres.	Area in acres Damin-i-Koh.	Total.
Last settlement ryoti area	1,418,995	382,458	1,801,453
Revision settlement ryoti area	1,767,115	461,166	2,228,281
Percentage of increase	25	20	24
Last settlement rice area	783,552	176,959	960,511
Revision settlement rice area	967,907	228,202	1,196,109
Percentage of increase	23	29	25

It appears that these figures have been taken from the Appendix III of the Revisional Settlement Report of 1922—35. So far as *dhani* (rice) area is concerned the figures given above are at par with the Revisional Settlement Report. But it is not clear whether the last District Gazetteer (1938) had taken the total *ryoti* area or only the total assessed *ryoti* area. But from the perusal it appears that it had taken only the total assessed area which excluded the unassessed area. The total assessed area in Zamindari *ryoti* area in the Revisional Settlement is 1,767,967 and not 1,767,115 as given in the last District Gazetteer (1938). The *ryoti* area of the Damin-i-koh tallies with the Revisional Settlement Report, 1922—35. Thus the total assessed *ryoti* area was

*The figures have been supplied by the District Agricultural Officer, Dumka.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938), p. 208.

2,229,133 acres in the Revisional Settlement Report and not 2,228,281 acres given in the last District Gazetteer of 1938.

It is rather surprising to note that the cultivated area of the district decreased during the three decades. The net cropped area during the revisional settlement was 1,814,959 acres, area sown more than once 213,650 acres and the total cropped area 2,028,609 acres*. If we compare these figures with the figures given previously of the District Census Handbook, published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Bihar, we will have to conclude that the cultivated area of the district has decreased. This is peculiar. Increase of population, spread of villages and townships, extension of communications and construction of irrigational and power resources may have diminished the areas of the cultivated land to some extent. But the reclamation of waste land, soil conservation scheme and the extension of cultivation of the fallow land due to increase in population have also to be taken into account. Considering these factors it can be said that the acreage of the cultivable land should have increased. The figures given by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bhagalpur Division, indicate cultivated land in 1961-62 to be 2,056,128 acres. The increase in the areas of *dhani* land from 1,196,109 acres found during the Revisional Settlement (1922—35) to 1,227,000 during 1956-57 shows an extension of cultivated area.

The Santals have played an important part in the reclamation of land. This role was stressed by the last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) as follows :—

" The Santal is a born reclaimer. He has an eye which is expert to take advantage of the inequalities that exist in the surface of the country. He knows where to throw his *cross-bandhs* and where to make his terraces. He loves to clear jungle, and in areas that are now almost Hindu he has often been the pioneer. In the areas that are left to him, beyond which there is no further advance to be made, he has been protected against encroachment and against the consequences of his own folly by a paternal Government, and he has settled down with intent to stay and to continue the work of improvement and reclamation begun by him. In the olden areas, from which he moved on at an earlier date, he seems to have done the first clearing of jungle and the first rough shaping of slopes and levels. The more civilised Bengali, Bihari and up-country immigrant came at his heels, pushed him off the land by force, cajolery and trickery, seized upon his improvements, and by the application of larger

**Revisional Settlement Report of Santal Parganas, Appendix V(XIII).*

capital or steadier labour developed the embryo *bandhs* and tanks into works of considerable size. In many villages one finds magnificent reservoirs which retain their supply of water throughout the driest years. They have often been begun by Santals and finished by others."*

The work of the Waste Land Reclamation Section of the State Government cannot be properly assessed till there has been a proper survey or appraisal as to the fallow on cultivation. Some of the arid tracts that have been reclaimed have no irrigation facilities and the success of cultivation of paddy or other crops is doubtful. Lands said to have been reclaimed by manual labour have not been inspected to find out if they have been really reclaimed and are growing crops.

For the reclamation of waste land under the Land Development Sector, three schemes in operation, viz., (*i*) reclamation of waste land by manual labour, (*ii*) reclamation of waste land by tractors and (*iii*) land settlement and colonisation of waste land.

In order to encourage reclamation of waste land by manual labour, the cultivators are given Land Improvement Loans payable in easy instalment. Separate figures of L. I. Loans for waste land work are not available. The statement for reclamation of waste land from 1954-55 onwards supplied by Waste Land Reclamation Section is given below :—

Year.	Area reclaimed by manual labour in acres.
1954-55	6,006.73
1955-56	6,236.76
1956-57	1,472.75
1957-58	651
1958-59	227.60
1959-60	Figures not supplied.
1960-61	
1961-62	

In the lateritic areas of which the district forms considerable part, subsidy at Rs. 100 per acre comprising 25 per cent cost of reclamation is given in addition to the said loans to cultivators as a further impetus to reclamation.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 208.

Reclamation of waste land by tractors is generally resorted to in heavily eroded land in the plateau region through heavy units of tractors and earth moving machinery. As the tribals, who inhabit the plateau region, are mostly resourceless, the Central Government have sanctioned subsidy to the extent of 75 per cent of the cost and the balance of 25 per cent is borne by the State Government. The subsidy is granted to the extent of Rs. 400 per acre. Reclamation of waste land by tractor has been mostly done in the Deoghar subdivision. The total area thus reclaimed from 1956-57 to 1960-61 is reported to be 7,870.80 acres. There has been no enquiry if the area reclaimed has been producing crops and the cost has been justified.

Under the Land Settlement and Colonisation Scheme one colonisation block has been set up at village Jamunia in Deoghar subdivision for resettlement of landless agricultural workers. Preliminary work so far in the shape of construction of roads, schools-*cum*-Panchayat *Ghar* and walls has been completed. No appraisal has been made as to how far the scheme has been implemented and with what degree of success.

Soil erosion.—The effects of soil erosion can be seen almost throughout the district. Both gully and sheet erosions take place. Terraced paddy cultivation has not been able to stop erosion. A properly co-ordinated soil conservation scheme is needed for the district. An Assistant Director of Soil Conservation has been posted at Deoghar. It is reported that only 562 acres have been brought under soil conservation measures in the last six years. This progress is, undoubtedly, very slow but there are difficulties as surveys have to be made prior to any work being done.

The Government have adopted three measures, viz., engineering, afforestation and agronomical practices to conserve the soil. Under engineering, suitable contour *bunds* are being constructed, affording safe disposal of the water of the catchment area. Under afforestation bare hills and rocks and lands are being planted to have a suitable cover to lessen the erosion caused by rains. The Deoghar Afforestation Division has two ranges at Deoghar and Dumka. Efforts are being made to plant both denuded and rooted waste lands. Trees have been planted in Khijuria, Khutabanda, Jordoha, Paharpur, Hindia, Jharkhandi, Dharwadih, Baijju Kerwa, Balthoa, Khoripanar-punasi, Nawadih and Bisunpur in Deoghar range and Hijla, Dhamania, Kathon, Amarpur, Sarkanda, Murlidih, Sahanpura, Simarduma, Dundia, Nakti, Lato, Dighi, Sadipur, Sangrampur, Mangalpur, Gunapahari, Machanlia and Karmatanr in Dumka range. Afforestation scheme has been implemented in an area of about 6,679.88 acres of land till 1961.

Soil conservation

In a hilly district tract, Santal Parganas, most of the rain water is quickly drained off owing to the lie of the country. It is only the lands in the lowest ridge which can accumulate rain water. It is also a notorious fact that the few rivers do not have sufficient water throughout the year. The flood water, which lasts for a few hours and for a few days, also runs off unless the water current is artificially stopped.

The great scheme of Mayurakshi dam, commonly known as the Canada dam, is an illustration of what good can be done for soil conservation, irrigation, power supply, etc. Like the Mayurakshi dam, there will be one day a dam on Ajai river, which will also be of great importance for this district.

Now that Mayurakshi dam, a multipurpose scheme has been implemented it has been necessary to take up an allied scheme for soil conservation.

An integrated scheme for soil conservation in the 1,200 sq. miles Mayurakshi catchment in Santal Parganas has just been launched. This centrally sponsored scheme is to cost Rs. 27,24,000 in the next five years outside the expenditure under the current Plan.

The scheme is aimed at ensuring a longer life to the Mayuraksh dam, the power station at Massanjore and irrigation channels by reducing the silt load to the minimum. This is to be achieved by increasing the soil and water resources of forests and adjacent lands through soil conservation measures such as fencing, seeding, manuring, fire control, gully plugs, check dams and diversion channels.

The catchment is made up of 171 sq. miles of culturable waste land, 134 sq. miles of undulating terrain excluding paddy land, 315 sq. miles of paddy fields, 537 sq. miles of pasture-land and 44 sq. miles of forests. The real problem is that of holding water on the undulating slopes and to reduce the flow of rain water to a non-erosive velocity. This is to be solved by graded contour bunds to help the flow of water over grassed waterways into paddy fields or ponds.

While it is impossible to improve pasture-lands without fencing, afforestation can assist by plantation of bamboo clumps over the hills. The plains are to be covered with *sisu* bamboo and even teak wherever the soil is congenial.

The scheme is to be implemented by the Deputy Conservator of Forests, with headquarters at Dumka, and assisted by

agricultural experts. The first step, however, towards implementation is a "conservation survey" which would, however, take about four years. Sixteen silt observation posts are to be set up and would cost Rs. 1,04,000.

The last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) does not mention the acreage of the irrigated area, but has mentioned indigenous irrigational contrivances. According to Appendix IV of the Revisional Settlement Report (1922 –35) the total irrigated area was 342,588 acres. The District Census Handbook for the Santal Parganas (1956) mentions at page 160, 3,15,920 acres for 1921, 333,600 acres for 1931, 329,740 acres for 1941 and 333,835 acres for 1951 as the irrigated area. Now a number of major and minor irrigation schemes have been taken up in the district to augment the availability of water. Some of the schemes may be described.

Major Irrigation Schemes

The major irrigation schemes are executed by the Irrigation Department. The Executive Engineer, Waterways of the Bhagalpur Division with his headquarters at Bhagalpur is the administrative head. There are two Subdivisional Officers, Waterways with their headquarters at Rangalia and Godda.

Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal

The origin of the Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal System can be traced to the Mayurakshi River Valley Project initiated by the West Bengal Government. A brief detail of the Mayurakshi River Valley Project will, therefore, be useful to appreciate the Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal Scheme of Santal Parganas. The Birbhum district of West Bengal which is on the border of Santal Parganas, was notorious for periodical failures of crops due to drought. After years of study the West Bengal Government undertook the Mayurakshi River Valley Project in the First Five-Year Plan. The Mayurakshi or Mor river, as stated before, rises in the hills of Santal Parganas and falls into the Bhagirathi after a course of 150 miles. Though a small stream, it is the largest of the rivulets that flow through Birbhum district. Even in a year of drought its overflow is sufficient to irrigate vast areas. But most of the annual discharge passes down the river in swift and sudden floods during the monsoon. Except in floods, the river does not carry any appreciable volume of water. A storage reservoir was, therefore, considered to be the only means to conserve the water and use it for irrigation throughout the year. Massanjore in Santal Parganas, where the river passes through a narrow valley was found to be an ideal site for a dam.

The construction of the reservoir at Massanjore submerged vast tract of cultivated and uncultivated lands in Santal Parganas and displaced a large number of families which inhabited that area. A Mayurakshi Rehabilitation Office was, therefore, started at Dumka for the rehabilitation of the uprooted families and the payment of compensation, etc. The entire cost had to be borne by the West Bengal Government. About 19,000 acres consisting of *dhanibari* and other unproductive lands were acquired for the reservoir. The number of families affected numbered 5,000 out of which 80 per cent were tribals. The displaced persons have now been resettled in 42 planned resettlement colonies, covering 75 villages in the Mayurakshi Resettlement within the Raneshwar Development Block, co-extensive with the Raneshwar police-station. About 35,000 acres of land have been covered for the rehabilitation of the uprooted families. A sum of Rs. 61.12 lacs was spent on rehabilitation. The total amount spent on rehabilitation and compensation amounted to the tune of Rs. 2.75 crores.*

The Mayurakshi River Valley Project covers an area of 1,400 square miles, mostly undulating plains, where paddy is grown extensively in terraced fields. The dam is built mainly by the munificence and technical co-operation of Canada and so it is named "Canada Dam". The Canada Dam at Massanjore is 113 feet above the bed of the river. The overall length is about 2,150 feet. Twenty-one radial gates, each 30 feet long and 15 feet mounted over the right hand side of the dam, pass the surplus discharge water for irrigation in West Bengal. Water for irrigation in Santal Parganas is drawn from the two sluices on the left bank. The dam is built as a masonry dam divided into 24 monoliths. Each monolith is inter-locked with the adjoining monolith. The total cost of the scheme is Rs. 16.11 crores.

Though mainly an irrigation scheme, it has now become a multipurpose scheme with benefit of generation of power and to some extent it controls floods. The Canada Dam has been of immense benefit to the State of West Bengal.

The Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal draws water from the two sluices on the left bank of the dam. The construction of this canal began in 1954 and was completed in 1956. The total cost of the construction was 81.1 lacs. The canal is a contour canal passing along the foot of the hill, having irrigation on one side only. The length of the main canal is 12½ miles. There are ten distributaries and sub-distributaries having a total length of 27½ miles. Its commandable irrigated area comes to 20,000 acres in Santal Parganas. The irrigation work had started from 1957.

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*Source data given by the Mayurakshi Rehabilitation Office, Dumka.

Semaria Gorgawan Embankment Scheme.

This is an irrigation-*cum*-flood protection scheme initiated under the Bihar Private Irrigation and Drainage Works Act, 1947 in 1951 and completed in 1957. The total cost amounted to Rs. 18,56,467. Both sides of the river Gerua have been embanked. The length of the left side is 15 miles and of the right side 16 miles. It irrigates 5,760 acres on the left side and 7,680 acres on the right side of the embankment. It irrigated 13,000 acres in 1956-57, 12,612 acres in 1957-58, 12,000 acres in 1958-59, 13,400 acres in 1959-60 and also the same area in 1960-61 and 1961-62.

Jamanikola Irrigation Scheme

This scheme was started in 1952 under the Bihar Private Irrigation and Drainage Works Act, 1947. Its estimated cost was Rs. 59,285. The scheme comprises of reservoir with regulator outlets. The reservoir is fed by the rivulets Sundar and Sitali. The work was completed in 1955. It is in Pathargama block. It irrigates about 1,500 acres annually.

Rajasar Irrigation-*cum*-Embankment Scheme

Mainly a flood control scheme, this was started in 1957 under the Bihar Private Irrigation and Drainage Works Act, 1947. Its cost was Rs. 1,05,193. The scheme comprises of a flood protection embankment on the bank of the rivers Ajay and Katania. About 500 acres of land are irrigated from this project. Kumarpur drainage scheme in Pakur block was started in 1956 and completed in 1958. The total cost was Rs. 26,478. An area of about 1,260 acres has been benefited by this drainage scheme. Some other major schemes like Karantola-Brindaban and Dabnajori irrigation schemes are under implementation.

Minor Irrigation

As regards minor irrigation interesting details are given in the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) as follows :—

"Artificial irrigation is essential for the cultivation of rice except in the level tract adjoining the Ganges and at the bottom of inland depressions, where the soil is kept moist by perennial springs or is capable of retaining water drainage off higher levels. Here heavy crops of rice are obtained, even though the rainfall is short or ceases prematurely ; but there is a danger of crop failure if the surrounding slopes are too steep, for the rush of water often brings with it drifts of sand which ruin the crop.

To obviate this danger, a small channel is often provided for the escape of sand-laden water. Except in such localities artificial irrigation is absolutely necessary, and fortunately the undulating nature of the country affords great facilities for protective works. These facilities have been so fully utilized that one-third of the rice land is now protected from drought by its natural position or by small irrigation works, one-third is partially protected, and only one-third remains unprotected.

Bandhs and hirs

"The irrigation works generally take the form of embankments constructed across ravines, hollows or other natural depressions or at the head of the numerous valleys, which impound the drainage water and also dam up any stream there may be in the bed of a valley or ravine. They thus form reservoirs, from which the rice fields, stretching away, each on a lower level than another, and widening as they recede from the dam, are irrigated. These embankments, when small, are called *hirs* and when large, *bandhs*. Their number is legion, and no village is without one or two at least. The smaller ones dry up a month or two after the rains cease, but generally hold sufficient water to carry the fields below over the precarious months of October and November. The larger ones have frequently catchment basins large enough to ensure a continuous water-supply from the end of one rainy season to the beginning of the next. Their sites are usually well chosen, and the beds of the *bandhs* are often impregnated with natural springs. The slopes, moreover, are laboriously terraced, the fields being cut out from them in a series of steps. Being enclosed by small ridges (*ails*) which retain water, the higher fields are practically minute reservoirs from which water percolates or is allowed to run off to the fields below.

Wells

"There is very little well irrigation in this district. There are, it is true, *kachcha* wells in nearly every village, however, small, but they usually consist merely of holes scooped out wherever springs exist, and are not used much for irrigation, except over small patches of first class *bari* land growing vegetables, tobacco and other special crops. *Tappa* Manihari in the north of the Godda subdivision, with an area of about 100 square miles, which consists of unusually flat and fertile land, is the only tract in which wells are used to any considerable extent.

Dams

"In *tappas* Manihari, Barkop and Patsunda (in the Godda subdivision) and also to a less extent in *pargana* Godda, another tract

of 100 square miles within the same subdivision, a considerable amount of irrigation is effected by water channels called *danrs* leading from embankments thrown across the beds of streams to fields at a lower level. These channels frequently pass through several villages, all of which assist in their construction and share in the benefits accruing from them. There is, indeed, quite a network of distributaries across the face of Manihari and the more level parts of Godda, showing that the people are well able to take advantage of the particular form of irrigation best suited to the needs of the country. Such a system is possible in this part of the district, for the river channels are comparatively shallow and will admit of the construction of dams in their beds after the close of the rains.

" *Tappa* Manihari is a monotonously level plain hemmed in by the hill ranges of the Damin-i-Koh on the west and south and by the high lands of the Bhagalpur district on the remaining sides. From these higher lands it gets an excellent supply of water, which is carefully preserved in irrigation *bandhs*. Godda is a more undulating country, but the higher lands enclosed broad fertile valleys, which are watered by hill streams from the Damin. Here also irrigation has reached a high stage of development, and the lands of the central valleys are reputed to be the most fertile rice lands in the district. Elsewhere irrigation from the rivers is impossible, for by the end of the rainy season they are merely beds of sand with little or no water."

This system of irrigation was based on the co-operation of the cultivators and fostered community spirit. The Settlement Report of Mr. McPherson quoted in the District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) shows the great advantages of this system.* These irrigation works were either carried out and maintained by the headmen or the village community. Reservoirs and channels affecting more villages than one, and involving considerable outlay were constructed by the proprietors with the consent of the Deputy Commissioner under Regulation III of 1907.

Now, after the abolition of the zamindaris, it is the responsibility of the State Government to maintain the minor irrigation schemes. These include repairs to and extension of the existing minor irrigation works wherever necessary.

The minor irrigation works are executed under the Bihar Private Irrigation Works Act, 1922. The District Officer is responsible for the execution of the schemes in the district. The execution of minor irrigation works was done by the Revenue and

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas, (1938), p p. 202—205.

Agriculture Departments. Now the minor irrigation work is the responsibility of the Unified Minor Irrigation Agency. The statement below from the Revenue Department shows the execution of minor irrigation works in the district by that agency :—

Year.	No. of schemes taken up.	No. of schemes completed.	Area benefited (in acres.)	Allotment.	Amount spent.
1	2	3	4	5	6
				Rs.	Rs.
1954-55 ..	825	575	11,460	8,50,000	8,50,000.00
1955-56 ..	810	501	10,020	8,40,362	8,40,362.00
1956-57 ..	404	167	3,340	3,87,000	3,61,000.00
1957-58 ..	149	95	1,900	2,25,000	1,71,266.24
1958-59 ..	52	17	340	1,00,000	62,046.12

Minor irrigation schemes were also executed by the Agriculture Department. As many as 927 schemes had been executed by the Agriculture Department from 1951-52 to 1956-57*. In 1956-57, it appears from the annual administrative report of the Deputy Director of Agriculture that an area of 5,392 acres was irrigated in *kharif* season and 2,372 acres in *rabi* season. The same area was irrigated during 1957-58. In 1958-59 the irrigated area of *kharif* crops was reported to be 128,860 acres and that of *rabi* crops 12,018 acres. In 1958-59 the area under irrigation for *kharif* crops was the same as the preceding year and that of *rabi* crops 10,918 acres. An area of 129,692 acres for *kharif* and 14,977 acres for *rabi* crops was irrigated during 1960-61 by the Agriculture Department. The minor irrigation schemes of the Agriculture Department have also been transferred to the Unified Minor Irrigation Agency since 1961.

Agriculture including Horticulture

Soils.—Regarding soils the last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas mentions as follows :—

> "In this district the names for the same type of soil seem to vary in different parts, Hindi, Bengali and Santali names being all in use. A heavy black clay is known as *krar*, and when yellowish in colour as *entel*, *chital mati* or

*Source—District Agricultural Officer, Dumka.

jetang hasa, the last being a Santali word. It is a sticky clay, becoming very hard when dry, and is poor in quality, producing only *rahar*, *kurthi* and *bajra* ; but it improves after having been under cultivation for some time, when it turns into good paddy land. The typical clay soil of the district is variously known as *kewal*, *kala mati*, *metal* and, in Santali, *hende hasa*. It is a black clay soil, which, though hard when dry, is friable. It is, on the whole, very fertile and is chiefly used for growing paddy. A clay loam is called *bindi mati*, and a loam is called *donasla*. *Ralthar*, *balkasi* and *bele* are sandy soils (called by the Santals *gital hasa*), which are useless for agriculture. *Balsundar* is a reddish sandy clay found on the banks of the hill streams—a poor soil, which, however, produces paddy under irrigation. The *diara* soil on the banks of the Ganges, that receives a deposit of silt every year, is known as *masin* or *masina mati* (Santali, *pali hasa*). It is a light, friable, rich soil used for both *bhadai* and *rabi* crops. *Ankkoori* or *lalmati* (Santali, *ara hasa* or *dhiri hasa*) is a reddish soil found near the hills. It is of an inferior quality but not infertile, for it will grow *jewar*, maize, *kurthi*, *kodo* and *rahar* besides *sabai* grass. *Bastu* or *bhita* land (Santali *ora barge*) is homestead land growing sugarcane, chillies, tobacco, maize, mustard and all kinds of vegetables. Saline soils which are unfit for agricultural purposes are called *usar*, *kharwa*, etc.* The wet saline soil called *nuna mati* grows paddy, but the outturn is poor."

Since then no proper soil survey has been conducted in the district. The Agriculture Department has fixed location of different types of soil in the district as follows :—

Type of soil.	Location.
1. *Lalmitti* (red soil)	Dumka, Sarayahat, Raneshwar, Narainpur, Godda, Poriyahat, Maheshpur.
2. *Baluari* (Sandy soil)	Dumka.
3. *Lal baluari gorandhi* (red sandy loam)	Dumka, Ranishwar.
4. *Kebal* (clayey soil)	Saraiyahat.
5. *Gorandhi kebal* (loamy clay soil)	Ramgarh.
6. *Lal Kebal* (red clay soil)	Mohanpur.
7. *Kali mitti* (black soil)	Mohanpur.
8. *Lal* (red soil)	Godda.
9. *Kebal dhus balsundri* (clayey sandy soil)	Jasidih.
10. *Pasrauti* (lateritic soil)	Dumka.

*D.N. Mukherjee's Note on the Soils of Bengal, 1909.

*Classes of land.**—There are two main classes of land, known as *dhani* or rice lands and *bari* or uplands, the land under cultivation being almost equally divided between them. The rice lands are usually subdivided into three classes, viz., first, second and third class *dhani*, this classification depending chiefly on the level of the land, the crops it grows and the amount of moisture it retains. First class *dhani*, called *awal*, *bahal* or *jol*, includes lands on the lower levels, which are protected by their natural situation, by springs, or by the numerous small embankments which the cultivators throw across the dips and hollows. The best of the first class rice lands are those which are fed by perennial springs, from which moisture oozes even in the hottest months of the year. Second class *dhani*, called *doem*, *kanali* or *sakrat*, consists of the rice fields on the smaller undulations and the lower terraced lands on the slopes. Each step acts as a shallow reservoir for the step below, and there is always percolation from the higher to the lower levels. Third class *dhani*, called *soem* or *bad*, consists of the higher ter a-ced fields which have been cut out from the slopes and have only small *ails* or ridges to retain rainfall. *Bari* lands are unterraced high lands on which maize, mustard, millets, pulses and other miscellaneous crops are grown. They are usually divided into two main classes :—(1) first class *bari*, i.e., the land round the village site or on the banks of streams, which is usually cropped twice a year, and (2) second class *bari*, known as *dangalbari*, i.e., inferior land away from the village site, which is only cropped once a year.

"As regards the crops grown on the different classes of land, first class *dhani* land, being low-lying and moist, is utilized for growing winter rice, for even in the driest year these fields accumulate and retain sufficient moisture for its growth. Gram, linseed, *khesari* and other *rabi* crops are also sometimes raised on these first class rice lands ; and in tracts where they form flat and extensive *bahiars*, as in those parts of the Godda subdivision which adjoin Bhagalpur, *rabi* is frequently grown. The seond class paddy fields, are utilised indifferently for growing winter and autumn rice. When winter rice is grown on them, the crop is apt to fail in years of short rainfall, unless it is protected by *bandhs* or embankments forming reservoirs, from which water can be let into the fields if there is an early cessation of the rains. When autumn rice is raised on such lands, the crop is more secure. Second class land is occasionally utilized in the cold weather for growing a second crop of wheat, barley, linseed, *khesari* or lentils. Sugarcane is often grown on second class rice lands close to tanks or streams which afford facilities for irrigation. The third class paddy fields usually grow *bhadai* or autumn rice.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 198—210.

"First class *bari* land in the immediate vicinity of villages, where the surface is fairly level, and the soil is rich in organic matter derived from village refuse of all kinds, besides being artificially manured, supports valuable crops, such as maize, mustard, the larger variety of cotton (*bar-kapas*), tobacco, the castor oil plant and vegetables. Maize is generally the first crop raised and is followed by mustard ; in fact, it is understood locally that first class *bari* is land cultivated with or capable of growing maize. *jowar* or *choli* (*Andropogon sorghum*) and both the *maghi* and *chaitali* varieties of *rahar* (*Cajanus indicus*) are also grown on first class *bari* land, and in the more productive localities on second class *bari* land. Sugarcane is also grown on first class *bari* lands near tanks. In the Pabbia *taluk*, of the Jamtara subdivision such sugarcane fields are not usually irrigated, but *bari* lands that retain moisture are selected for its cultivation. The rest of the *bari* lands is generally sown with either *gondli* (*Panicum miliare*) or *kodo* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) in the hot weather, and with *kurthi* (*Dolichos biflorus*) or *sarguja* (*Guizotia abyssinica*) in the autumn. The minor crops, i.e., crops which are less extensively grown on second class *bari* land, are a superior variety of *gondli* called *laio* (*Panicum italicum*), *bajra* (*Pennisetum typhoideum*), *marua* (*Eleusine Coracana*), gram; *til* (*Sesamum indicum*), *Pattua* (*Hibiscus cannabinus*) and the smaller variety of cotton (*Chhotakapas*)."

Crops.—In a previous section we have given the approximate areas covered under different crops of the district. It appears that *aghani* crops covered 1,491,000 acres out of the total area sown of 1,851,000 acres during 1956-57, thus more then three-fourths of the cultivated areas are covered by *aghani* crops.* *Bhadai* crops covered 221,000 acres and *rabi* crops 139,000 acres of the total areas sown. The district has thus crops of three seasons to rely on and is, therefore, comparatively immune from scarcity. In the Jamtara, Deoghar and Dumka subdivisions, however, *rabi* crops and in Jamtara, Deoghar and Rajmahal subdivisions *bhadai* crops are grown in comparatively small areas. The following statement shows the areas (in thousands of acres) under principal crops during 1956-57 :—

Rice (autumn and winter).	Wheat.	Gram.	Barley.	Maize.	Arhar.
12,27	13	24	11	1,25	16

Masoor	Khesari.	Peas.	Sugarcane.	Potatoes.	Tobacco.	Jute.	Chillies.
1	46	..	1	2	..	..	..

Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1956, p. 35.

The following statements of areas and outturn of the crops, with average yield per acre, area under improved varieties and rainfall figures have been supplied by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bhagalpur :—

Year.	Name of crops.	Area in acres.	Outturn in tons.	Yield per acre.	Area under improved varieties in acres.
1	2	3	4	5	6
				Mds.	
1957-58	1. Paddy ..	1,143,368	63,340	12	65,000
	2. Wheat ..	17,343	2,537	6	3,100
	3. Maize ..	158,998	32,801	6	1,200
	4. Barley ..	27,954	7,320	6	600
	5. Gram ..	54,762	10,020	4	1,200
	6. Other *Rabi* crops	136,943	22,367	..	..
	7. Jute ..	1,500	..	..	..
	8. Sugarcane ..	..	..	..	..
	9. Arhar ..	..	..	..	..

Name of months.	Rainfall in inches.*
April	0.00
May	0.00
June	4.74
July	8.66
August	6.16
September	10.91
October	2.95
November	0.00
December	0.00
January	0.05
February	0.47
March	0.04
Total ..	33.98

*The rainfall figures supplied by the Meteorological Department have been given in the text on 'General'. These figures were supplied by the office of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bhagalpur.

Year.	Name of crops.	Area in acres.	Outturn in mds.	Yield per acre in mds.	Area under improved variety in acres.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1958-59	Paddy ..	1,088,679	12,503,794	8.00	60,000
	Maize ..	139,775	8,38,650	4.62	12,125
	Wheat ..	10,120	40,480	4.00	4,000
	Barley ..	13,516	810	4.5	200
	Gram ..	37,016	2,22,096	4.5	2,200
	Other *Rabi* crops ..	76,000	2,28,000	3.00	..
	Jute ..	5,326	..	..	..
	Sugarcane ..	3,836	9,59,000	250	..
	Arhar ..	..	..	..	..

Name of months.	Rainfall in inches.
April ..	0.29
May ..	1.34
June ..	3.52
July ..	8.94
August ..	18.47
September ..	7.25
October ..	5.65
November ..	0.00
December ..	0.00
January ..	2.09
February ..	0.01
March ..	0.30
Total ..	47.86

Year.	Name of crops.	Area in acres.	Outturn in tons.	Yield per acre in mds.	Area under improved variety in acres.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1959-60	Paddy ..	1,088,679	1,25,03,794	8.31	86,000
	Maize ..	139,775	8,38,650	4.62	3,090
	Wheat ..	10,120	40,480	4.00	45,000
	Gram ..	37,016	2,22,096	4.50	3,500
	Barley ..	13,516	81,096	4.50	1,200
	Arhar ..	..	..	..	..
	Sugarcane ..	3,836	2,59,000	250	..
	Jute ..	5,326	..	..	..
	Other *Rabi* crops ..	76,000	2,28,000	3	300

Name of months.	Rainfall in inches.
April	3.45
May	1.73
June	3.71
July	10.45
August	11.44
September ..	12.94
October	26.16
November	0.00
December	0.00
January	0.06
February	0.00
March	1.93
Total	71.87

Year.	Name of crops.	Area in acres.	Outturn in tons.	Yield per acre in mds.	Area under improved varieties in acres.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1960-61	Paddy ..	1,115,381	1,21,65,045	10-7-5	1,31,465.5
	Maize ..	154,611	10,04,971	6-7-0	3,379.11
	Wheat ..	11,846	61,230	5-6-0	5,197.00
	Gram ..	42,146	2,52,876	6-0-0	1,969.05
	Barley ..	13,444	8,73,860	6-5-0	..
	Other *Rabi* crops ..	77,350	2,22,050	3-0-0	..
	Jute ..	6,500	..	..	..
	Sugarcane ..	4,160	12,40,000	250-0-0	500
	Arhar ..	..	..	..	..

Name of months.	Rainfall in inches.
April	0.09
May	5.10
June	3.49
July	9.43
August	15.20
September	11.44
October	2.65
November	0.00
December	0.00
January	0.55
February	2.30
March	0.00
Total ..	50.25

Rice.—Rice now accounts for about 62 per cent as against 53 per cent mentioned in the last District Gazetteer (1938) of the total cropped area. The greater part of the crop consists of winter rice. Spring or *boro* rice is scarcely grown at all except in Rajmahal subdivision, where it is raised on the edge of the *jhils* which are quite common in that area.

Paddy on the uplands almost entirely depends on rain-water. Paddy on the low lands grows well because of the seepage water, washings of leaf-manure, silt etc. Paddy is generally transplanted and is seldom broadcast. Paddy seeds are sown broadcast after rains in *Rohini nakshatra* (in June) in the fields ploughed and manured heavily. Transplanting is started by the end of July to August and even in September if the rains fail in August. Weeding is resorted to after a fortnight. Harvesting starts from November and continues till the end of December. The yield per acre varies from about 6 maunds to 12 maunds per acre. The fertility in the low land is more than the upland.

Maize.—Maize or *makai* is the next major crop of the district. It is grown on *bari* and homestead uplands. The Santals and Paharias grow maize crop even on hill terraces and hill-tops. About 7 to 8 per cent of cultivated lands are covered by maize. The acreage under maize in 1938 was 138,570 acres or 6.7 per cent of the total cropped area.

Other cereals and pulses.—Wheat, barley and gram are found mainly in the country east and north of the hills in Pakaur, Rajmahal and Godda subdivisions and mostly in the Godda subdivision. *Marua* is grown chiefly in the Godda and Deoghar subdivisions. *Bajra* is a favourite crop of the Paharias, who grow it on the hill sides and in the Damin-i-Koh area. *Gondli* and *kodo* are also grown. These cereals have small acreage.

Oilseeds.—Linseed is grown mainly in Godda and Rajmahal, where it usually forms a second crop to rice. Mustard is more evenly distributed amongst the four Damin subdivisions of Godda, Rajmahal, Dumka and Pakur. Sesamum or *til,* and *aghani* oilseed is also grown.

Fibres.—Cotton or *kapas* is more or less confined to the Dumka and Deoghar subdivisions. Jute and hemp are confined to Pakur and Rajmahal subdivisions. They cover only a very small acreage of the total cultivation.

Sugarcane.—Sugarcane is chiefly grown on a small area in the Godda subdivision.

Among other miscellaneous crops may be mentioned condiments and spices, tobacco, *kharhul* and *sabai* grass. *Sabai* grass is chiefly grown in the hill areas of Rajmahal and it is mostly used up in the paper mills. Potato is also cultivated on the *bari* lands. Indigo and opium cultivation have disappeared.

Improved varieties of paddy, maize, wheat and barley have been recommended by the Agriculture Department to cultivators. The Japanese method of cultivation of paddy has been encouraged. It has been in practice in the district since 1954. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation has made some headway in certain pockets of the district, viz., Nonihat, Bhadwari, Litipara, Hiranpur, Sahibganj, Bosi, Pathergama and Mahespur. The statement below supplied by the Agriculture Department shows the response :—

Year.	Complete Acre.
1954-55	149.50
1955-56	347.00
1956-57	1,291.00
1957-58	211.00
1958-59	126.00
1959-60	11,744.27
1960-61	11,468.00

The fluctuating figures are intriguing and throw some doubt as to the accuracy of the figures.

Want of finance and irrigational facilities are the major obstacles for the success of this scheme as initially it is more expensive. Moreover, the success of the scheme depends entirely on the exertion of the Village Level Workers and the Agricultural Extension Supervisors. If the Village Level Worker is a live-wire and propagates enthusiastically and gets the supply of fertilizers the cultivators may be induced to try this method in preference to the indigenous method.

The main difficulty in the way of adoption of the improved agricultural method seems to be that the approach made by the block staff is not quite correct. The responsibilities for taking decisions have been delegated to the level of Village Level Workers. The low level Government staff seldom takes interest in extension of agricultural programme. The selection of the demonstration plots is left mainly on the discretion of the Village Level Workers who seldom consult the local cultivators. The demonstration of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation is reported to be conducted at random with the result that the common people seldom take live interest in Japanese method of cultivation.*

*The above observation had been made by the Joint Development Commissioner, Bihar, regarding Sarath Block in 1958. Our field observation also confirms.

Horticulture and Vegetables.—The Santals and Paharias, the main aborigines, take a live interest in horticulture. To the Adibasis the *mahua, kendra* and jack-fruit are essential items of food. Jack-fruits are grown extensively throughout the district and are exported to Kanpur, Allahabad, Tundla and other towns of Uttar Pradesh. *Mahua* trees are found in abundance. The Santals and Paharias consume *mahua* flowers (*Bassia latifolia*) and use *mahua* oil as their cooking medium. Cashewnut (*Anacardium occidentele*) takes kindly to Santal Parganas soil and has grown well when planted and taken care of.

Papayas, custard apple, various kinds of lime grow extremely well. Some of the Mission compounds have grown various kinds of fruit trees some of which are indigenous and some introduced. *Biju* varieties of mango are very common throughout the district although better known species like *malda* and *fazli* also grow well. Various kinds of common vegetables are commonly grown. The main vegetables grown on the homstead lands are spinach, various kinds of greens, beans, brinjals, cabbage, cauliflowers, ladies' fingers, pumpkin, *cucumbers*, potatoes, etc.

Progress of Scientific Agriculture

Agricultural implements

The age-old primitive agricultural implements like indigenous ploughs and other tools are in common use.

The recommended improved agricultural implements for the district are the (1) Bihar minor plough, (2) Bihar junior plough cultivator, (3) Paddy threshers and (4) Bihar Junior Ridges, etc.

The number of agricultural implements during 1956 was as follows : Wodden ploughs (313,505), iron ploughs (1,168), tractors (17), carts (64,528), oil engines (65), electric pumps (11), sugarcane crushers-power (96) and bullocks (683)*. The bullocks generally are of poor breed.

Seed supply

The cultivators preserve a portion of their crop for seed. The small cultivators buy seed from the big cultivators. The village *Banias* also supply seed to needy cultivators. The Government supply seed through the credit agricole depots, grain-golas and co-operative societies. In order to replace the local inferior seeds with improved strain seeds, the seed multiplication scheme has been introduced. Each block has a seed multiplication farm. The

**Bihar Statistical Handbook*, 1956, p. 54.

multiplied better type of seed is given to progressive cultivators for further multiplication in the selected fields. The field is selected by the Village Level Workers. The following statement supplied by the Agriculture Department is of interest:—

Year.	Improved seed distributed.			Acreage covered.
	M.	s.	ch.	
1952-53	136	4	4	546
1953-54	309	15	12	1,238
1954-55	576	36	12	2,765
1955-56	1,580	30	4	6,221
1956-57	2,030	34	11	8,121
1957-58	1,166	24	15	4,654
1958-59	1,197	19	0	4,798
1959-60	77,657	33	0	89,612
1960-61	65,529	20	0	1,39,316
1961-62	14,663	16	4	48,847

The statement above will show that the figures are uneven and require elucidation. The sudden jump in 1959-60 is peculiar.

The chief sources of improved seed supply are the District Farm at Dumka covering an area of 85 acres, and three subdivisional agricultural farms at Jamtara, Sahebganj and Godda, each having 50 acres of land. Each block has one seed multiplication farm of 25 acres.

Manure

Cowdung continues to be the chief manure. Owing to easier availability of fuel wood from the nearby forests the loss of cowdung manure as fuel is not large.

Efforts are being made by the block staff to teach the cultivators the better method for the preparation of compost. Each Village Level Worker has to conduct demonstration pits prepared by him in each village to induce the cultivators to follow his lead. Besides cowdung the composting of leaves, branches, shrubs is also utilised for making compost.

The municipalities prepare town compost manure. The number of towns in the district is not large ; even some of the subdivisional headquarters are mere townships. The quantity of

compost made in the municipal and other urban areas is small and insufficient even for needs of local consumption.

Green manure is advocated for adding organic matter in the soil. The green manure crops supply organic matter as well as additional nitrogen, particularly the leguminous crops. Raising of *dhaincha* is recommended for low lands where paddy is grown and *sanai* for uplands. Green manure crops consist of both non-edible and edible crops such as *dhaincha, sanai, mung, kalai, meth* and groundnut. The green manure scheme has not made much headway.

The fertilizers abvailable in the district are Ammonium Sulphate, Superphosphate, Bonemeal and Urea. These are sold by the Credit Agricole depots at Dumka, Raneshwar, Maheshpur, Sahebganj, Godda, Deoghar, Jamtara, Barharwa and Pakaur and by the Co-operative Societies. The use of such fertilisers is on the increase but such fertilisers require a lot of water, which is not always available.

Rotation of crops

Santal Parganas is strictly speaking a single crop growing district. Rotation of crops is followed only in the well irrigated tracts. Paddy is grown in the low land while maize, *rahar, kurthi* and other millets are grown in uplands.

Agricultural diseases

The common agricultural diseases are *Dakhina* disease of paddy, *wilt* in *arhar*, *Late Blight* in potatoes, *Red-rot* in sugarcane, *Tikka* disease in groundnut and virus diseases in vegetables and potatoes. There are also a variety of pests that cause great damage to the crops. These diseases and pests sometime cause even 50 to 60 per cent damage to crops. Insecticides are commonly used for fighting them.

The Plant Protection Units of the Agriculture Department, which work under the technical control of the District Plant Protection Unit, take steps to check the spread of the agricultural diseases. Each subdivision of the district has one such unit. These units consist of trained men, who use dusters, sprayers, insecticides and pesticides of different kinds. On the outbreak of agricultural diseases the Plant Protection Units move to the affected areas and render all possible protection measures. The following statement shows the measures adopted by the Plant Protection Units to check the agricultural diseases :—

Year.	Areas treated with insecticides (in acres).	Number of trees treated.	Sprayers and dusters sold.	Number of cultivators trained in Plant Protection works.
1	2	3	4	5
1952-53 ..	78	453	..	1,291
1953-54 ..	123	381	..	1,472
1954-55 ..	119	398	..	5,583
1955-56 ..	136	516	..	3,052
1956-57 ..	150	611	..	4,607
1957-58 ..	502.90	801	..	2,645
1958-59 ..	3,263.68	995	..	12,750
1959-60 ..	3,557	2,004	10	12,615
1960-61 ..	3,640	2,400	390	23,353
1961-62 ..	5,980	427	70	25,676

Plant Protection equipments with insecticides and pesticides have been provided in each block.

Organisation of the Agricultural Department.

It appears from the last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas that prior to 1932, the Overseer in charge of the Banka Agricultural farm used to supervise agricultural work in Dumka. It was only in 1932, after the completion of the Revision Settlement Operations in the Dumka subdivision that a wholetime Overseer and four *Kamdars* of Agriculture Department were posted to this district, with the headquarters at Dumka. In 1936, separate Overseers were posted to Deoghar and Pakur with 3 *Kamdars* under each of them.

A full-fledged District Agricultural Office has been functioning since 1944 under the charge of a District Agricultural Officer with a large staff to assist him in his work. Each of the six subdivisions of the district is under the charge of a Subdivisional Agricultural Officer. At the headquarters there are five specialists in Agronomy, Horticulture, Botany, Chemistry and the District Mechanic to assist the District Agricultural Officer and the Subdivisional Agricultural Officers. There is a large field staff. There

is no trained statistician and the statistical base of the office appears to be weak. The statistics maintained by the Agriculture Department were found to vary with the statistics of the District Statistical Officer.

There is an Agricultural Training School at Dumka since 1954 under the charge of a Superintendent, with a teaching staff. The school has provision to accommodate 80 trainees, each of whom is given Rs. 20 per month as stipend for one year duration. The successful trainees get additional training for six months' duration at the Monghyr Extension Training Centre. After training they are appointed as Village Level Workers.

Animal Husbandry and Fisheries

The livestock population in 1956 and 1961 Censuses was as follows :—

	1961.	1956.
1. Cattle*—		
(*a*) Males over 3 years—		
(*i*) Used for breeding only	1,536	6,094
(*ii*) Used for breeding and work both ..	15,564	...
(*iii*) Used for work only	5,18,514	4,90,739
(*iv*) Others	5,766	18,785
Total	5,41,381	5,15,618
(*b*) Females over 3 years—		
(*i*) Breeding—		
(*a*) In milk	1,19,464	1,25,945
(*b*) Dry and not calved ever once ..	2,24,597	2,25,715
(*ii*) Working	39,765	43,666
(*iii*) Others	14,448	17,538
Total	3,98,384	4,02,864
(*c*) Young stock	3,80,260	2,78,130
Total—Cattle	13,20,025	11,96,612

*The figures have been collected from the Deputy Director of Animal Husbandry, Bhagalpur.

	1961.	1956.
2. Buffaloes—		
(*a*) Males over 3 years—		
(*i*) Used for breeding only	2,338	8,325
(*ii*) Used for breeding and work both ..	14,062	..
(*iii*) Used for work only	76,692	96,169
(*iv*) Others.	2,243	6,533
Total	95,335	1,11,027
(*b*) Females over 3 years—		
(*i*) Breeding—		
(*a*) In Milk	23,625	22,405
(*b*) Dry and not calved ever once ..	35,916	51,923
(*ii*) Working	20,389	2,526
(*iii*) Others	2,730	327
Total	82,660	77,181
(*c*) Young stock	72,027	51,603
Total—Buffaloes	2,50,022	2,39,811
3. Sheep	2,29,431	2,30,447
4. Goats	8,29,060	7,21,806
5. Horses and ponies	8,620	6,533
6. Other Livestock	2,40,835	2,24,111
7. Total Livestock	28,77,993	26,18,119
8. Poultry	19,72,378	13,29,698

The total livestock population in 1956 was 26,18,119 which rose to 28,77,993 in 1961 showing a total increase of 259,874 in the course of five years. The increase in livestock population should not be taken to be an index of prosperity of cattle wealth. It is the quality and not quantity which is the crucial factor of prosperity. The quality of the cattle in this district is poor. The quality of the breed has further deteriorated because cows and she-buffaloes are ploughed in yoke by the Santals and other aboriginals.

Area under fodder crops

Fodder crops are hardly raised. In 1957-58 the area under fodder crops was reported to be 134.75 acres while in 1961-62

it is reported to be 299 18 acres. There is no dearth of pasture lands but the cattle suffer acutely during the dry season.

The scheme for production of fodder crops is under operation by the Animal Husbandry Department. Fodder crops like napier, para, berseem, guar and *bhirni* are advocated for growing in the district and for that demonstrations are regularly conducted in each of the block of the district to make the scheme popular.

Dairy farming

There is no dairy farm in the district. The milk yield of the cattle is very poor. The average milk yield of the milch cow per day is about 12 to 14 oz. The *goshala* development scheme is in operation for improvement in the milk supply. Under *goshala* development scheme six existing *goshalas*, viz., Deoghar, Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Madhupur, Dumka and Jamtara have been taken. Pedigree cows (*Hariana*) and sturdy bulls are supplied to the *goshalas* taken under the scheme and are subsidised with recurring and non-recurring grants. Fifty-four good breed cows and six bulls have been distributed hitherto in these six *goshalas*. Besides these six *goshalas* there is one private *goshala* at Pakaur. There has not been any remarkable effect of this scheme.

Sheep breeding

The number of sheep has shown a little decrease from 230,447 in 1956 to 229,431 in 1961. But the goats have increased from 721,806 in 1956 to 829,060 in 1961. A large number of goats and sheep are purchased by the agents in *hats* and are exported to Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal.

The quality and quantity of wool of the local sheep is extremely poor. In order to improve both quality and quantity of wool a few Bikaneri rams have been distributed in the district. The local shepherds take little care in the shearing of their sheep with the result that they lose much of the product. Efforts are being made to educate the shepherds for regular shearing. A shearing and grading centre has been opened at Hiranpur to demonstrate the improved method of shearing and the proper method of the maintenance of herd by keeping them free from parasitic infection. Periodical drenching with vermicides and dusting with insecticides keep them immune from insects affecting the wool.

Poultry farming

Poultry is an important indigenous subsidiary occupation of the tribals. In order to improve the ordinary breed, the Government have taken up the poultry development scheme. There is one poultry development centre at Dumka. Besides there are

four extension centres at Jamtara, Nala, Maheshpur and Hiranpur and six poultry hatching centres at Boarijore, Jama, Maheshpur, Taljhari, Raneshwar and Sarath. Birds and eggs of improved breeds of White Leg Horn and Rhode Island Red are being reared in these farms and centres for distribution in the interior for propagation. The number of birds distributed for breeding hitherto (1962) is reported to be 3,708 and 2,352 distributed for table, 5,289 eggs distributed for hatching and 7,308 eggs distributed for table by these centres and sub-centres. The total number of poultry in 1956 was 13,29,698 which rose to 19,72,378 in 1961. There is a vast scope for the development of poultry in this district. At Baunsi in Banka subdivision of Bhagalpur district at the border of Santal Parganas district there is a very successful poultry farm of a private individual. This should be an example.

Fisheries

An extensive bed of the river Ganga at Sahibganj and Rajmahal offers one of the best fields in Northern India for collection of fish spawn and fishing. A number of displaced fishermen of East Pakistan have been rehabilitated at Rajmahal. They are experts in their line. The spawn of *Rohu, Catla, Mirgal, Kalwasu,* cat fish and *Hilsa* from the river Ganga is collected in flood season. The collected fish spawn is in great demand in other parts of Bihar and West Bengal. Fish spawn collected from the river Ganga is stocked in specially prepared nursery tanks. The spawn develops to fry and fingerling stage within a fortnight and then it is ready for stocking in tanks. Fish fry is supplied to the tank owners at the rate of Rs. 7 per thousand from June to August and Rs. 9 per thousand after that. The fish fry is transported in the pots which have to be continually shaken in order to keep the fish fry alive. Fish fry is now also being transported in polythene fry carrier in oxygen gas.

Though the fish trade of Rajmahal and Sahibganj has great turnover yet its transport and marketing is in the hands of the private sector. As there is no ice factory at Rajmahal and Sahibganj ice has to be imported from Bhagalpur which increases the price of the fish. The collected fish has an assured market in Calcutta. Thousands of maunds of fish are exported annually from Sahibganj and Rajmahal to Calcutta. Owing to uncontrolled export the price of fish even at Rajmahal and Sahibganj is not low. There has been very little of fishery development in the big tanks of the district.

The total cultivable Government water area excluding river for fish culture in Santal Parganas comes to about 24,168 acres. The total production of fish during 1961-62 is reported to be

9,380 maunds from these water reservoirs.* Fish production of Sahibganj subdivision from riverine sources alone during 1961-62 was 40,000 maunds. The statement below shows the area under fish culture during 1961-62 : —

Area under fish culture, 1961-62

Subdivision.	Government water area in acres under Agriculture Department.	Private water area in acres.	Total water area in acres.
1	2	3	4
1. Dumka	Nil	118	113
2. Deoghar	36	221	25
3. Jamtara	Nil	76.93	76.93
4. Godda	1.53	71.50	73.03
5. Pakaur	22.33	99	121.33
6. Sahibganj	73.82	806.43	880.25

Fisheries now form a part of the Agriculture Department. There is a Fishery Inspector at Dumka who has jurisdiction over the entire district and works under the immediate control of the District Agricultural Officer.

Measures to improve quality of Breed

As mentioned before the cattle of the district are of inferior breed. The bullocks being of small size and poor health are not suitable for deep ploughing and hard work. Sturdy bulls have been distributed in the rural areas to upgrade the breed. Pedigree bulls have been supplied to a few *goshalas* for breeding. Artificial insemination centres have been opened at Dumka, Hiranpur, Deoghar, Sahibganj and Godda, with two to three sub-centres. It is reported by the Animal Husbandry Department that the total number of animals artificially inseminated was 8,920 till 1961-62. The use of inferior local bulls for breeding is being discouraged and efforts are being made to replace them by sturdy bulls. About 353 such bulls have been distributed in the interior through the block agency. There is neither a research centre nor a model

*Source—Fishery Inspector, Dumka.

farm in the district. There is no *gosadan* for segregation of useless and decrepit cattle. Efforts are being made to send such cattle to Lachhaur *gosadan* in Monghyr district for segregation.

There is no cattle fair of importance in the district except Hiranpur weekly *hat* in the Pakaur subdivision. The *hat* is held on every Thursday. A large number of cattle are assembled there for sale. It is reported that Hiranpur *hat* serves as an avenue for sale for the cattle of North Bihar. The purchasers of Bihar, West Bengal and even East Pakistan come here for dealing in cattle. Cattle purchased here are brought to Beldanga and Neemtila markets in Murshidabad district in West Bengal. The next important weekly *hat* is Domaria in the district.

Animal Diseases and Veterinary Hospitals

The common contagious animal diseases are rinderpest, haemorrhagic septicaemia, anthrax, black quarter and foot and mouth diseases. Ranikhet and fowl pox are the common diseases of poultry. One Rinderpest Eradication squad is working in the district. The incidence of epidemics will be clear from the following chart ;—

*Epidemics**

Year.	Haemorrhagic.		Anthrax.		Rinderpest.	
	Seizures.	Death.	Seizures.	Death.	Seizures.	Death.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1958-59 ..	402	289	212	160	638	326
1959-60 ..	674	437	183	180	106	63
1960-61 ..	563	394	93	68	11	8
1961-62 ..	603	416	83	63	..	..

Foot and Mouth disease		Ranikhet.		Black quarter.		Fowl pox.	
Seizures.	Death.	Seizures.	Death.	Seizures.	Death.	Seizures.	Death.
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
20	4	59	42	29	20	..	..
1,367	11	369	232	435	241	..	..
6,656	4	64	50	112	82	4	3
110	10	67	48	226	194	..	..

*The statement has been collected from the Deputy Director of Animal Husbandry, Bhagalpur.

There are three provincialised veterinary hospitals at Dumka, Deoghar and Pakaur. Hiranpur Veterinary dispensary has recently been made provincial subsidised veterinary hospital. Besides these four hospitals there are 36 veterinary dispensaries located at Kathikund, Gopikandar, Saraiya *hat*, Jarmundi, Jama, Shikaripara, Raneshwar, Godda, Mahagama, Pathergama, Paraiya *hat*, Boarijore, Meharma, Chandana, Sahibganj, Barharwa, Rajmahal, Borio, Pathna, Taljhari, Nala, Kundahit, Jamtara, Madhupur, Sarath, Karon, Sarwan, Palajori, Litipara, Mohanpur, Pakuria, Amrapara, Maheshpur, Narainpur, Barhait and Ramgarh. Besides there is one mobile dispensary at Dumka.

State Assistance to Agriculture

Land Improvement and Agriculturists Loans are advanced by the State Government to the cultivators for improving their cultivation lands, purchase of implements, bullocks, seeds, manure and construction of wells. Both the loans are realised on easy instalments. The following is the statement of the advances made under the Land Improvement Loans Act and the Agriculturists Loans Act from 1957-58 to 1961-62.*

LAND IMPROVEMENT, LOAN

(In Rupees.)

Year.	Total amount advanced in preceding year.	Total amount advanced during the year.	Total.	Amount received during the year.	Balance at the end of the year.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1957-58	42,31,035.57	99,971.00	43,31,006.57	23,008.64	43,07,997.93
1958-59	43,07,997.93	1,42,832.00	44,50,829.93	9,86,715.54	34,64,114.39
1959-60	34,64,114.39	60,542.00	35,24,656.39	44,006.92	34,80,649.47
1960-61	34,80,649.47	32,168.00	35,12,817.47	97,547.27	34,15,270.20
1961-62	34,15,270.20	23,798.00	34,39,068.20	36,732.41	34,02,335.79
		AGRICULTURISTS' LOAN.			
		(In Rupees.)			
1957-58	29,15,060.61	7,75,000.00	36,90,060.61	75,293.58	36,14,767.03
1958-59	36.14,767.03	17,96,340.00	54,11,107.03	22,87,488.91	31,23,618.12
1959-60	31,23,618.12	75,500.00	31,99,188.12	1,31,054.05	30,68,064.07
1960-61	30,68,064.07	72,830.00	31,40,894.07	2,71,147.15	28,69,746.92
1961-62	28,69,746.92	3,09,500.00	31,79,246.92	62,091.44	31,17,155.48

*Supplied by the District Development Officer, Dumka.

Natural Calamities

Famines and Scarcities

Regarding the previous famines and scarcities the last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) mentions as follows:—

"There have been four famines in the Santal Parganas since the creation of the district in 1855 and in each case famine was due to the failure of the winter rice crop, which is the main staple of the district. Such failure is apt to occur owing to an early cessation of the rains, for it is estimated that 5 inches of rainfall are required in October for that crop and that, if the rainfall is less, the crop will be short and may be almost an entire failure. A certain amount of land is, however, protected against the vicissitudes of the seasons by irrigation, these protected lands consist of old rice fields laid out in ravines or depressions, which are generally fed by reservoirs at their heads or supplied by springs under the high banks throughout their length. Their fertility is extraordinary. The stalks are left long when the rice is cut; buffaloes are then turned in to graze on them, and when the land gets drier, other cattle. The fields are thus thoroughly manured, and it has been proved by experiment that they yield sometimes as much as 40 maunds of cleaned rice per acre. Of late years, however, the proportion of unprotected land has increased owing to the extension of rice cultivation to many ridges and uplands, which formerly were considered unfit for it. The result is that considerable areas which used to produce dry crops, like maize and millets, on which the people lived—though in years of plenty these grains were unsaleable—have now been turned into poor rice lands for the sake of the larger profits which rice yields.

"On the other hand, the resources of the people in time of famine are largely added to by the number of *mahua* trees which sprang up since 1879 when it used to be said that it was impossible to find a young *mahua* tree in the Santal Parganas—the result of Sir George Campbell's settlements, under which the produce was recorded as the common property of the villages, while the trees remained the property of the zamindars. Also, in time of scarcity, the labouring classes find relief in emigration, which not only takes away those who are in want, but also induces those employers who require labour to do something to

keep labourers at home. Another feature which is noticeable when there is scarcity is the extent to which the aboriginals of the district, such as Santals, Paharias and Bhuiyas, can supplement their scanty fare by fruits and roots, or even support life on jungle products. The contrast in this respect between them and the inhabitants of other districts in Bihar has been described as follows by Mr. W.B. Oldham, C.I.E., formerly Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division, with reference to the famine of 1897.

"Another fact again made prominent by the scarcity is how much smaller is the margin which separates from absolute want the self-respecting and decent-looking people of Hindustan with their fastidiousness and strict religious observance and those aboriginal or degraded races on the border, whose normal condition is one of dirt and rags, and whose villages and huts are pictures of squalor and apparent misery. The Bauris of the Santal Parganas are the most prominent example. They can use animal food and even carrion, and can sustain life by jungle products unknown in the more popular and civilized tracts. These degraded races are also far more averse to the regular toil by which wages can be earned by relief works than the Hindu and Muhammadan peasantry, and only resort to them in the last extremity and when their children have already suffered from starvation. The races in the north, with whom they are contrasted, take with the greatest order their places on the relief work, as if by signal, when the time has come; and are careful to see that, however low the wages and rigorous the tests, that time is not postponed till their children have begun to suffer or they themselves have been reduced to apathy and inability to do the tasks by which their food is to be earned." The justice of this account was proved by the experience of 1897, when the Bauris and other semi-Hinduized aboriginals in the Jamtara subdivision continued to protest against the rigour of test works and generally to give trouble, declaring that they would rather die in their houses than toil on relief works in the sun.

"The following is a brief account of the famines which have visited the Santal Parganas since the district was constituted:—

"In 1866 famine was caused by the failure of the winter rice crop, of which the outturn was only half to three-fourths of the average. The *bhadai* crop was on the whole, not below the average, but food stocks had been depleted by large exports of it, and the *rabi* crop was a poor one. In July, 1866 the price

of common rice rose to 7½ seers per rupee, and in August to 6½ seers, but there was an abundant harvest of mango and *mahua* which afforded food to thousands. The people, however, were forced to eat the fruit while still unripe, and the numbers of those who consequently died from cholera were counted by thousands.

Famine of 1874

"The rainfall during 1873 was very unequally distributed, varying from 52 inches at Dumka to 24 inches at Rajmahal, and the harvests exhibited degrees of variation corresponding to the capriciousness of the rainfall. The *bhadai* crop, including maize, millets and pulses, which are less sensitive to abnormal variations of weather than rice, yielded three-fourths of an average outturn, but the winter rice crop was only half an average crop. The outturn was worst in the flat rice producing lands of Rajmahal, where also the rainfall was most deficient; here only one-fourth of an average crop was harvested. In the Deoghar subdivision half an average crop was saved, while in Dumka the outturn was nine-sixteenths of the average. The *rabi* crop, moreover, afforded no material help, for it could not be sown on more than one-quarter of the area usually devoted to cold weather crops, and even in this reduced area the yield was poor. "But" wrote Mr. A. P. (now Lord) Mac Donnell, "what Nature denied to agricultural skill and industry, she to some extent granted unsolicited. The *mahua* tree, which studs the Santal hills and uplands, yielded a bounteous crop of edible blossoms and seeds; the mango fruit though less abundant last year in Santalia than in more northern regions, was still plentiful, and brought a sensible addition to the food-supply of a simple people who live much on wild fruits and herbs.*

"The area most severely affected was the Rajmahal subdivision, and after it Godda and Dumka. To judge by the number of labourers employed on relief works, it would seem that very little or no distress existed in the Deoghar subdivision. The marginal table shows the aggregate number of persons employed on relief work in each of the four subdivisions then constituting the district. The average daily attendance was highest in June, when it amounted to 7,039, while the average daily number relieved gratuitously was highest towards the end of August, when it was 3,511."

Dumka	..	**756,480**
Deoghar	..	**15,660**
Rajmahal	..	**1,396,740**
Godda	..	**938,940**
Total	..	**3,107,820**

*Foodgrain Supply and Famine Relief in Bihar and Bengal (1876).

Famine of 1897

"In 1896 the rainfall was not only deficient but also unfavourably distributed. There was a drought which lasted till May, a break in the rains from the 20th July to the 20th August, which spoiled the hopes of the *bhadai*, and a final drought from the 24th September to the 31st December, 1896. After that date there was good rain, and the weather became particularly favourable to agricultural prospects, though not to all standing crops. Unfortunately, however, not one in 20 mango trees flowered, whilst the *mahua* blossoms were injured by storms in March, so that the produce was only from a half to two-thirds of the average. The result of the year's crops was that the outturn of the *bhadai* crop was only 10 annas, and that of winter rice only 8 annas. The early cessation of the rains and the absence of moisture for the cold weather sowing also made the cold weather crops very short; in particular, the oil-seed proved almost to total failure. This followed on a bad season the year before, owing to the same cause—failure of the rains in October and there was, therefore, a very short local supply. Owing, moreover, to the strong demand for grain up-country, very high prices ruled, so that local scarcity was intensified.

"Famine was, however, only declared in two tracts in the south-west of the district, one in the Jamtara subdivision covering 367 square miles with a population of 93,000 persons, and the other consisting of the Deoghar subdivision with an area of 954 square miles and a population of 284,114. Here there had been a failure of the upland rice and of other upland crops which could not be artificially irrigated except at prohibitive cost. In both areas the country is undulating, fertile valleys being interspersed with jungle and sterile uplands, and the streams which traverse it are practically hill torrents. The population, largely aboriginal, with a marked aversion to regular work, subsists almost wholly on agriculture, the all-important crop being the winter rice; spring crops are of small importance, and the proportion of *bhadai* crops is less than elsewhere. Outside these areas there was distress in the Damin portion of the Rajmahal subdivision, and in the Godda subdivision generally, which was met by charitable relief.

"For the purpose of carrying on relief operations, a special scheme of organisation was prepared in January, 1897, the basis of which was the utilization of the local agency by which so much of the district work is done. The principle of the plan was to divide each subdivision into charges, each under an officer of the grade of *kanungo*, and to divide the charges into circles, which were placed under committees of headmen of villages and leading ryots. For each circle the necessary works were selected from the

famine programme and it was ascertained that traders were ready to furnish a supply of food on payment. In the event of scarcity being found to prevail, the charge in which it prevailed was to have a special Superintendent with a sufficient staff, and the circle committees were to have lump sum of Rs. 10 monthly allowed them to cover expenses. The committees were to take the place of circle officers and to be superseded by such officers where necessary. This plan was sanctioned by Government and was followed in the subsequent operations.

"For the distribution of gratuitous relief another special scheme was adopted. The plan was to issue tickets to deserving persons entitling them to receive grain doles from dealers appointed for the purpose. The tickets were divided into four parts, each for a week's food, and were not transferable. These tickets, after being exchanged for food, with the dealer, were used as vouchers to his bill, and after it was checked, could be restored to the counterfoil and pasted in. This system proved very successful in reducing account work.

"The highest average attendance on relief works was reached in Jamtara in the week ending 21st May, 1897 and in Deoghar in the week ending 26th June, 1897, when the daily average numbers were 3,258 and 1,647 respectively. After this, when the season for ploughing and cultivation came on, there was much fluctuation in the attendance ; but in both subdivisions the relief works were finally closed on the 15th August, when the gathering of the Indian corn and *mahua* crops enabled the able-bodied to find employment. In Jamtara the Government relief works consisted exclusively of roads with irrigation dams, where these could be made, on the line of road. In Deoghar the principal work was the excavation of tanks and making of reservoirs, but as the rainy season approached, road improvement was also begun. All the works were carried out by the civil works agency and none by the Public Works Department. In Jamtara relief works were begun with the test-work system of the Famine Code, but piece work was introduced after the 1st week of June, 1897. In Deoghar piece-work alone was adopted. The total number of workers was 263,375 in Jamtara and 80,453 in Deoghar; and the aggregate number of persons gratuitously relieved from Government funds was 523,614.

Famine of 1919

"The rainfall in 1918 was scanty in the beginning, excessive in August and there was an abrupt close of the monsoon in September. Besides it was very unequally distributed varying from 72.79 in Rajmahal, 76.07 in Mahespur and

69.52 in Pakur to 33.88 in Madhupur, 36.13 in Sarwan, 38.26 in Deoghar, 36.46 in Mahagama, 39.63 in Nonihat (Dumka), 40.30 in Godda and 42.06 in Jamtara. The deficit rain at the beginning combined with the heavy rain in August was unfavourable to the *bhadai* crops. The August rain improved the prospects of the winter rice greatly but the abrupt close of the monsoon in September and the entire failure of the *hatia* rains was fatal. The result was that the outturn of maize was 2 annas in Deoghar, 4 annas in Jamtara, 8 annas in Dumka and 10 annas in Godda and that of winter rice 8 annas in Deoghar, Dumka and Godda and 4 annas in Jamtara. The *mahua* crop which is a great stand-by was also poor being only 6 to 8 annas. In ordinary years an outturn like this would have caused anxiety but nothing more serious would have been required. By this time, however, the effect of the War on prices had begun to be felt in India and concurrently with the failure of crops there had been a large rise in the prices of other commodities such as cloth, oil and salt. The price of rice had been fairly constant between January 1917 and July 1918 at about 11 or 12 seers to the rupee only going lower in December 1917 (15 seers), January 1918 (14 seers) and February 1918 (13 seers). The price obtained for the surplus of the 1917-18 crop by the ryots was not very good; therefore, and when in October 1918, the price suddenly rose to 6¼ seers and remained high along with other prices, the margin of subsistence exhausted earlier than would have ordinarily been the case. On the other hand, the outbreak of influenza which occurred in 1918 especially in the coal mines not only reduced the vitality of the people but removed many bread winners and prevented the people from going so freely to work in the mines, an absorber of labour which is useful when food is not plentiful. The most affected areas were portions of Deoghar subdivision west of the East Indian Railway Main Line and the north-east corner of the Deoghar Police-station, the most sufferers being the Santals and the lower Hindu castes. Next to Deoghar were portions of Dumka adjoining Deoghar and portions of Godda bordering on Bhagalpur. Distress also occurred in Jamtara but not to so great an extent. There was practically no sign of uneasiness anywhere till the middle of April 1919 when beggars began to increase in large and the liberal minded Marwaris at different places started free kitchens or distribution of rice doles. Till the middle of May, it was hoped that a liberal distribution of loans under the Land Improvement and

Agricultural Loans Acts would meet the situation coupled with private charity which was being given by the Marwaris and the local committees formed under section 40 of the Famine Code. The condition of the people, however, rapidly deteriorated in Deoghar, and by the middle of June, emaciation was noticeable. Physical deterioration was also noticeable in Godda and Dumka. Famine was accordingly declared in Deoghar on 21st June, 1919 and steps were taken to meet the scarcity situation in Dumka and Godda out of the funds of the District Committee under Chapter III of the Famine Code.

"*Famine operations in Deoghar.*—The first few days of the famine operation were devoted to the dispersal of the crowd of beggars and destitute persons from Deoghar, Jasidih and Madhupur where the Marwaris started free kitchens or distribution of rice doles. Lists were prepared of all the persons who used to be fed or given grain doles by the Marwaris at each of these centres. Gratuitous relief in cash (at Deoghar and Jasidih) or in grain (at Madhupur where the Marwaris volunteered to supply the grain required) to last for a fortnight or for a lesser period, as the case might be, was given to these persons with instruction to return to, and remain present in, their respective villages. The lists thus prepared were made over to the Circle Officers with instructions to proceed immediately to their respective circles and enter in Register E(1) the names of, and give tickets to, those who after due enquiry in the villages were found deserving and then to distribute gratuitous relief on the next date which was so fixed as to synchronize all over the subdivision. Poor houses were at the same time opened at these places for those who were homeless or unable to return to their villages. The subdivision was divided into 12 circles, each thana in charge of a Charge Superintendent containing 3 circles. Each circle was again subdivided into 3 smaller circles of convenient size and the circle officers each in charge of a circle, were instructed to keep separate registers for these smaller circles, so that when necessary, a circle might without delay or difficulty be subdivided into these smaller charges. As the operation progressed it was found in the month of August that circles 1 and 2 in thana Deoghar were too large and the amount of work, owing to the degree of distress there, too much to admit of easy management by two circle officers. These two circles were therefore re-arranged into 3 and another circle officer was appointed. The whole subdivision was

thus divided into 13 circles. At each circle convenient centres were fixed where the people from neighbouring villages might come and receive gratuitous relief. Local committees were formed for each of these centres as also for each of the three poor houses to assist the circle officers and Superintendents in their work. Arrangement was also made with the importers of Rangoon rice for the sale of this cheap rice at most of these centres. Each of the officers in charge of police-stations was given an advance of Rs. 20 for casual relief under section 56 of the Code. A kitchen was also started at Jagdishpur (a railway station on the Madhupur-Giridih Line) in police-station Madhupur but it had to be kept for a short time only. Relief works were also started at different centres from the beginning of July to the first week of September, but these began to attract labourers only from the last week of August, *i.e.*, after the close of the agricultural operations. From the beginning of September, the number of inmates in the poor houses began to fall and by the middle of it, the poor houses were closed, the few inmates then remaining being either drafted to the relief works or taken into the gratuitous relief lists. The partial failure of the *bhadai* crops of 1919, especially the Indian corn, owing to incessant rains towards the end, delayed the closure of the relief operations which had to be prolonged till after the autumn harvest had been gathered. With the timely fall of the *hatia* rains, the aspects became bright and with the harvesting of the *katka* paddy in October, the number of labourers on the relief works began to fall till the first week of November when most of them were finally closed. On 15th November, 1919, the relief operations were finally closed, valedictory doles being given to the recipients to last up to the 30th November. The total cost of the operation was Rs. 1,29,093 and the number of persons relieved was 116,222 as detailed below:—

	Number of persons relieved.				Cost.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
					Rs.
On gratuitous relief ..	2,708	8,988	10,678	22,374	1,07,881
On poor houses and kitchens ..	222	356	479	1,057	3,078
On famine relief works ..	32,045	30,674	10,054	72,773	13,168
On relief works the cost of which was advanced by the District Committee, Santal Parganas.	8,507	8,931	2,580	20,018	4,966
Total	43,482	48,949	23,791	116,222	1,29,093

Indirect relief was given in the way of an advance of Rs. 19,980 under the Land Improvement Loans Act in order to enable the well-to-do ryots to start small private works of their own such as reclamation of *bandhs* and tanks, and loans under the Agricultural Loans Act amounting to Rs. 85,000 were advanced from the end of May to the middle of July on the joint and several liablility system to enable the ryots to purchase seeds and cattle for their *bhadai* and winter rice crops. Besides a sum of Rs. 30,000 was given out in November with a view to stimulate the cultivation of *rabi* crops.

"*Scarcity operations in Godda.*—The affected area comprised Tappas Barcope and Patsanda and *parganas* Godda and Pasai in which the outturn of paddy crop was less than 8 annas. The bulk of the inhabitants of this area were not aboriginals but mainly Hindus. Scarcity relief operations began on 23rd June 1919 when the tract was divided into 4 circles and circle officers were appointed to take charge of each circle and local committees were formed to attend to distribution of doles by circle officers. The gratuitous relief list reached its numbering 3,466 persons in the 3rd week of July. The situation was gradually but steadily improving and with the avenues for work opened out in the *makai* and paddy fields, it showed a decided change for the better. The recipients of gratuitous relief began improving and numbers of them were seen working in the fields and in the first week of August there were only 2,260 persons in the list. By the middle of August, the harvesting of *makai* (maize) commenced and the gratuitous relief list recorded only 910 persons during the week ending the 6th September. New *makai* and Burma rice were now available and by the middle of the month cheap *marua*, *sakarkand*, and *sathi* and *bhadai dhan* also appeared in t he market. In the 3rd week of September the number on the gratuitous relief list was only 594 persons. In the poor house (only one poor house was opened), there were at this time only 24 persons mostly small children including orphans. The test works were not successful. The labourers who attended the work were all professional labourers. Early in the 4th week of September began the *hatia* rains. Three of the test works had already been deserted and therefore closed. The poor house contained only a few person and the number on the gratuitous relief list was only 362. The poor house and the remaining test work was closed on the 27th September and the four relief circles were closed between the 29th of September

and the 2nd of October. The recipients of gratuitous relief and the inmates of the poor house were given valedictory doles for 14 days enabling them to continue up to the 18th October. The total cost of the operation was Rs. 18,795 and the number of persons relieved 10,908 as detailed below:—

	Number of persons relieved.				Cost.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
					Rs.
On gratuitous relief ..	916	2,873	2,720	6,509	15,961
On poor house	110	217	411	738	2,061
On test work	3,657	..	..	3,657	773
Total	4,683	3,090	3,131	10,904	18,795

"*Scarcity operations in Dumka.*—From the second week of April a certain number of needy persons were observed coming into Dumka and Nunihat, the Marwaris of which places started free feeding out of subscriptions amongst themselves. In the middle of June, there was an inrush of impoverished people from the distant parts of the subdivision and from other subdivisions and districts into Dumka and Nunihat owing to the free food distributed by the Marwaris. The indiscriminate free feeding caused many deaths from choleric diarrhoea and it was decided that operation under Chapter III of the Famine Code should begin. The free feeding at Nunihat was stopped and it was restricted to a great deal at Dumka and was stopped altogether with effect from the 25th June when a poor house was opened at Dumka. Between 25th and 28th June three relief circles were opened at Dumka, Nunihat and Hansdiha and test works opened in Dumka and Nunihat. During the week ending the 12th July two more relief circles were opened at Bara and Sareyahat. During the week ending 20th July test works were opened in circles Sareyahat and Jarmundi. A test work at Bara was opened during the last part of July. Thus the affected tract was divided into six circles and test work was opened in each circle and two poor houses were opened at Dumka and Nunihat. There was a gradual rise in the

number on the gratuitous relief list up to the 1st week of August when the number rose up to 1,195. Then, when the harvesting of maize commenced the number began to fall and the number on the 23rd August was 829. All the relief circles were closed during the week ending the 20th September when the number on the relief list was only 419. The attendance on relief works was 667, during the week ending 9th August, *i.e.*, just before the harvesting of maize and the transplantation of winter rice commenced. It then began to decrease. But during the last week of August when the transplantation was over, the number rose to 729 which was the highest figure reached. In September the number began to decrease and the works were closed on 24th, 25th and 26th September when the attendance in all the six was only 538. The poor houses, at Nunihat, was closed on 25th September where there were only seven inmates in it and the poor house in Dumka was closed on 2nd November. The total cost of the operation was Rs. 18,018 and the number of persons relieved 115,676 as detailed below:—

	Number of persons relieved.				Cost.
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	
1	2	3	4	5	6
					Rs.
On gratuitous relief ..	9,523	36,766	26,773	73,065	8,969
On test works	11,593	16,385	6,636	34,614	6,823
In poor houses	..	..	..	7,997	2,223
Total	..	..	..	115,676	18,018

Whatever the distress was in the Jamtara subdivision, it was relieved wholly by charitable relief. The Subdivisional Famine Charitable Relief Committee collected a sum of Rs. 4,094-8-0, in cash and spent the whole amount in test works and gratuitous relief and for distribution of rice and cloth in the cutcherry compound." *

Later Scarcities.—From the Land Revenue Administration Report it appears that drought conditions prevailed in 1940-41 in some

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938).

parts of the district due to deficient rainfall. The pockets are unfortunately not specified.

Scarcity of 1943.—A terrible famine visited Bengal (undivided) in 1943 partly due to the after-effects of the Second World War in its frontier (Burma) and partly due to imposition of statutory control on sale and purchase of foodgrains which led to a high incidence of black marketing and profiteering. The repercussion of the famine of Bengal was felt in this district also because it falls on the border of Bengal. Prices began to soar high and became all the more alarming due to unscrupulous smuggling of foodgrains by the profiteers from this district to Calcutta. Sahibganj, Barharwa, Deoghar, Madhupur, Pakaur, Jamtara and Rajmahal became the chief centres for smugglers. A vigorous anti-smuggling patrol on Rajmahal water of the Ganga had to be resorted to enforce inter-provincial embargo by the Government of Bihar. A number of fair-price shops were opened to check high prices of the foodgains.

Scarcity of 1951.—Near famine conditions prevailed in this district as in other parts of the State in 1951. There was an excessive and untimely downpour of rains in the beginning of the monsoon which largely destroyed the *bhadai* crops and thereafter complete cessation of the *hathia* rains which spoiled the paddy and prospect of *rabi* crops. The affected pockets were Mohanpur police-station in Deoghar subdivision, Saraiyahat, Ramgarh and Dumka-Damin in Dumka subdivision, Mahagama, Godda and Godda-Damin areas in Godda subdivision, Narainpur and Pindari police-stations in Jamtara subdivision. Hiranpur, Pakaur and Pakaur-Damin in Pakaur subdivision and the entire Rajmahal subdivision.

Relief measures were taken to meet the scarcity conditions. Projects were taken up to provide work for those who could do manual labour. Hard Manual Labour Schemes and Light Manual Labour Schemes were resorted to and on them Rs. 1,15,400 and Rs. 2,000 were spent. Gratuitous relief was given to the tune of Rs. 13,210.

Scarcity of 1957.—Scarcity conditions prevailed in 1957 due to complete failure of *hathia* rains in 1956. The affected pockets were Saraiyahat and Jarmundi police-stations in Dumka subdivision, 21 villages of Deoghar subdivision; 62 villages of Jamtara, Nala and Kundahit police-stations of Jamtara subdivision; Pakaur, Hiranpur, Littipara, Pakuria, Amrapara and Maheshpur police-stations of Pakaur subdivision were declared scarcity pockets. Borio, Mandro, Rajmahal, Sahebganj, Barharwa, Maharajpur police-stations of Rajmahal subdivision were badly hit.

In order to give employment Hard Manual Labour Schemes were taken up throughout the district. A sum of Rs. 10,69,637 was spent on

2,919 Hard Manual Labour Schemes. Besides Rs. 6,980 were distributed as gratuitous relief. As many as 691 fair-price shops were opened to check the rising prices of foodgrains.

Floods

Regarding floods the last *District Gazetteer of Santhal Parganas* (1938) mentions as follows :—

> "Owing to the completeness of the natural drainage of the district, floods are almost impossible over a large area, but narrow stretches of land in the valleys, and considerable portions of the alluvial country lying between the Ganges and the Rajmahal hills, are liable to inundation when the rivers are swollen by sudden rain. In the former tract of country, however, the floods subside after a few days, leaving the crops uninjured, while in the alluvial country any damage done to the lowland crops is compensated by the additional fertility of the high lands.

Flood of 1899

> "The only destructive flood since the creation of the district is that which occurred early in the morning of Sunday, the 24th September, 1899. This flood was caused by very heavy local rainfall, which began on the afternoon of the 23rd. It continued raining all that night, and the wind, which first blew from the south-east, veered round through south, south-west and west till in the early hours of Sunday the 24th, it became a hurricane from the north-west. The rain gauge at Godda registered 10.12 inches of rain at 8 A.M. that morning, and it ceased raining there at about 10 A.M. The rainfall extended all over the country from Bhagalpur and the Ganges on the north to the Santal Parganas on the south and Rajmahal on the east; but the centre of the storm appears to have been on the northern slopes of the Damin-i-koh in the Godda subdivision, a hilly tract draining through narrow valleys into the low-lying land south of the Ganges. These slopes discharged an enormous volume of water, for which the river channels, raised above the level of the plain, could not provide sufficient outlet. The swollen rivers swept away the hamlets lying in their upland valleys, and uniting their volume below, poured over the villages in the low lands. Fortunately, the Ganges was low, and the floods, widening the outlets through the bridge on the East Indian Railway passed away rapidly.

"The loss of life was deplorably great both in the Santal Parganas and Bhagalpur. The rivers rose soon after midnight, and in the uplands the villagers were still asleep, and were swept away without the warning that would have enabled them to reach higher ground. The velocity of the flood in its earlier course is shown by the fact that, though 881 men were drowned there, only 69 bodies were recovered. When it reached the plains, the dawn was breaking, and the wall of the advancing waters could be plainly seen. There was however no place of refuse on the treeless level, and there no less than 762 persons perished. Thus in all, 1,643 lives were lost, many families wholly disappeared, and in some cases entire hamlets left no trace behind. The loss of property was happily less severe, for though 246 villages were injured, 25,555 huts destroyed, 13,705 cattle and goats drowned, and altogether 123 square miles exposed to the violence of the flood, yet the water passed away so rapidly, that the crops were saved.

"In the Santal Parganas 95 villages and upwards of 10,000 huts were destroyed or damaged, 881 lives were lost, and 6,000 cattle were drowned. The floods came down in 10 rivers in the Godda subdivision, viz., the Chir, Gonkha, Kajia, Bheria, Parna, Harna, Raidar, Aincha, Sundar and Khuti. Of these, the Chir is known as the Gerua after it has received the waters of the Gonkha, Kajia, Parna Harna and Bheria; and the next largest river is the Kajia; but the Harna and the Khuti were responsible for the greatest damage. The severity of the flood was all the more greater because the banks of most of the rivers are higher than the surrounding country, which consequently became flooded to a great depth, in many cases, indeed, a wall of water poured through the villages, averaging from 5 to 12 feet, and the Khuti river was described as being a moving sea. Some idea of its volume may be gathered from the fact that though the flood in this river came down between 5 and 6 A.M., when it was getting light and people were astir no less than 267 persons were drowned and only 2 dead bodies were recovered.

"In spite of the extent of the disaster, little relief was required. The people, in a spirit of sturdy independence, refused charitable relief except for the immediate needs of the moment and preferred to obtain assistance in the form of loans. Those whose crops were destroyed, and whose fields were covered with sand, declined the preferred

alms and turned to sow the sand with castor oil and linseed. In all, only Rs. 1,350 were expended in charity and Rs. 5,982 were advanced under the Agriculturists' Loans Act."

Ganges Flood of 1934.

"The flood of August, 1934 in the Ganges destroyed all the houses in the *diara* villages of Narayanpur, Raniganj, Pearpur, Udhua and Palasgachhi in the Rajmahal subdivision. The flood was sudden and severe and the villagers found no time to shift the materials of their houses from one place to another. The distress was removed by the distribution of a sum of Rs. 1,000 out of the Viceroy's Earthquake Relief Fund to the owners of the houses destroyed by flood. The scale adopted for the distribution of the amount was as below :—

	Rs.
(1) Family with one house ..	3
(2) Family with two or three houses ..	4
(3) Family with houses up to six ..	5

Ganges Flood of 1936.

"The flood of 11th August, 1936 in the Ganges badly affected Sahibganj *diara* villages Tikulia, Rampur *diara*, and Harprasad *diara* in the Rajmahal subdivision but no necessity for gratuitous relief was necessary as the people of the flooded area got their foodgrains with them. There was no loss of life.

Flood of Adjai of 1936.

"At about the midnight of the 5th October 1936 there was a sudden and abnormal rise in river Adjai and water almost 4 feet high entered village Hathyara situated near Adjai bridge mile 196/8 of the East Indian Railway (Chord line) and the houses being all of mud crumbled and collapsed. A number of cattle were buried in the ruins and killed. Some cattle were also carried away by the sudden rush of water. Fortunately the loss of human life consisted of only two children who were killed when the houses collapsed over their heads. All the foodgrains and clothings of the villagers were spoilt by the sudden rush of water into

their villages. The villagers were persuaded to vacate their houses and leave the village with the remnants of their cattle and were given shelter and food at Rohini in the Grain Gola at that place."*

Ganga floods in the Rajmahal subdivision have almost become an annual feature. In 1938 villages of Gadai *diara*, Satuagarhi and Maskalaiya-Solgorhi were submerged by the Ganga flood. The inhabitants were removed to the neighbouring villages and eventually they were given lands for permanent residence in village Kaliyani-Fatehpur and Patharia. In 1939-40 some portions of the Pakaur and Godda subdivisions were submerged due to overflow of the river Bansloi. But the damage was reported to be small.

In 1949 the river Ajay, Patro and Jayanti overflowed their banks in the evening of 11th June submerging over 200 acres of lands in 48 villages of Deoghar subdivision. This was caused due to heavy downpour on the 10th and 11th June. The flood water left behind huge deposit of sands at places four to six feet in depth which made the cultivated lands unfertile. Some mud-houses also collapsed due to onrush of the flood water. A sum of Rs. 2,200 was distributed as gratuitous relief in flood-stricken areas for building and repairing of houses and a sum of Rs. 38,411 was distributed under Agriculturists' Loans Act.

Some parts of Jamtara subdivision numbering 11 villages were submerged under water from the 1st August 1955 to 31st August 1955, due to construction of Maithon Dam. In 1956 the river Bansloi caused floods in its southern bank; 32 villages of Pakaur police-station were affected by the flood water. The Ganga also caused flood in the *diara* areas of the Rajmahal subdivision.

The district on the whole in comparison to other districts of the Bhagalpur Division is free from floods. The flood in the *diara* areas is a regular feature during rainy season which in its turn deposit silt and makes the soil fertile.

Earthquake of 1897

From the old records maintained in the National Archives† it appears that there was a severe earthquake on the 12th June, 1897 which had badly affected Malda, Monghyr, Jamalpur, Bhagalpur, Purnea and Santal Parganas. R. Carstairs, Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas had reported to the Commissioner in his

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**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938, pp. 226—229).

†Foreign Deptt., Intl. B., January 1898, No. 230-31.

no. 1644-R., dated the 9th July, 1897 about this earthquake. It appears that the earthquake lasted for about 3 or 3½ minutes with a continuous tremor and three shocks. A number of houses in Dumka including the Deputy Commissioner's residential quarters, hospital and jail buildings were damaged. The earthquake was felt at Jamtara where the cutcherry, Subdivisional Officer's house, new dispensary and several other private houses were slightly damaged. The effect of the earthquake on Jamtara subdivision was not very severe. At Madhupur the railway station, police thana, post office, etc., were damaged. At Godda the Subdivisional Officer's house, jail, mission house, etc., were damaged. At Rajmahal the Subdivisional Officer's house, jail and several railway buildings were severely damaged. The Inspection Bungalow at Pakaur was ruined while the jail building, Subdivisional Officer's house and upper storey of cutcherry were slightly damaged. At Sahibganj some of the bazar buildings had to be pulled down under orders of the Municipal Corporation as they were dangerously cracked. The Belfry towers of the station building had fallen down, carrying with it a portion of the District Traffic Superintendent's office and station portico. Several buildings of the railway staff quarters were badly damaged. It appears that the railway station buildings at Barharwa, Tinpahar, Rajmahal and Maharajpur were damaged.

Earthquake of 1934.—The Bihar Earthquake of the 15th January, 1934, damaged some of the Government buildings, Damin bungalows and medical institutions including the Saldaha Leper Colony. The extent of the damages was not very severe. Repairs of these damages were undertaken with the help of the Government grants made for the purpose.

Fire.—Outbreaks of fire during summer season are not uncommon. Government grants money for building of houses destroyed by fire. There is no fire fighting station anywhere in Santal Parganas.

CHAPTER V

INDUSTRIES

Old Time Industries

Among the old time industries in the district that have now declined, mention has to be made particularly of lac. Unlike the other industries of the district, which were more of a primitive type and of little economic importance, lac or shellac was an important flourishing industry. The last Gazetteer mentions :—

> "Lac in this district is generally raised on the *palas* tree (*Butea frondosa*) called in Santali *muru*, but in the north and east, where *palas* trees are few in number, the *bair* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) or plum bush (Santali *Jamun*) is used for the purpose. There are two crops, the first in Chait and Baisakh, i.e., March to May, and the second in Bhado to Asin, i.e., August to October. These crops go by the name of Kartik (October-November) and Jait (May-June) respectively, those being the months when the crop comes into the local market. The crop of Chait-Baisakh yields the most lac, but the crop of Bhado-Asin contains a greater proportion of colouring matter. The manner of setting the insect for the next crop is simply to save a few well-covered twigs or a branch of the tree when cutting the crop, so that the new shoots thrown out after the tree has been pruned down in the removal of the crop may be covered by the insect when it swarms, which for the Jait crop is in Kartik and for the Kartik crop is in Jait. To set the insect in a few grove of trees, a branch of healthy lac containing the larvae is tied on each tree. After the larvae have swarmed the branches are cut and the lac sold : this lac goes by the name of *plunki*.
>
> "The mode of preparing the crop for the market is primitive in the extreme and must result in considerable loss of material, especially of the colouring matter. When the incrustation has formed on thick wood, it is scraped off with the reaping hook or some other rough instrument; where it has formed on thin wood, the parts wholly covered are left intact; where it is only partially covered, the uncovered portions of wood are roughly cut off so that a large amount of wood or stick is sold with the lac. The growers generally sell the lac to the village *mahajans* or shopkeepers, sometimes, taking advances on the crop,

and sometimes exchanging the produce for salt, tobacco, etc., and sometimes being paid in cash.*

"It is not known when the lac insect (coccus lacca), or as the natives call it *Lakorlaka*, was first introduced into this district, but there is a consensus of opinion that the Paharias introduced it, or, at any rate, were the first to cultivate it; and the industry is known to have existed in some parts of the district for a century. The insect is supposed to have been introduced from Manbhum, but this must only be a surmise. Although lac has been produced so long, the development of the industry did not begin till about 1870, when it was stimulated by the increasing demand for lac in the markets of London and America. Previous to 1905, there were no attempts at lac refining, and the crude lac used to be sent to Calcutta, but the sudden rise in the price of refined lac in Calcutta in that year made the traders of Dumka and Pakaur give attention to refining and a number of refineries sprang up in Dumka, Jarmundi and Pakaur. Then came the result of over production and half the establishments had to close doors. In 1924-25, the lac business suffered an acute depression and several firms became insolvent. There are at present only a few refineries in Pakaur only carrying on work on a low scale. At one time lac used to sell at Rs. 80 to Rs. 120 a maund against the present rate of Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 a maund. Damin raiyats residing outside the limits of bazar have to pay nothing for cultivating lac on trees standing on their jamabandi lands, but for cultivating the same on trees standing in Reserved and Protected forests they have to pay cultivating fees as below :—

Re. 0-4-0 per tree on Kusum tree,
Re. 0-2-0 per tree on Plum tree, and
Re. 0-1-0 per tree on Palas tree.

Damin bazar tenants and outsiders who want to cultivate lac in the Damin have to take out an annual permit on payment of a fee of Rs. 2 for cultivating lac in each Bungalow and if the trees stand in reserved or protected forests, they have to pay cultivating fees at the following rates :—

Re. 0-8-0 per tree on Kusum tree,
Re. 0-4-0 per tree on Plum tree, and
Re. 0-2-0 per tree on Palas tree.

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*C. F. Monson, *Note on the Lac Industry in the Santal Parganas*, Indian Forester, Vol. VII, 1882 ; pp. 274-79, G. Watt, *Lac and the Lac Industries*, Agricultural Ledger, 1901, no. 9.

All produce has to be brought to forest hats where royalty is levied at Rs. 2-8-0 per maund. The Forest Department is taking action for establishment of lac cultivation farms in the Pachwara and Hathiabathan reserves in the Pakaur Damin.". *

In the year 1952, there were 12 registered factories. Apart from them, there were some other unregistered units too. Nearly 850 workers were employed in them. There is, however, now no lac factory. Pakaur, which was once the hub of this industry, has lost this industry. All this happened during the three years ending 1958-59. The principal cause appears to be the slump in the foreign demand due to relief in political tension after the Korean truce negotiations started. The unlimited speculation, coupled with underquoting of prices resulted in constant fluctuation in prices from day-to-day. The other contributory factors were increasing exports of seedlac and severe competition from synthetic resins and Siamese seedlac. Speculation in shellac was greatly responsible for this unsteadiness in its market prices. The export of more seedlac in comparison to shellac means less manufacture of shellac and consequent closing down of shellac factories. The unstable financial position of the owners of this industry also played the main part. The lac market also suffers from one great disadvantage. There is very little of internal consumption of lac within India and its main market was in the foreign countries. Unless a stable internal market is created lac has not got any bright future. Attempts are being made by the Lac Research Institute in Ranchi and others to create a demand for Indian lac in India. Persons interested in lac industry still hope that there will be a revival.

The other old industries which have died out are indigo and iron-smelting. Indigo industry was in the hands of the Europeans. The industry in Santal Parganas never attained the importance or extent as in the districts of North Bihar. The industry had a decline owing to various causes which were common to other districts as well covered in the Gazetteers of Bhagalpur, Champaran, etc. Iron-smelting was done in a crude form and was spread all over the district.

Power.—The old time cottage industries were run by manual labour. Later, steam and diesel engines were introduced by the European indigo planters. After the close of the last world war, a large number of power generating plants belonging to the military were available in the market. Private enterprises purchased some of them and started supply of electricity to several towns in Bihar. They were, however, of limited capacity. The latest phase is that

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**Bihar District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938) by S. C. Mukherji, pp. 269—271.

the State Electricity Board has taken up the work of supply of power to the industries with the help of such agencies as Damodar Valley Corporation's power projects, etc.

Sources.—The main source of power is the Hydro-electric of the Damodar Valley Corporation. Hydro-electric is supplied in the district from Maithon and Nirsa Hydro-electric sub-stations, both being in Dhanbad district in the Ranchi Electrical Circle. The electric unit has been transferred to Santal Parganas and the other parts of the Bhagalpur Circle from Maithon and Nirsa through 33/KV and 132/33 KV from Nirsa and Maithon Hydro-electric sub-stations respectively. During 1961-62 about 232,675 KWH and 64,14,654 KWH were supplied from Maithon and Nirsa power houses respectively to Bhagalpur Electric Circle. It is reported that out of it a large part of the electricity is consumed in Santal Parganas district.

There is one Hydro-electric station at Masanjore in the district established and maintained by the Govermment of West Bengal. The Government of West Bengal have given an undertaking to supply power to Bihar from Masanjore Power Station. During 1961-62 approximately 13,36,000 KWH were allotted to Bhagalpur Circle from Masanjore Power Station.

The second source of power supply is the diesel generator set at Sahibganj. In 1961-62 about 11,76,226 KWH have been supplied through it.

There are altogether about 87 miles of 33,000 volts line, 214 miles of 11 K.V. line and 128 miles of 400 volts line in the district. There are 4 numbers of 33/11 K.V. power station, 82 numbers of 11/4 K.V. distribution sub-station in the district.

The important places so far electrified in Santal Parganas are Deoghar, Dumka, Jamtara, Pakaur, Sahibganj, Godda, Madhupur, Jasidih, Karmatanr, Rajmahal and Mihijam. About 100 towns and villages have so far been electrified.

The break-up figures of consumption of electricity during 1961-62 were as follows :—

Items.	
(*a*) Domestic including commercial ..	23,32,729 KWH
(*b*) Industrial (Medium Pressure) ..	22,00,847 KWH
(*c*) Irrigation	93,549 KWH
(*d*) Street light	11,87,981 KWH
(*e*) Railway station	3,71,688 KWH
(*f*) High Tension bulk supply ..	2,92,669 KWH
(*g*) Light Tension bulk supply ..	4,14,890 KWH

This does not include the electrical subdivision of Sahibganj; where a certain portion of Bhagalpur district has been included due to the fact that the civil administrative division and the electrical division are not conterminous.

Administrative set-up.—Santal Parganas is under the administrative control of the Superintending Engineer, Bhagalpur Circle. The Electrical Executive Engineer of the Deoghar Division has jurisdiction over the whole district except Sahibganj Supply Subdivision, which is under the jurisdiction of the Electrical Executive Engineer, Monghyr. The Deoghar Electrical Supply Division is divided into Deoghar, Dumka, Jamtara and Pakaur subdivisions each under the charge of a Subdivisional Officer, Electrical subdivision.

Deoghar Electric Supply Subdivision looks after the supply to the towns of Deoghar and Jasidih and the adjoining villages. There are about 2,400 consumers of various kinds in this subdivision. The supply area covered by this subdivision is entirely fed from the Damodar Valley Corporation. The annual consumption in the area is roughly to the tune of 2,000,000 K.W.H.

Jamtara Electric Supply Subdivision looks after the towns of Jamtara, Madhupur, Karmatanr, Mihijam and adjoining villages. There are at present about 1,700 consumers in this subdivision. The area covered by this subdivision is mainly fed by Damodar Valley Corporation but in case of failure of supply from Maithon, Madhupur, is connected with Beniadih Power House until the supply from Maithon is restored. The total annual consumption in this area is about 14,00,000 K.W.H.

The area covered by the Dumka Electric Supply Subdivision is entirely fed by the Masanjore Hydro-Electric Station of West Bengal Government but arrangement has been completed to connect Dumka with Jamtara area in case of failure of supply from Masanjore or *vice versa*. The jurisdiction of Dumka subdivision is spread over the town of Dumka and surrounding villages, i.e., Dudhani, Basukinath, Jarmundi, Jama, Nonihat, Raghunathpur, Takipur, Ranisar, Asanboni, Barmasia, Mohul Pahari, etc. There are about 1,200 consumers of different kinds in the area and the total annual consumption is roughly to the tune of about 7,00,000 K.W.H.

Sahibganj Electric Supply Subdivision looks after Sahibganj proper, Pakaur, Sakrigali *ghat*, Mahadeoganj and a few other villages. It has a diesel station which is expected to be connected with the Damodar Valley Corporation by 132 K.V. grid which is to run between Maithon and Sultanganj and from there 33 K.V. distribution line to different places in East Bihar, i.e., Bhagalpur, Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Tinpahar, Godda, Banka and Pakaur, etc. The

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present installed capacity of Sahibganj diesel generating station is 665 K.W. and the total units generated annually will be about 12,00,000 K.W.H. There are about 1,400 consumers in Sahibganj Subdivision at present.

Pakaur has a diesel generating station of its own with the total installed capacity of 200 K.W.H., which will be further augmented with another set of 245 K.W. if Damodar Valley Corporation power is not available at an early date. The ultimate demand of electricity at Pakaur and surrounding area within five years will be about 3,000 K.W., which will be supplied fully on completion of the Damodar Valley Corporation grid as stated above. The present diesel station at Pakaur will only cater to the domestic needs of Pakaur town and the adjoining areas.

The expansion of electricity in a district like Santal Parganas, where there is great potential of resources, has a special significance. Pakaur has a vast source of supply of stone-chips. Electricity could well be utilised for giving an impetus to the stone-chips industry. The fish potential of Rajmahal and Sahibganj may be exploited more by the starting of ice factories. Places like Madhupur, Basukinath, Mohulpahari, Massanjore, Tinpahar and Rajmahal, if electrified, can well be developed as tourist centres. The mission hospital at Mohulpahari is now capable of doing more good with X'ray plants. Jasidih and Deoghar have immensely developed after electricity has been made available to them. The industrial potential and possibility of tourism have been greatly aided by electricity.

Mining Industry

The important minerals in the district as already mentioned are bentonite, coal, china clay, felspar, fireclay, flint stones, quartz, road metal or quarries and silica sand or glass sand. Traces of mica deposits have also been discovered. The text on General chapter mentions the mineral occurrences. Here the mining industry is discussed. There may be some repetition.

Bentonite

Bluish bentonite is available in villages near Bankudih railway station on the loop line of the Eastern Railway. The quality of the stuff is not as good as of Rajasthan or Kashmir, consequently it has a moderate demand. It is used at present for the refining of vegetable oil and for lubricating purposes. Experiments are being carried out to find out if with suitable treatment the mineral can be mixed with cement*.

**India's Mineral Wealth* by J. Coggin Brown and A.K.Dey, p. 553.

Coal

The coal deposits of a country are an asset. In Jharia coalfields, first class coals, normally suitable for metallurgical purposes are extracted and used in large quantities for boiler firing. After this extraction, the whole of the layer of the rocks, together with millions of tons of 2nd class coal, are almost wasted. To check this it is necessary to encourage the use of second class coal in boilers and to popularise the use of third grade coal available in the district of Santal Parganas for fuel purposes and for the burning of bricks, lime, etc. The use of first class coal should be restricted if possible.

The estimated total exposed coal bearing area of the Rajmahal hills is about 70 square miles, with an average thickness of five feet coal throughout. The deeper coal has not been worked out so far in the absence of transport facilities and uptil now there has been only an outcrop excavation in the majority of the collieries of the district except for the collieries in Kasta coalfields.

In the past the Damin collieries used to be exploited in a rather primitive method without caring for conservation and scientific development. The past method of working has left a legacy of outcrop excavations and dangerous quarries. The Damin collieries, which were exempted from the operation of the Mines Act, have been brought under the supervision of the Act since 1954. Scientific method of working has been installed in these collieries and the majority of them are now worked under expert supervision.

The entire production of the coal of this district is at present in the private sector. For want of railway communications, the coal bearing areas of the district of Santal Parganas are considered unfit for exploitation.

For expanding the steel industry of India, there will be a great demand of washed metallurgical coal. The coal obtained from the district of Santal Parganas can therefore be profitably utilised by making provision of railway transport facilities or in other words by covering the coal belts with rail links by setting up washeries.

Domanpur, Sarsabad, Panchabahini, Dhankhutta, Gandhrop and Ghatchora collieries are in the Brahmini coalfields ; Chilgo and Bargo collieries are in Pachwara coalfields ; Manikbathan, Jilwari and Kesophuli collieries are in Chaprabhita coalfields ; Lalmatia-Kadapahar, Harra and Bhalgore collieries are in Harra coalfields ; Pariarpur, Chotarampur, Kharimati, Kasta, Palasthali, Jorekuri and Nawadih-Beldanga collieries are in Kasta coalfields ; Jainty Central and Jainty Khas in village Madankatta and Katamirkhi

are in Jainty coalfields while Bhowanipur, Tarabad, Dangarha, Tulsidhabar, Khun and Saharjuri collieries are in Chitra-Saharjuri coalfields*.

China-clay

China-clay has been worked since 1892 at Mangalhat near Rajmahal. It is extracted from the sandstone by a system of crushing, washing and subsequent settling. There is a long belt of china-clay deposit alongside the river Ganga from Rajmahal to Kanaiyasthan covering a distance of about five to six miles. According to Sri Satya Sunder Dev, a scholar in ceramics, this clay is described as being in no way inferior to German and Japanese Kaolin. The chief raw materials and fuel which can be brought from the local collieries or from Jharia coalfields can be a great impetus to the establishment of a porcelain factory in the locality. This potential requires investigation.

There are also deposits of china-clay at Khatangi and Karanpura in Dumka Damin, which is quite white and free from quartz and other mechanical impurities. It is of a powdery, not very plastic variety and resembles cornish china-clay in physical properties. The deposits are, however, far away from the rail heads and the cost of production is too prohibitive to stand competition.

Road Metal or Quarries

Besides the deposits mentioned in the text on 'General' there are several stone quarries alongside the main line of the Western Railways. The stones found there are not as good as compared with the Pakaur stone and are available in boulder form. The existing working quarries are at Jamtara, Kasiatanr, Karmatanr and Madhupur. This industry has developed at Mihijam during the last 10 years. The stone processed materials are boulders, ballasts and chips. The main consumption is in the barrages, dams, rail-roads, highways, aerodromes, docks, buildings and other projects. This industry has well developed because of railway facilities. Mostly the work is done on contract basis. Thus the position of employment changes with the change in the volume of contract.

The Rakso quarries of Bankudih, Borho and Nowghata, quarries of Taljhari, Ghoraghati, Barharwa are worked out directly by the Eastern Railways.

About 1,00,000 tons of stones are raised annually from the stone mines and quarries of the district of Santal Parganas and

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**India's Mineral Wealth* by J. Coggin Brown and A.K. Dey, pp. 21-22.

provide employment to a labour force of about ten thousand. There are about seventy such concerns which deal in stone chips.*

Small-scale Industries

Santal Parganas is essentially an agricultural district but there are also a number of small-scale industries and some of them are being revived.

Automobile Workshops

There were only two automobile repairing workshops in 1959 in the district. There are a number of smaller repairing shops at Dumka, Deoghar and Sahibganj. Along with the Rajya Transport buses, private buses also ply within the district. More than 2,000 workers are now engaged in motor transport. In comparison with the other districts of Bihar excluding Darbhanga, Santal Parganas district has the highest number of private buses. The reason is that Dumka, the district headquarters, is not directly connected by railway. Many of the parts would have been inaccessible but for the roadway buses.

Bakeries

There are a number of small bakeries in the urban areas and some in larger villages. They are mostly at Deoghar, Dumka and Sahibganj. They are all small units engaging a few persons with small investments. The consumption is entirely local. The average daily production of the units varies from 10 to 40 lbs. Their equipments consists of metal sheets, frames, cutters, wrappers, etc.

Brass and Bell Metal Industry

This industry is carried on by a community known as Jadupatias, who reside at Paharpur and Afzalnagar in the Jamtara subdivision, and Pusaro, Nawadih, Jawadaha, Jagudih and Thakurpura villages in the Sadar subdivision. They generally manufacture *ghunghrus* (tinklets) and *Pailas* (measuring pots). During 1961-62 two small-scale units at Deoghar and one at Amba in Kundahit police-station have started manufacturing household brass and bell metal wares.

Brick Manufacturing

There are about 30 brick-kiln chimney works distributed in different parts of the district. Due to the availability of fireclay, rivers, lakes and tanks this industry is flourishing. A unit of 15

**India's Mineral Wealth* by J. Coggin Brown and A. K. Dey, p. 315.

labourers can produce 75,000 bricks per month. This requires an investment of approximately Rs. 16,000.00 P. only. Work is not possible during the rainy season ; and workers get employment for six months only in a year at a chimney. The tempo of about urbanisation and the present tendency of owing brick- built houses have encouraged this industry.

Milk Products

The preparation of milk-products like butter, *ghee*, *chhena* and curd is carried out throughout the district. *Chhena* is the main production of Pakaur subdivision. Butter, *ghee* and *chhena* have a very good market within the district as well as outside.

Carpentry

Carpenters are found all over the district. There is a heavy concentration of carpenters at Shyambazar road in the Deoghar subdivision, Bhagalpur road, Kumharpara, Dumka proper in the Sadar subdivision and in Rajmahal subdivision. There are about twenty units which are engaged in the manufacture of wood, furniture, etc. The carpenters of the rural areas are mainly engaged in supply and repair of agricultural implements, bullock-carts, ordinary type of furniture, while in the urban areas they are engaged in making furniture, miscellaneous wares or in wood works for houses.

The raw materials used are wood, nails, screws, paints and polishes, which have either to be imported from outside or locally purchased. Timber, such as *shisham*, *mango*, *jamun*, etc. are easily available within the district due to the forests. Logs are imported from Malda district (West Bengal) also. Tools which are commonly used are planes, chisels, hammers, pliers, saws, etc. The wood in the form in which it is imported is cut into pieces of required size in saw mills at the towns like Deoghar, Dumka, etc., while in the rural areas the carpenters cut it by their hand driven saws.

There are a few saw mills registered under section 2*m* (*ii*) of the Factories Act, 1948, at Deoghar, Sahibganj and also at Dumka. They use electric power or oil engines and the investment in the machinery for a saw mill is about Rs. 6,000.

Skilled workers now (1962) earn between Rs. 100.00 to Rs. 150.00 a month. In rural areas, their monthly income may vary from Rs. 50.00 to 70.00, part of which may be in kind.

Chemical Industries and Manufacture of Medicines

There is a branch of the famous Dabur (Dr. S.K. Burman) Company, Limited, Calcutta which was first established at Deoghar in the year 1942. Thereafter it began to function at Dabur Gram, Jasidih from the year 1947 and was closed down completely in 1952 due to labour troubles. Then again in 1956 the factory was re-opened and is still functioning. Raw materials are obtained from different places like Calcutta, Bombay, Jamshedpur, etc. All *Ayurvedic* and patent medicines like digestive powder, dentifrice, spirituous preparations, etc. are manufactured by the concern. At present (1963) there are about 100 labourers (skilled and unskilled) working in the factory. All are monthly paid staff. Its manufactures have a good market throughout the country.

There is an another smaller unit running at Madhupur under the caption M/s. Bihar Pigments and Chemicals Works (Private), Limited which manufactures zinc-oxide and a few other chemicals.

Dyeing and Printing

Training in yarn dyeing has been started at Burhait through the Weaver's Training Centre, which was established in January, 1963. One large sized yarn-dyeing plant under the private agency is well established at Hiranpur catering the needs of the weavers in the Pakaur and Rajmahal belt.

Flour Mills or Atta Chakkis

Small units of flour mills or *atta chakkis* are scattered throughout the district. The flour mills engage from 2 to 6 workers per day and grind foodgrains, pulses and spices. They have got motors big or small run by diesel oil or electricity. A few of these larger flour mills at Deoghar purchase grains and grind them. The smaller units grind, charge small fees and process grains brought by others.

Iron Smithy

Members of *Lohar* caste usually follow the occupation of iron smithy. Iron smithy industry is distributed all over the district. It is organised on cottage industry basis or as family units. They make various kinds of goods required for household or agricultural purposes. There are concentrations of iron smiths in the urban areas as well as in some large villages, near about Deoghar.

There are a number of smaller units where 10 to 20 persons are engaged and agricultural implements, household utensils, trunks and other goods are manufactured.

Rice and Oil Mills

Paddy is the main crop of the district and so a number of small rice mills are scattered throughout the district. These mills are concentrated at Takipur, P.O. Ranigram, Ranishwar, Jhousagarhi (Deoghar), Dumka, Deoghar, Madhupur, Lalsharha (Madhupur), Jamtara, Sahibganj, Barharwa, etc. A few of *Atta chakkis* and oil mills are also attached with these rice mills. Their annual output vary from 780 maunds to 7,600 maunds.

The source of the supply of the workers is mostly local. However, during the last few years many big mills have closed down. The number of employees has considerably decreased from 1,600 to 900. Sahibganj was the main centre of this industry but this position has now changed (1962).

No extension has taken place except the increase in the capacity due to the implementation of the recommendations of the Rice Mills Committee Report (1957-58). No further registration of rice mills is encouraged by the Government.

There were a number of oil mills functioning in the district a few years back but their position has now dwindled. Big mills like Dwarka Das Radha Krishna Oil Mills and Ramdayal and Sons Oil Mills and several others have closed down. The following are the main reasons for the failure of this industry :—

(*i*) loss of market due to severe competition ;
(*ii*) non-availability of oil-seeds in the local areas ;
(*iii*) absence of any subsidy from the Government.

The adjoining districts of West Bengal were the main consumers of the oil produced in the district. They have been lost to the West Bengal Oil Mills.

The oil mills of the district used to purchase oilseeds from Uttar Pradesh and East Punjab. The railway freight was a heavy handicap. Naturally the price of the manufactured oil increased more when it was supplied from the far flung areas. However, there are still some smaller units engaged in this industry.

Soap and Silicate

A number of soap factories are located at Madhupur, Sahibganj and Deoghar. They are, more or less, small units and their produce is locally consumed. The Adibasis of the district have clean habits and use soap normally. There is one silicate works at Madhupur which produces sodium silicate. Among all the soap factories M/s. Sitaram Soap Factory, Deoghar is one of the oldest concerns and next to it is M/s. Newar Soap Factory, Deoghar.

Tile Industry

There are a number of smaller units engaged in the manufacture of tiles. The units are concentrated mostly in the Sadar subdivision. In village Sadipur in Ranishwar Block, there is one unit under the caption M/s. Chakravarty and Company engaged in the manufacture of Raniganj tiles. About 50 workers are engaged in it.

Cottage Industries

Bamboowares

Bamboo is found in abundance in the district. Bamboo workers are found all over the district. The tools used are chisels, cutters and bends. Baskets, winnowing fans, curtains, fans and other household articles are made. A worker labours from eight to ten hours a day and earns about Rs. 40.00 per month. Since the worker has to sell his goods by hawking, he is often forced to sell his goods at a disadvantage to himself. Bamboo wares are in good demand on certain festivals and marriages.

Bidi Industry

This is one of the largest cottage industries of this district. Largest in the sense that it absorbs probably the highest number of employees. Yet the fact remains that its employees do not depend totally upon the earning from this industry for their livelihood. They serve as casual workers. During harvesting season, therefore, the tempo of this industry slows down.

This industry has spread in far-flung villages. There are a large number of persons who manufacture *bidi* in their spare time and supply it to the contractors. The number of employees is even more than 6,000. This will be quite clear if we see it in the light of the volume of production. It was gathered from the merchants and agents who supply *bidis* to Jalpaiguri, the Tea garden areas of Assam and the mining areas of Bengal and Bihar, that at least 60,00,000 *bidis* are manufactured every day in this district when all the workers are engaged in this work. Baidyanath Bidi Company, Deoghar alone receives 4,00,000 *bidi* per day from its contractors. Patel Khushal Bhai Laxmi Das and Sons (*Bidi* Company), Jhausagerhi, Deoghar receives not less than 3,50,000 *bidis* per day from its contractors. Some merchants at Madhupur and Pathrole receive even more. Normally one skilled employee makes one thousand *bidis* a day.

The owners of these *bidi* factories of such companies are mostly Gujaratis and local Muslims. In Deoghar and Madhupur Gujratis are controlling the industry. The reasons are two fold. Tobacco

grows in abundance in Gujarat but the *Kendu* leaves for the outer-cover of the *bidis* are found in abundance in Santal Parganas and other neighbouring districts. The principal market is in the mining areas of Bihar and Bengal and the tea gardens of Assam.

Labour is also very cheap here. The Adibasi's bargaining capacity is negligible. They accept any thing that is given to them. It is to be noted that if compared to the employees of other areas, the employees of this district receive the lowest rate of wages. In Calcutta the wage varies between Rs. 2 to Rs. 2.50 for turning out one thousand *bidis*. In Patna also it is about Rs. 2 per thousand. But in Santhal Parganas the rate is between Rs. 1.37 P. to Rs.1.62. P.

The main *bidi* manufacturing centres in the district are Pathrole, Lalgarh, Chandadih, Simarjore, Deoghar, Rohini, Madhupur, Jarmundi, Udhua, Hariharpur and Chirodih. These areas cover the 70 per cent of the *bidi* manufactured in the district.

Comb Industry

Wooden and horn combs are made in Ranishwar and Borio and Sarath Blocks of the district. The Adibasis are very found of using combs and frequently stick one to the hair. The raw material is locally obtained.

Gur and Raw Sugar

This is manufactured in Maherama and Pathargama Blocks of Godda subdivision. A small quantity is manufactured in Rajmahal subdivision also. The sugarcane produce is not so large that a mill could be started.

Pottery

Pottery is a cottage industry scattered throughout the district. Various kinds of earthen vessels in common household use are made. Pots for plants, various kinds of clay toys, earthen lamps, earthen plates, tumblers and small cups are in great demand and the potters have a busy times.

Given ideas to potters could easily turn out artistic articles for export. The earthen images of deities made for the various *Pujas* are quite artistic.

A Regional Training Institute in Pottery was established on the 16th June, 1959 at Jasidih for giving training. Trainees from Assam, Bengal and Orissa besides those from Bihar have been receiving instructions here.

Weaving

Weaving is an indigenous craft almost throughout the district. Coarse cotton cloth woven within the district is usually worn by the Adibasi inhabitants. Spinning, however, is not as common as weaving and suitable yarn is usually imported.

An attempt has been made to teach better technique for weaving. In 1926-27 a weaving demonstrator was stationed at Dumka and better technique in the handloom weaving industry was introduced in Dumka Damin, Deoghar and Jamtara and fly shuttle looms were also introduced. Improved fly shuttle looms were later introduced to the weavers of Pathargama in the Godda subdivision. In the Rajmahal subdivision, the weavers of Damin Bungalows, Barhait and Borio started turning out bed sheets, towels, *saris*, *dhotis*, etc., by means of improved fly shuttle looms.

There are now more than 19,000 registered looms the majority of which have been brought within the fold of the Weavers' Co-operative Society. It is gathered that the annual production of handloom cloth during 1959 through the Co-operative Societies was about 2,64,000 yards. At the moment this district also shares the glut of an excess produce in handloom cloth with other parts of the country owing to lesser demand for handloom cloth and competition from mill cloth.

Cocoon rearing

"The Paharias, Santals and Khatauris rear tusser worms on *asan trees*, four kinds of cocoon (*koa*) being common, viz., (1) *sarihan*, (2) *langa*, (3) *muga* and (4) *phuka*, of which *muga* is the best. The process of rearing is as follows. The rearers enclose the eggs laid by the tusser moth in a covering of *asan* leaves called *thonga*, which they keep for two days in their houses. When the eggs hatch out into caterpillars the *thongas* are fastened to the twigs of *asan* trees, and the caterpillars then spread about the tree forming cocoons. This takes place in the month of Asin, i.e., towards the end of September and beginning of October. Three months later, i.e., in the month of Aghan, when the cocoons are ready, they are taken down from the *asan* trees and dried on the ground for two days. The Patwas or weavers now take the cocoons and boil them in hot water, steeping them for about 8 hours. After this they wash the cocoons in clean water and place them on cow-dung ashes to dry them. They then take each cocoon in the left hand, and with the right hand rub it gently in order to remove the rough coating over the shell and get out the *khani* or tusser silk. After this is done they begin to spin. Tusser is reared throughout the district, but the most important areas

for the tusser are the subdivisions of Pakaur and Rajmahal. Rule for the rearing of tusser is the same as the cultivation of lac. Damin Bazar tenants and outsiders have to take out a permit on payment of a license."*

These observations are still largely applicable. Cocoon rearing is still followed.

Tussar weaving

As *tussar* is reared throughout the district, the *tussar* weavers are also scattered. There are, however, a few pockets where there is a concentration of *tussar* weavers. There are a number of *tussar* weavers at the villages, Bhagaiya and Sarauni in Godda subdivision. Some of the Community Development Blocks have been able to encourage *tussar* weaving. The fabrics include shirting, coating, *saris*, *lungis*, sheets, etc. The fabrics have to be taken to Bhagalpur for finishing as no arrangement for that exists in the district. There is great demand of *tussar* fabrics abroad at present and as such there is no problem of disposal of the finished goods.

The *tussar* weavers of Bhagaiya have organised a Co-operative Society, which has got 98 members. This is a registered society and has been getting financial assistance from the cess fund of the Handloom Board. The production of silk cloth through this society is about 1,000 yards per month. There is one full-fledged *tussar* seed supply station at Amrapara to which a marketing organisation for purchase of seed cocoons from actual rearers had been attached in the year 1959. Two more *tussar* seed supply stations have also started functioning at Borio and Litipara. There are seven seed supply sub-stations in the district which are located at Sarouni, Hiranpur, Boarijore, Dhamini, Shikaripara, Banjhi and Kathikund. The function of these sub-stations and station is :—

(*a*) To train rearers in improved and scientific method of rearing ;

(*b*) To introduce improved reeling and spinning ; and

(*c*) To detect outbreak up of diseases such as pebrine and flacheris.

About 5,715 rearers have derived benefit from these schemes.

Jail Industries

The goods produced at District Jail, Dumka have a heavy demand throughout the district. Since 1955 the Jail industry is developing far and wide.

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* *District Gazetteer of Santhal Parganas* (1938) by Mr. S. C. Mukherji, pp. 271-272.

The District Jail, Dumka manufactures prisoners' garment, *durrie*, *newar*, *asni*, *Janewaz*, oil, etc. The most important among these are oil, *durrie* and *newar*. There are several sub-jails in the district but only two of them, i.e., Godda and Jamtara are affiliated to the District Jail and the rest are affiliated to Bhagalpur Central Jail.

The oil manufactured here is consumed within the jail premises, sold to the Government staff, public and also supplied to Godda and Jamtara Sub-jails. The oil cakes are consumed within the jail premises. The mustard seed, the main raw material for oil, is purchased through the contractors. The main machinery applied for crushing oil are oil *ghanis*. Prisoners' garment is also supplied to the other two affiliated sub-jails.

Newar and *durrie* are sold to the general public at the jail gate and particularly *newar* is sent to Buxar Central Jail for preparing the tents. The manufactured goods are also being sent to the Bankipore Jail Emporium, Patna. Further due to the small jail premises and small number of prisoners, the jail is not able to meet the full demand of the district. The raw materials for *newar*, *durrie* and prisoners' garment are obtained from Buxar Central Jail.

Approximately 30 to 40 prisoners are engaged in the industries section of the jail. The only incentive is the award of special remissions to the prisoners by the Superintendent of Jail and Inspector-General of Prisons, Bihar.

Work by Khadi and Village Industries Board

A number of cottage industries have received encouragement from the *Khadi* and Village Industries Board through Training *cum*-Production Centres. Better type of spinning through an improvised spinning wheel, known as *Ambar Charkha* has been encouraged through a centre at Jasidih started in 1958. Two *Palm Gur* production centres at Rajmahal and Jasidih have been trying to encourage the making of *Gur* from palm juice and its consumption. *Palm Gur* is quite popular in Bengal but its use was almost unknown in Bihar. A *Gur Khandsari* Demonstration Centre at Deoghar has been showing the better technique for the production of *Gur* and *Khandsari*.

Schemes sponsored by the Industries Department

(*i*) *Technical Education*.—There is one Industrial Technical Institute (Welfare), located at Dumka, in which students are trained in each of the following crafts :—

(*a*) Blacksmithy, (*b*) Carpentry, (*c*) Moulding, (*d*) Motor Mechanic, (*e*) Electrician, (*f*) Line man, wire man and (*g*) General Mecha-

nic. The duration of training is 18 months in the Institute followed by six months factory training outside. The Institute has been established with a view to train boys belonging to Scheduled Tribes only but at present (1962) non-tribal boys are also admitted due to non-availability of required number of candidates belonging to the Scheduled Tribes.

(*ii*) *Training*-cum-*Production Centres and Tuitional classes* — At present (1962) there are 33 Training-*cum*-Production Centres in this district which are mostly located in Community Development Blocks. There is only one Tuitional class for toy-making running at Deoghar. The functions of these Training-*cum*-Production Centres are to train new workers, specially to the sons of artisans and landless labourers and members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to introduce improved tools, new technique and better design in areas where artisans are concentrated. The period of training in all the crafts is usually one year.

Sabai Grass Industry

A valuable ingredient for paper manufacture, *sabai* grass was introduced at the close of the 19th century in the district. *Sabai* grass industry was left absolutely in the hands of the *mahajans* who advanced money to the Paharias to grow *sabai* grass on the Rajmahal hills. The Paharias cleared the jungles and the hills and grew *sabai* grass which was harvested by the *mahajans* who would adjust the advances and manipulate accounts as a result of which the Paharias became poorer and the *mahajans* richer. In 1907 the produce was 4,50,000 maunds.

In 1909 the Government intervened, the *mahajans* were turned out of the *sabai* hills and the *sabai* cultivation was brought under Government control in charge of a Special Officer. Money was advanced by Government to the Paharias for *sabai* cultivation, but they proved too lazy and the output decreased to 3,80,000 maunds. The quality also suffered so much so that 12½ per cent refraction had to be allowed to the contractors. So in 1913 this system was abandoned and the *mahajans* were again admitted on annual lease. But as the lease was annual the *mahajans* were not sure of their position for the following year and therefore did not take much interest. They neglected their work, consequently the produce fell to 2,17,000 maunds.

In 1919 the annual lease system was changed to five years lease and with a stipulation that if work was satisfactory a further lease of five years would be allowed. The scheme started well

and the produce rose to 3,03,000 maunds in 1920. But the principal contractor created a monopoly for supplying *sabai* grass to the paper mills, thus depriving the *mahajans* of their legitimate profit. The result was that the produce and the quality again deteriorated.

From 1924 onwards the Paharias and the *mahajans* began clamouring for the abolition of the scheme. In 1930 Government abandoned control over the system of sale of *sabai* grass subject to the conditions laid down in the Record-of-Rights. But, due to trade depression, thriftlessness and lack of enterprise on the part of the Paharias, the *sabai baris* deteriorated. The final blow was given by the paper mills which adopted the old monopoly system.

The following modified scheme was introduced :—

(1) The mills would pay Rs. 1-6-0 for Sahibganj *sabai* grass. The *mahajans* would get Re. 1-0-0 and Re. 0-6-0 would be funded to the Renovation Fund. This fund would be advanced to the *mahajans* for special weeding under the supervision of the local officials.

(2) The Paharias would get Re. 0-3-3 per maund of 50 seers. Re. 0-6-3 was fixed as harvesting and transport cost and if the Paharias wanted to do these operations, they could do so and add to their profit.

(3) The *mahajans* formed a Sales Union. The Subdivisional Officer was to keep a strict watch over the *mahajans* and, if anybody wanted to prevent the success of the scheme, to refuse license to him.

(4) Weighment of *sabai* and payment to Paharias would be made in presence of local officers and the terms of contract between Paharias and *mahajans* were to be approved in general by the Deputy Commissioner and by the Subdivisional Officer in detail.

It gave some freedom to the Paharias and the *mahajans* were also freed from the shackles of the middle men intervening between them and the mills. The scheme brought some life to the trade and production improved. The scheme was therefore extended up to 1938.

Another modified scheme with a fresh lease of life for five years was introduced with effect from 1st April, 1938. The modified scheme was as follows:—

(1) The Paharias would get Re. 0-4-6 per maund of 50 seers.

(2) The Paharias could be members of the Sales Union and could take up weeding and harvesting operations.

(3) A Sub-Deputy Collector was appointed as *sabai* Special Officer to supervise the proper working of the scheme.

(4) If a *mahajan* did not utilise the money advanced for weeding, the Deputy Commissioner would eliminate him.

(5) The mill would pay Re. 0-15-0 per maund to the *mahajans* through the Subdivisional Officer. The Paharias could directly despatch their produce to the mills in the name of their *mahajan* and they would get price at the same rate.

(6) The mill would pay Re. 0-4-0 per maund to the Renovation Fund. The *mahajans* too would deposit at the said rate for *sabai* sold in retail.

(7) Funds would be advanced to *mahajans* for weeding.

The mills paid at the rate of Rs. 1-3-0 per maund up to 1940-41. In 1941-42 they raised it by another anna out of which the Paharias got Re. 0-0-3 per maund and the *mahajans* Re. 0-0-9 per maund. The mills also promised to give another six pies extra if the yield exceeded 3 lacs maunds.

This scheme brought about improvement in quality but not in quantity due to lack of supervision. In 1946-47 lease was guaranted to Bihar Paper Mills, subsequently called Sahibganj Paper Mills. But this concern somehow bungled and production fell to only 19,600 maunds in 1949-50. The Government stepped in again and assumed control over the produce and sale of *sabai* grass. The production went up to 1,10,570 maunds in 1951-52.

In the year 1952 Government yielded to the pressure of the Paharias headed by Shri David Joshua and withdrew all Government control over the tenancy lands. The only restriction was on sale, i. e., that the purchaser should have license from the Deputy Commissioner as required under the Santhal Parganas Settlement Regulation. But the Paharias did nothing and the production of *sabai* grass came down to nil in 1958-59 and 1959-60.

Seeing this deplorable state of affair the Government decided that—

(*i*) The Forest Department should take up the work of the renovation of the *sabai baris*. An officer should be selected for this purpose and sent to the Santhal Parganas immediately.

(*ii*) As the weeding season was already on, the Deputy Commissioner should utilise part of the available Paharia fund for weeding purposes and should come up with an estimate for a grant within one month.

(*iii*) The Deputy Commissioner would be in overall charges of the renovation of the *sabai baris* and should ensure by effective co-operation with the officials of the Forest Department that the scheme progresses according to plan.

(*iv*) The lands of the Paharias should be amicably taken over and managed on their behalf. The co-operation of the Paharias should be obtained to the greatest extent possible and only if it become unavoidable, the question of applying any law like the Waste Land Reclamation Act should be considered as a welfare measure for the Paharias and should be executed with their willing co-operation.

(*v*) The scheme prepared by the Special Officer of the Forest Department should be examined by the Revenue Department which should be in general charge of the work relating to the improvement of *sabai baris* and should come up with a memorandum to the Cabinet for approval.

Accordingly a scheme was drawn up and introduced in 1960 which had been included within the plan ceiling of the Forest Department in the 2nd and 3rd Five-Year Plans. According to this scheme a State-owned Paper and Pulp Factory is to be established at Sahibganj, the Government is to take over the *sabai baris* in the manner of wards estates. The management is to be on no-profit-no-loss basis. The Paharias are expected to make a substantial income under this scheme.

As a result of this scheme the yield of *sabai* grass was 2,000 maunds in 1960-61 and 32,000 maunds in 1961-62.

Under the present scheme during 1960-61 initial shrub cutting was done over 10,000 acres and weeding over 132 acres. *Sabai* harvested was 2,000 maunds. Total expenditure during 1960-61 was Rs. 1,12,847 and the revenue Rs. 10,000. Paharias were paid Rs. 1,800 as royalty.

In 1961-62 renovation was done on 4,930 acres, and shrub cutting on 9,500 acres, and weeding on 5,000 acres. *Sabai* harvested was 32,000 maunds which stood at 23,474 maunds after dryage. It was despatched to the Paper Mills. The total expenditure was Rs. 4,26,270 and revenue Rs. 1,17,370. The royalty worked out to Rs. 20,422 which was paid to the Paharias. Out of this a sum of Rs. 10,257 was paid to the Paharias by the Chief Minister on 29th August, 1962.

This scheme fundamentally differs from all the previous schemes and endeavours to revive the *sabai* grass on a much bigger scale

than hitherto undertaken, and keep the Industry alive for the benefit of the Paharias.

Hitherto the development and exploitation of *sabai* grass remained concentrated in the hands of the *Mahajans* and big concerns like Titagarh Paper Mills. Even the Titagarh Paper Mills had to depend on the local *mahajans* who had previous experience of the industry. The Government from time to time exercised varying degrees of control but the measures were chiefly supervisory. The *mahajans* remained in the picture in some form or the other, either openly or in the garb of some organisation. Their chief aim was to earn as much profit out of the scheme as possible by any means that came handy. Welfare of the Paharias and development of the *sabai baris* were not their end.

Never before had the Government taken up the development of *sabai baris* as welfare measure to ameliorate the pitiable condition of the Paharias on a no-profit-no-loss basis.

It was thought that the welfare of the Paharias could not be achieved unless the Government took up the entire responsibility for renovation, harvesting and profitable marketing of the *sabai* grass taking into account the past experiences. The Paharias gain all the way under this scheme, for even if there is loss they are assured to of the payment of Re. 0.87 P. per maund. The loss will be borne by the Government as expenditure on welfare measures. This aspect of the scheme is its greatest safeguard against failures which has been the fate of all the previous schemes. If the scheme is worked strictly according to the phased programme there is no reason why the desired targets should not be achieved. It appears that the *sabai* industry and the Paharia economy, which goes with it, are on the verge of a new era—a bright one.

There is, however, one problem and that is the legal difficulty. The Government should have some sort of legal right to enter upon and cultivate the *sabai baris*. Unless this is achieved the danger of sabotage to the scheme will always remain.

A statement showing the annual produce of *sabai* grass on the Rajmahal hills since 1932-33 to 1961-62 is given below:—

Year.	Output.		
	Mds.	srs.	ch.
1932-33	1,21,210	15	0
1933-34	1,41,186	9	0
1934-35	2,04,669	37	0
1935-36	2,21,806	35	0
1936-37	3,16,390	17	8

Year.	Output. Mds.	srs.	ch.
1937-38	2,77,688	0	0
1938-39	2,62,259	27	0
1939-40	2,82,107	0	0
1940-41	2,52,032	24	0
1941-42	2,96,825	25	0
1942-43	2,17,130	0	0
1943-44	2,53,609	13	0
1944-45	2,56,716	6	0
1945-46	1,92,615	6	0
1946-47	1,19,085	4	0
1947-48	1,65,035	6	0
1948-49	1,41,467	6	0
1949-50	9,600	0	0
1950-51	95,925	4	0
1951-52	1,10,570	24	0
1952-53	12,958	4	0
1953-54	26,000	0	0
1954-55	20,658	7	0
1955-56	3,164	5	0
1956-57	1,438	0	0
1957-58	5,654	16	0
1958-59	..		
1959-60	..		
1960-61	2,000	0	0
1961-62	32,000	0	0

Industrial Potential and Plans for future development

Santal Parganas is essentially an agricultural district but is rich in unexploited mineral wealth. Some of the main factors controlling the development of industrial potential are location, communication facilities and accessibility to raw materials, availability of labour, capital and technical skill.

This district has several handicaps the main of which is the absence of railway communications. Most of the major parts are without them. There are railway communications only in the northern and southern fringes of the district. As a result, the mineral wealth of the vast tract of *Damin-i-koh* comprising almost two-thirds part of the district is difficult to be explored. Some of the existing roadways connecting such areas cannot be used throughout the year.

The industrial potential of the district has not yet been properly surveyed. The Techno-Economic Survey of Bihar while discussing

the 'New Industrial Opportunites' has observed* .. "The second largest base is the minerals of Bihar such as..... coal,.....quartz, china-clay,.....,etc. not all of which have been profitably exploited. Some of the minerals such as .....silica provide the base for an integrated chemical industry". This observation is applicable in the case of the district of Santal Parganas, particularly as it has deposits of coal, quartz, china-clay and silica.

The Techno-Economic Survey of Bihar** further observed, "14.19 *China-clay Washing Plant.* The raw material is best quality china-clay. A plant could be located near the areas where deposits of china-clay are found (Mangal Hat, Mirza Chowk and Rajmahal in Santhal Parganas district.....). The cost for 1,500 tons capacity (annual) is Rs. 6 lakhs, of which the foreign exchange component is Rs. 21 lakhs. It would provide employment for 40 persons."

The report also mentions the possibility of an Electrical Porcelain plant and a plant for turning out sanitary ware where the raw materials are available. They are available in abundance in this district. The possibility of sponsoring a quartz-grinding plant, a plant for utilising refractory silica, a plant for manufacturing sewer and irrigation pipes could also be investigated owing to the presence of the raw materials in good quantity.

Bones are exported from different stations and probably a quantity is not utilised at all. The potential of starting a small plant with a capacity of 72 maunds a month referred to in the report of the Techno-Economic Survey of Bihar may be investigated.

There appears to be a good scope for the manufacture of hume pipes in the Pakaur and Sahibganj areas. There are sufficient quantity of raw materials in these areas. Stone-chips below 1/4 inch can well be utilised. With the existing railway facilities cement and iron rods may be easily available. There will be no dearth of market for the manufactured goods.

First class china-clay and fine sand are available at Mangalhat, covering an area of 40 square miles, 6 miles away from Rajmahal railway station towards Taljhari. The main connecting road between Mangalhat and Rajmahal is under construction by the Public

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* Report of the Techno-Economic Survey of Bihar conducted by National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, 1959, Volume I, page 108.

** *Ibid*, pp. 112-113.

Works Department which is expected to be complete within 1963-64. The State Electricity Board has taken up the question of laying power line (high tension). It is expected that crockery and ceramic utility goods manufacturing units will come up as soon as the power and communication facilities are assured. High grade felspar deposits are extensively found in Madhupur-Jagdishpur belt within Madhupur Block in Deoghar subdivision. One low tension insulator factory under the caption Bihar Industrial Corporation (Private) Limited at Madhupur has started production since May, 1962.

Utilisation of Forest produce

The district is full of forests with various kinds of wood like *shisham, sal,* etc. There can be good prospects for a wood seasoning plant in the Borio and Kathikund Blocks if facilities are offered.

Utilisation of horticultural produce

The abundant produce mango and jack-fruit of the district may be utilised as a base for canning industry. Their dehydration also may be looked into. The Multi purpose Co-operative Society of Malda (West Bengal) is said to be dealing in canning mangoes.

Utilisation of Pisciculture

The possibility of utilizing the abundant supply of fish as the base for any industry may be looked into. The bulk of the fish is exported from Sahibganj, Rajmahal, etc. Small fish is generally not exported and is locally consumed at a cheaper rate. The small fish potential has not yet been looked into. There is some demand for dried and salted fish in portions of West Bengal and Chotanagpur. The utilisation of small fish for manure might be developed into an industry if economically sound.

Utilisation of livestock

Due to the large number of pigs and cattle in the district there is the possibility of turning out painting brushes, scavengers' brushes, etc.

One model tannery is likely to be set up at village Tarapur at about 2 miles from Hiranpur towards Pakaur. The estimates and plans have already been prepared. The average supply of raw hides at Hiranpur *hat* is enough for a small tanning. The raw hides after salting processes are now exported to Tangra and Beliaghatta tanneries in Calcutta through middlemen.

Other Industrial Developments

There appears to be some possibility for a well equipped engineering workshop which will manufacture agricultural machinery, parts

of the machinery of stone crushers, sugarcane crushers, etc. There used to be a large Engineering workshop at Sahibganj. The reasons for the closing up may be looked into and it is understood that in spite of its failure chances for a workshop are bright. The various cottage industries could well be improved upon.

The State is committed to give assistance to industry, large, small and cottage through the Industries Department. The Bihar State Aid to Industries Act, 1956 has various provisions for giving such assistance.

The Bihar State Financial Corporation was moved in 1954 to meet the requirements for long term finance to small-scale industries. There are also various other schemes for assistance by way of providing technical assistance. These facilities are calculated to encourage industrial exploitation of the natural resources of the district.

Labour Organisations

Trade Union movement was sponsored in this district just prior to the World War II. At present (1962) there are 22 Labour Organisations registered under the Indian Trade Union Act, 1926. Five of the Labour Unions, i.e., Mills Mazdoor Sabha, Sahibganj, Quarries Worker's Union, Pakaur, Metal Mazdoor Press Congress, Sahibganj, Rajmahal Pathar Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, Tinpahar, Nagar Safai Shramik Congress, Sahibganj and Santal Parganas Bidi Labour Union, Deoghar are affiliated to Indian National Trade Union Congress (I. N. T. U. C.) and the rest seventeen are independent units and have no affiliations.

Industrial disputes and the grievances of the labour are generally put forth through the Labour Unions. Normally there are good relation and mutual understanding with the management. The Unions have been able to get a large number of disputes settled in a peaceful manner. If disputes cannot be settled mutually at the instance of the Labour Officers they may go to the Labour and Industrial Tribunals.

The following is the list of the Trade Unions functioning in the district:—

Serial no.	Name of the Union.	Date of registration.
1	Mills Mazdoor Sabha, Sahibganj, Delha, Sahibganj.	19-12-1947
2	Quarries Workers' Union, Pakaur, P. O. Jhikarpati, Dumka.	25-11-1948
3	Sahibganj Gariwan Union, C/o Rastriya Mazdoor Congress Office, Sahibganj.	14-2-1949

Serial no.	Name of the Union.	Date of registration.
4	E. I. Railway Coolie Union, At and P. O. Jasidih.	1-3-1949
5	Sahibganj Electric Supply Workers' Union, Rastriya Mazdoor Congress Office, Sahibganj.	28-9-1949
6	Metal Press Mazdoor Congress, Rastriya Congress Mazdoor Office, P. O. Sahibganj.	25-9-1949
7	Santal Parganas District Board Employees' Union, Dumka.	28-8-1951
8	Santal Parganas Motor Workers' Association, D. C. C., Dumka.	23-3-1954
9	Lah Chopra Mazdoor Sabha, Harindang ..	27-6-1954
10	Rajmahal Pathar Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, P. O. Tinpahar, Santal Parganas.	10-11-1955
11	Mangalhat Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, C/o Rajmahal Thana Congress Office, P. O. Rajmahal.	10-2-1956
12	Santal Parganas Zila Khetihar Mazdoor Sangh, Dumka.	29-12-1956
13	Chitra Saharjori Coalfield Mazdoor Union, Chitra, P. O. Sarsa.	8-2-1957
14	Nagar Safai Sharamik Congress, Rastriya Mazdoor Congress Office, Sahibganj.	28-1-1957
15	Santal Parganas Biri Labour Union, P. O. Deoghar.	28-6-1957
16	Deoghar Nagar Rickshaw Drivers Union, Baidyanath Dham, P. O. Baidynath, Deoghar.	8-11-1958
17	Seva Mandal Karyakarta Sangh, Baidyanath, Deoghar.	16-7-1960
18	Mirzachauiki Pathar Khadan Mazdoor Sangh, Mirzachauki.	24-1-1961
19	Deoghar Nagar Dukandar Karamchari Sangh, Deoghar.	17-2-1961
20	Bihar Iron Steel Rolling Mill Workers' Union, P. O. Baidyanath, Deoghar.	12-3-1961
21	Standard Merchantile Company Workers' Union, Rajmahal, P. O. Rajmahal.	24-3-1961
22	Dabur Factory Workers' Union, P. O. Jasidih	26-6-1961

Industrial Tribunals

The machinery of industrial tribunals can be set in motion only by the Government in respect of each industrial dispute. A tribunal cannot be approached directly unless the dispute is referred to it for adjudication by Government. The Government has also been given the power to refuse to make such reference if it considers that the notice has been given frivolously or vexatiously.

The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 not only provides for the establishment of permanent machinery for the settlement of disputes, but it also makes the award of a tribunal or any settlement brought about by a conciliator binding on the parties and legally enforceable.

Welfare of Industrial Labour

There are Labour Welfare Centres at Tinpahar, Deoghar and Pakaur, which look after the welfare of the workers in the stone quarries, china-clay factories, different industrial units, etc. located in those areas. All the centres are running in rented buildings. Buildings for the centres at Tinpahr and Pakaur are under construction. The centre at Deoghar is to be shifted very soon to Maraphari, near Bokaro.

These Labour Welfare Centres provide various amenities like library, sports (indoor and outdoor), social education, sewing and knitting, recreation (music, dance, drama etc.). All these facilities are common in all the Centres but Tinpahar Centre is also provided with a health propaganda wing.

It is to be noted here, in this connection, that Government have been granting subsidies for some time past to the voluntary labour centres in the State, run on the joint efforts and contibutions of the workers and the employers with a view to promoting the welfare of the industrial workers. It has long been felt that the satisfactory progress of such centres is retarded due to the want of proper accommodation for housing the centres and adequate space for open air activities, such as outdoor games and special functions like variety entertainments, musical gatherings, etc. Suitable buildings, with sufficient open space for outdoor activities are, therefore, a necessity. So far Voluntary Labour Welfare Centres are concerned, there are the *Shram Kalyan Kendra* at Pakaur and a Voluntary Labour Welfare Centre at Sahibganj.

The centre at Sahibganj has a daily attendance of 15 persons only. There is no equipment for any outdoor activities. There are musical instruments but in the absence of an expert teacher no

training is being imparted. A few years back social education section was also attached to it but since 1955 it has stopped functioning. The condition of the library in the centre is also not good. In absence of fund for the payment of honorarium to a lady organiser the female section is about to stop its function. However, the Sahibganj Municipality has consented to construct a building for this centre. When this is constructed and the Government subsidy is granted, it is hoped that this centre will get some more encouragement.

Shram Kalyan Kendra at Pakaur is also on the verge of extinction. The shellac employees were its members but due to the failure of this industry and paucity of the fund, this centre is not making any progress.

There is a small private creche in one of the china-clay factories at Mangalhat. Beside these there is no other Voluntary Labour Welfare Centre in the district. There was some effort to start such a centre at Mangalhat for the welfare of the workers in the china-clay factories.

Industrial loan

The Government advance industrial loan to individual enterpriser for development of industry. Industrial loans to the tune of Rs. 3,87,785 were granted under the State Aid to Industries Act to 835 individuals and industrial units till February, 1963 by the local Industries Office at Dumka. Besides a sum of Rs. 2,48,000 had been granted by the Directorate of Industries and Mines, Bihar, Patna. 587 loanees and industrial units till April, 1963 had utilised the loan so far. It is doubtful if the industrial loans have been properly utilised.

CHAPTER VI

BANKING, TRADE AND COMMERCE

The agencies for the supply of rural credit are normally Government, co-operative societies, money-lenders, relatives and traders. The money-lenders or the indigenous bankers charge higher rate of interest than the other agencies but still they are very popular. This is so because they are easily accessible and with them the borrowers have not to undergo any red-tapism and the transaction is quicker. They often advance loans without any landed security. But while these money-lenders supply most of the credit in the rural areas, they exploit the rural borrowers and charge exorbitant rate of interest (varying from 25 per cent 75 per cent depending on the extent of the need of the borrower).

To safeguard the interests of the borrowers, the Money-Lenders Act, 1938 was passed. The main object of the Act was to check the exorbitant interest and thereby to grant relief to the debtors. The Act came into force in the Santal Parganas district in 1938. This Act was followed by the Bihar Money-Lenders (Regulation of Transactions) Act, 1939 according to which "no court shall, in any suit brought by a money-lender in respect of a loan advanced after the commencement of this Act, pass a decree for interest at rates exceeding nine per cent per year in the case of a secured loan and twelve percentum per annum in the case of an unsecured loan; and agreement entered into by a debtor for the payment of compound interest on loans advanced is void and the amount of interest realised cannot be greater than the amount of loan advanced."*

This Act made it obligatory for a money-lender to obtain a licence for his business to maintain regular account books and to furnish each debtor periodically a signed statement of accounts in respect of each loan transaction showing the outstanding amount of principal and interest and the amount of every payment received from the debtor. Penalties have been provided for the breaches of the Act.

It, however, transpires on local investigation that there are still a large number of *Mahajans* and *Sahukars* in the villages of this district who carry on their business without any licence. Most of the Santal families and almost every family of the Paharias are in the grip of such *Mahajans*. There is hardly

*The Bihar Code, Vol. IV, page 120.

any record available to assess the indebtedness of the district but some idea may be formed from the statement given below*:—

Year.	No. of licences registered for the first time during the year.		No. of licences in force at the end of the year.		Amount of loan advanced—				Total (in rupees)
					With Security		Without Security		
	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	In rural areas.	In urban areas.	In rural areas.	In urban areas.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
					Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1955-56 ..	75	27	376	350	6,29,744	8,63,055	..	..	14,92,799
1956-57 ..	77	22	251	445	3,36,421	6,88,615	..	..	10,25,036
1957-58 ..	144	32	598	760	3,26,737	8,99,443	17,513	49,954	12,93,647
1958-59 ..	332	451	218	38	4,60,637	20,200	84,384	10,000	5,75,221
1959-60 ..	540	489	138	42	8,39,723	7,448	1,01,826	6,280	9,55,277
1960-61 ..	2,633	103	149	5	5,08,532	32,346	1,16,320	6,356	6,63,554
1961-62 ..	2,761	109	88	48	10,42,041	2,012	2,17,209	3,221	12,64,483

*Source of information : (*i*) Figures for the years 1955-56 and 1956-57 are from Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1956, page 297, and 298; (*ii*) figures for the year 1957-58 from the Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1957, page 267; and the figures for the remaining years have been supplied from the Registry Office, Dumka.

Column 2 of the statement shows that the number of licences registered for the first time during the year for rural areas has been on the increase. The number of such licences registered in 1961-62 was 2,761 against 75 only in 1955-56. Considering the fact that there are many unregistered money-lenders as well, this trend indicates that money-lending is a lucrative business and the incidence of indebtedness is very high. The amount of loan advanced with security in the rural areas from 1955-56 to 1961-62 shows fluctuating tendency whereas the amount of loan advanced without security shows a marked increase during the same period. In 1957-58 the loan advanced without security in the rural areas was Rs. 17,513 only while in 1961-62 it is Rs. 2,17,209, i.e., about twelve times more than the amount advanced in 1955-56. The figures thus indicate that the rural indebtedness is on the increase.

The figures for the urban areas suggest that the incidence of indebtedness is not as high as in the rural areas. This is because in the urban areas people have other sources of getting money on credit. They are in a better position to avail themselves of the State schemes to supply credit.

The trend of increasing State assistance to the people also indicates the incidence of indebtedness. The statement giving the amounts disbursed under the Land Improvement Loans Act, 1883 and Agriculturists Loans Act, 1883 from 1957-58 to 1961-62 have been given in the text on Agriculture and Irrigation.

Regarding the amount of loan taken by the agriculturists it may be said that the entire amount may not have been utilised for the purpose for which it was taken.

Land is sold or mortgaged when money is badly required. The figures of such transfer will also be helpful in assessing the incidence of indebtedness of the district. Statement showing the number of *raiyati* holdings having occupancy rights transferred by registered deeds or sale is given below*:—

Year	Entire			In Part		
	Number	Area transferred (in acres)'	Consideration money (in rupees)	Number	Area transferred (in acres)	Consideration money (in rupees)
1956-57	2,136	1,271.61	8,09,174	1,973	1,344-83	10,49,917
1957-58	2,015	1,061.63	12,13,256	1,897	805.54	9,94,138
1958-59	4	7.85	9,149	132	129.80	3,35,886
1959-60	218	90.65	1,14,526	460	169.65	2,78,262
1960-61	155	156.58	1,70,885	631	519.04	2,96,873
1961-62	2	1.00	449	272	365.00	1,52,592

*The figures for the years 1956-57 and 1957-58 have been taken from Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1956, and Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1957 and the figures for the remaining years have been supplied by the District Sub-Registrar, Dumka.

It may be reiterated that in the district of Santal Parganas the banking facilities are not yet available in the rural area. The part played by the commercial banks in agricultural finance is confined to a few big cultivators and merchants who have marketable securities. The benefits of the co-operative movement have been extended to only a small percentage of the population. The State assistance is not easily procurable. So the money-lender has continued to be the chief source of credit.

The loans given by the money-lenders are not always registered. The lands of the Santals being inalienable, the records of mortgages, etc. will not be a true index of indebtedness.

State Bank and other Commercial Banks

So far as the development of modern banking is concerned, the district lags far behind the other districts in the State. The State Bank of India, the Central Bank of India and the United Commercial Bank operate in the district through their branches.

The State Bank of India has got four full-fledged branches in the district at Dumka, Deoghar, Pakaur and Sahibganj (with effect from 5th September 1956, 27th December 1958, 10th October 1961 and 25th May 1959 respectively). The figures of the total deposits in the banks are not available. About 6 to 8 per cent interest per annum is charged on advances made against foodgrains, consumers' goods etc.

The Central Bank of India Ltd., has two branch offices at Deoghar and Sahibganj. The Branch office at Deoghar was established in January, 1945 and the office at Sahibganj has been functioning since 1943.

The United Commercial Bank Ltd., has only one branch office at Deoghar ; it has been functioning since November, 1944. The Bank charges $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 per cent interest per annum for the advances made against foodgrains, oils, consumers' goods, cotton piece goods etc. The rate of interest of the Central Bank of India for such advances is 8 to 10 per cent per annum.

The figures of deposits in the Central Bank of India Limited and the United Commercial Bank Limited are not available. The usual business of the Banks consists of (*a*) receiving deposits of all kinds ; (*b*) discounting internal bills and *hundis*, advancing loans against approved stocks and shares ; (*c*) transmitting funds from one place to another on behalf of customers through bank-drafts ; (*d*) purchasing and selling shares for clients on a commission basis and (*e*) keeping documents and jewellery in safe custody. In fact, they finance to some extent the internal trade at Deoghar and Sahibganj.

Savings in the District

Small Savings

Small savings of the man of limited means have a great importance particularly when so many development projects in the country are afoot. The banks willingly accept small deposits and the State Government have made attractive arrangements for the investment of small savings. The Post offices have Savings Bank sections. The following statement supplied by the Postal Department gives the statistics of the amount deposited and withdrawn in the Postal Savings Banks in the district from 1958-59 to 1961-62 :—

Year.	Amount deposited (in rupees).	Amount withdrawn (in rupees).
1958-59	74,69,193.60	71,63,670.29
1959-60	80,91,117.85	62,53,271.95
1960-61	69,36,133.56	64,66,300.01
1961-62	70,57,785.85	61,97,867.47

The figures show that the response of the public has been rather poor. The withdrawals are very large.

Any citizen who can spare even so small an amount of Rs. 5.00 can open a Post office Savings Bank account. The local authorities and co-operative societies and non-profit making institutions can also open accounts with these banks which are called public accounts.

Interest on individual and joint accounts is allowed at the rate of 2½ per cent for the first of Rs. 10,000 and 2 per cent on the balance in excess of Rs. 10,000. On public accounts interest is allowed at 2 per cent and interest is calculated for each calendar month. The interest earned on these investments is free of income-tax and super tax.

As an inducement to savings, the Central Government started from 1st April, 1960, a scheme of 5 years' interest-free Prize Bonds eligible for participating in quarterly drawing each year till 31st March, 1965. These bonds are of two denominations, one of Rs. 5 and the other of Rs. 100. The attractive feature of the bonds is that at each draw prizes are available ranging

from Rs. 50 to Rs. 7,500 for five-rupee bonds and Rs. 500 to Rs. 25,000 for 100-rupee bonds that win the draw. The investor is re-paid for his investment while there is a chance for him to win a prize. The sale of the prize bond was stopped after June, 1962.

The total amount of the sale of the Prize bonds in the district of Santal Parganas upto June, 1962 is Rs. 1,92,546.

Premium Prize Bonds.

Premium Prize Bonds are available for sale in denomination of Rs. 100 and Rs. 5 from 1st January, 1963. The bonds will be sold upto 31st December, 1963. The bonds will be re-paid with a premium of Re. 0.50 and Rs. 10 for every bond of Rs. 5 and Rs. 100 respectively five years after the date of their sale. In addition to the premium, every bond sold is eligible for participating in two draws of prizes to be held in the year 1964. For every crore of rupees of bonds sold of each denomination prizes for different amounts are to be awarded in each of the two draws.

In the district of Santal Parganas upto 14th February, 1963, Premium Prize bonds of over Rs. 8,390 (this figure does not include the sale made by the Sub-Treasuries, Godda, Jamtara and Pakaur) were sold.

The beginning of Government mobilisation of small savings in India could be traced back to World War I (1914—18) when the then Government issued postal cash certificates of 5 years, 7 years and 10 years' duration. They were sold at a discount and re-paid after the completion of the maturity period. They were discontinued after a few years of the War.

During World War II (1939—45) the issue of such certificates was again introduced and even after the War, they are being continued in a more intensive form because small savings from a large number of people can become a substantial item in the capital resources that are required for carrying out the Nation's Five-Year Plans.

The following categories of investment have been classified as small savings investment since 1957 :—

(1) Twelve-Year National Plan Savings Certificates issued in denominations of a minimum of Rs. 5 and maximum of Rs. 5,000 and yielding interest at 5.41 per cent.

(2) Ten-year Treasury Savings Deposit Certificates issued in denomination of Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 and yielding interest at 4 per cent per annum which is paid every year.

(3) Fifteen-Year Annuity Certificates whereby accumulated savings can be invested as a lump sum and received back in monthly instalments for a period of 15 years, the rate of interest being about 4½ per cent per month.

The district small savings work is under the District Development Officer. The District Savings Organiser, an employee of the Central Government, attends to the National Savings work under the guidance and control of the District Development Officer, Santal Parganas, Dumka.

The investment under the different categories of the schemes in the district of Santal Parganas (in figures) for the last seven years is as follows :—

	lacs.
1956-57	45
1957-58	10
1958-59	9
1959-60	23
1960-61	19
1961-62	10.50
1962-63	10.50

National Defence Certificates

The Government of India have introduced the National Defence Certificates to enable every citizen to invest his savings for the National Defence since November, 1962. This scheme was sponsored particularly because of the Chinese aggression. In the district of Santal Parganas from November, 1962 upto 14th February, 1963 National Defence Certificates worth Rs. 1,87,690 were sold. The certificates are in denominations of Rs. 5, Rs. 10, Rs. 50, Rs. 100, Rs. 500, Rs. 1,000, Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 25,000.

On maturity at the end of 12 years, the certificates will be repaid at premium of 75 per cent of the issue price, yielding a return of 6.25 per cent per annum single or 4.75 per cent per annum compound interest : a certificate of Rs. 100 would fetch Rs. 175 at the end of 12 years.

Defence Deposit Certificates

Deposits for the purchase of these certificates are accepted by all the offices of the Reserve Bank of India, branches of the State Bank of India and its subsidiaries. The interest is payable annually at 4½ per cent per annum. It is free of income-tax. The

certificates are issued in denomination of Rs. 50 and its multiples. The amount is returned at the end of 10 years from the date of the deposit.

In the district of Santal Parganas, Defence Deposit Certificates worth Rs. 5,000 were sold from November, 1962 upto 14th February, 1963.

Morover, in this district Defence Bonds worth Rs. 20,700 were sold upto 14th February, 1963 and Gold Bonds of approximate weight of 700 gram and approximate value of Rs. 40,000 were sold upto 14th February, 1963.

Co-operative Societies

On the 25th March, 1904 the first Co-operative Societies Act (Act X of 1904) was enacted which was later on followed by Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912 and again by the Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Societies Act, 1935 (Bihar and Orissa Act VI of 1935). The Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Societies Act, 1935, with some minor amendments is in force at present.

The liability of the registered society is limited. Where the liability of a society is limited, the liability of each member is, on liquidation, limited to the multiple of shares, as laid down in the registered bye-laws of the society. In the case of a society with unlimited liability all members and the past members are, on liquidation, jointly or severally liable for all obligations. But the liability of a past member or of the estate of the deceased member for the debts of a registered society as they existed on the date of his ceasing to be a member is to continue for a period of two years from such date. Section 8 of the Act deals with the condition of registration which is as follows :—

> "No society, other than a society of which a member is a registered society, shall be registered under this Act which does not consist of at least ten persons above the age of eighteen years, and where the primary object of the society is the creation of funds to be lent to its members".*

The management of a registered society as required under the Act is vested in a managing committee constituted in accordance with the rules.

A registered society can receive deposits and loans from members and non-members to such extent and under such conditions

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*The Bihar Code, Volume III (published in 1953), page 604.

which are prescribed by rules or bye-laws. Except with the general or special sanction of the Registrar, a registered society is not empowered to give a loan to any person other than a member or lend money on the security of moveable property.

In the State of Bihar the co-operative movement has been operating for about half a century but its progress was not satisfactory upto 1950 as is evident from the following passage of the "*First Five-Year Plan in Bihar*, 1951—56, A Review" at page 64—"Co-operation has been recognised as an important agency of development particularly under conditions of relatively underdeveloped economy and limited resources as in our country. It is not merely an agency for development, but also an effective instrument of social change. It is through this medium that the underprivileged sector of the population can have their due share in the control and direction of economic activities. Co-operation is not merely an instrument of action but also a way of life. Unfortunately, in Bihar, as in other parts of the country, co-operative enterprise has largely remained confined to provision of limited credit facilities through illmanaged and inadequately financed credit societies." According to the report of All-India Rural Credit Survey Committee only one per cent of agriculturists was advanced loan for agricultural purposes by the Co-operative Societies in Bihar in 1951-52. In consideration of its inadequate functioning in November, 1958 the National Development Council (in its resolution on co-operative policy) stressed that co-operatives should be organised on the basis of the village community as the primary unit and that the responsibility and initiative for social and economic development at the village level should be placed fully on the village co-operative and village *panchayat*. The Council also laid down the broad objective, namely, that the co-operative movement should be developed so as to bring within its fold all rural families by the end of the Third Plan. The main features of the policy set out in the National Development Council's Resolution are as follows :—

"(1) The Co-operative and the Panchayat are the primary agencies for carrying out the community development programme which aims at the improvement of all aspects of rural life through the efforts of the people.

(2) The village agricultural plan is the foundation of the programme for co-operative development and should receive the highest priority.

(3) The primary functions of the village co-operatives are the provision of short and medium term credit, supply of agricultural and other production requirements and the marketing of agricultural produce. For specific

functions, separate co-operative societies may be organised for groups of village, e. g., for industrial workers. They may also be organised within a village on behalf of those benefits from a particular activity, e. g., co-operative farming, tube-wells, soil conservation etc.

(4) Co-operatives should be organised on the basis of the village community as the prima y unit. Where villages are too small, with the consent of all the communities concerned, a number of them covering a population of about 1,000 should be grouped together for the purpose of forming a village co-operative society. There should be flexibility in determining the size of the population to be served by a village society, but care should be taken to ensure the essential characteristics of a co-operative society, namely voluntary basis, close contact, social cohesion and mutual obligation.

(5) Where there is a village production programme, the grant of credit should be linked closely with the programme for increasing agricultural production. Every cultivator participating in the production plan of the village should be able to secure the necessary credit for obtaining supplies of fertiliser, improved seed etc., and for meeting the current expenses of cultivation to the extent necessary.

(6) Credit should be linked with marketing. Accordingly village societies should be members of marketing societies and should act as their agents for the sale of surplus agricultural produce.

(7) For the development of co-operation as a people's movement, there should be comprehensive programmes for training and education at the village, block and district levels and conditions should be created in which large number of non-official workers can effectively participate in building up the movement.

(8) An essential objective of the co-operative movement is the inclusion of the habit of thrift and saving. In each area according to the programme worked out by co-operatives, the efforts should be to meet the requirements of credit needs of their members".*

The above recommendations are being followed by the State Government and the co-operative movement is developing on the lines suggested.

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*Third Five-Year Plan, A Draft Outline, Planning Commission (June, 1960), pages 161 to 163.

Co-operative Movement in Santal Parganas district

An account of the early history of co-operative movement in this district has been given in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) at pages 261-62 which is as follows :—

"Co-operative Societies were first introduced in the non-Damin area of the Sadar Subdivision of the district about the year 1918 by the Benagaria Mission authorities. The next development was the organisation of a local committee in 1927 with the Sadar Subdivisional Officer as *ex-officio* Chairman". Co-operative Societies were started in the year 1925-26 in the other Subdivisions of the district. The development of co-operative movement in the district of Santal Parganas from the beginning upto 1945 will be apparent from the statement in which figures of co-operative societies working in this district in 1933 and 1945 have been shown.

(1) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

Credit
(*a*) Limited.

Year.	No. of societies.	No. of members.	Loans made during the year.	Loans due.	Reserve fund.
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1933	10	8,355	18,741	1,19,419	1,24,047
1945	9	7,037	29,587	1,25,556	1,29,759

	Working capital.	Profit and loss.	Most usual rate of interest.	
			On borrowing.	On lending.
	7	8	9	10
	Rs.	Rs.		
	1,31,163	+20,209	10½%	25%
	1,36,831	+31,863	9½%	25%

Sources of information : (1) Statement B of the Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1933 and (*ii*) Statement showing the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar for the year 1945. The figures relate to the whole district of Santal Parganas.

(*b*) Unlimited

Circle	No. of societies		No. of members		Loans made during the year	
	1933	1945	1933	1945	1933	1945
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
					Rs.	Rs.
Dumka	63	106	1,142	1,907	2,767	1,986
Deoghar	163	223	3,402	5,927	35,560	15,703
Rajmahal	76	71	1,223	948	405	..
Jamtara	91	96	1,921	1,776	4,532	2,823
Pakaur	19	18	547	380	..	1,785
Godda	63	77	1,228	1,733	7,374	14,849
Paharia area (Sahibganj)	35	42	740	837	441	20,457
Total ..	510	633	10,203	13,508	51,079	57,603

(*b*) Unlimited (*contd.*)

Circle	Loans due		Reserve fund in		Working capital		Profit and loss in	
	1933	1945	1933	1945	1933	1945	1933	1945
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka	25,541	16,585	5,120	9,191	31,120	33,210	+3,388	+417
Deoghar	1,15,484	89,494	32,617	48,126	1,44,401	1,27,975	+6,724	+4,416
Rajmahal	1,64,864	40,869	17,404	17,250	2,18,553	85,785	+2,306	+777
Jamtara	53,642	23,302	6,096	9,998	66,719	44,002	+4,524	+1,260
Pakaur	49,788	5,975	2,811	6,340	53,713	17,336	+4,767	+1,450
Godda	27,373	37,380	6,258	17,910	31,774	53,432	+2,864	+2,060
Paharia area (Sahibganj) ..	20,846	21,435	2,533	14,275	22,888	28,504	+3,374	+1,307
Total ..	4,57,538	2,23,040	72,839	1,23,090	5,69,168	3,90,244	+27.947	+8,787

Sources of information :—(*i*) Statement B of the Report on the working of the Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1933 and (*ii*) Statements showing the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar for the year 1945.

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(2) NON-AGRICULTURAL [SOCIETIES

(*i*) Credit
(*a*) Limited.

Year.	No. of societies.	No. of members.	Loans made.	Loans due.	Reserve fund.	Working capital.	Profit and loss.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1933	2	65	330	1,067	232	1,659	+167
1945	1	31	1,298	1,094	505	1,100	+77
(*b*) *Unlimited.*							
1933	1	10	..	1,172	5	1,348	+101
1945	2	25	..	924	223	2,474	+165
(*ii*) Production and sale.							
(*a*) *Limited.*							
1933	Nil	..	..	..	..	..	..
1945	1	44	..	..	..	527	+2,036
(*b*) *Unlimited.*							
1933	8	161	715	3,919	1,438	4,745	+523
1945	5	100	..	1,787	1,294	2,765	+220
(*iii*) Other forms of societies.							
(*a*) *Limited.*							
1933	1	137	..	..	..	..	..
1945	1	62	..	..	..	..	+20
(*b*) *Unlimited.*							
1933	Nil	..	..	..	..	..	..
1945	Nil	..	..	..	..	..	..

Sources of information : (*i*) Statement C of Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1933 and (*ii*) Statements showing the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar for the year 1945.

After independence in 1947, steps have been taken to accelerate the progress of the co-operative movement in the country by providing sufficient funds in the Five-Year Plans.

As a result of the efforts made through the Five-Year Plans the co-operative m vement has made some progress. The statement below showing the present position of the Co-operative societies functioning in 1961-62 has been compiled from the reports of the Assistant Registrars of the respective circles :—

Name of the circle.*	Total number of co-operative societies in the circle.	Share capital raised.	Total number of families in the circle.	No. of families covered by co-operative societies.
Dumka	454	2,55,555	89,188	25,478
Deoghar	355	2,50,833	68,799	26,689
Godda	426	1,83,313	82,600	22,134
Jamtara	375	1,71,624	61,064	14,359
Rajmahal	317	1,16,884	77,926	19,823
Pakaur	325	1,23,654	61,313	10,930

In 1945 there were only 652 co-operative societies while the total number of co-operative societies functioning in 1961-62 was 2,252. However, the target of the Third Five Year Plan, i.e., to cover all villages within the co-operative fold is yet far off. Some details about the different types of the societies functioning in the district are given below :—

(1) *Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies.*—The scheme for the organisation of Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies was started in 1948 on a temporary basis and was made permanent in 1953. The progress made by small sized Multipurpose Co-operative Societies in this district upto 30th June, 1961 is shown overleaf :—

*The whole area of the district has been divided into six circles as given above for the management and administration of the co-operative societies in the district in 1961-62. Prior to 1961-62 the area was divided into three circles only, namely Dumka, Deoghar and Sahibganj.

Name of the circle.	Total no. of societies.	Total no. of members.	Paid up capital.	Total no. of credit societies.	Loan advanced in 1960-61.	Loan recovered in 1960-61.	Loan out standing.	No. of villages secured by the societies.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Dumka	516	18,945	1,60,265	375	3,31,938	2,79,160	4,43,101	1,090
Godda	273	19,462	1,57,449	273	4,50,927	3,62,271	3,25,155	762
Rajmahal	277	19,798	1,16,884	277	2,42,032	2,21,079	3,16,044	483
Deoghar	329	14,346	1,00,105	137	3,29,385	1,61,471	5,43,754	934
Jamtara	328	10,638	84,586	42	45,562	99,940	2,83,632	539

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(2) *Large-sized Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies.*—Small village societies with only 45 to 50 members have neither the resources nor the scope to do much business. With a view to overcoming these difficulties provision was made in the Second Five-Year Plan of Bihar for the organisation of 500 large-sized societies by the end of 1960-61. In the district of Santal Parganas under this scheme thirteen large-sized Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies were established by the end of 1960-61. The details of the societies as they stood on 30th June 1961 are given below :—

Name of the circle.	Total no. of societies.	Total no. of members.	Loan advanced in 1960-61.	Loan recovered in 1960-61.
1	2	3	4	5
			Rs.	Rs.
Dumka	6	13,997	42,085	32,766
Rajmahal	1	338	8,069	6,394
Godda	2	876	11,690	15,855
Deoghar	2	400	2,29,717	16,456
Jamtara	2	351	1,235	8,275

	Loan out-standing.	No. of villages served.	Paid-up capital.	
			Government.	Others.
1	6	7	8	9
	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Dumka	75,029	181	60,000	18,189
Rajmahal	4,419	24	10,000	1,611
Godda	12,469	46	20,000	5,361
Deoghar	36,678	37	20,000	5,435
Jamtara	20,470	44	20,000	6,772

(3) *Weavers' Co-operative Societies.*—The number of such societies rose to 30 in 1960-61. The circlewise figures are given below :—

Name of the circle.	Total no. of societies.	Total no. of members.
Dumka	17	2,532
Pakaur	6	1,095
Deoghar	9	723
Rajmahal	8	1,736
Jamtara	9	612
Godda	30	4,348

(4) *Fishermen's Co-operative Societies.*—In order to save the fishermen from being exploited by the middlemen, co-operatives were organised at the important places where there are concentrations of fishermen. In the district of Santal Parganas there are two fishermen's co-operative societies at Sahibganj and Deoghar with a total number of 530 and 30 members respectively. Considering the economic condition of the fishermen and the lack of adequate financial resources at their disposal, provision has been made to give them subsidy through their co-operative societies for the purchase of boats, nets, etc., to the extent of 25 per cent to 50 per cent of the cost price of different items. They are also provided with loans for purchasing the equipment, etc.

(5) *Other types of Industrial Co-operative Societies.*—These societies include Tannery Co-operative Societies, Bidi Workers' Co-operative Societies, Silk-Rearing Co-operative Societies, Printing Co-operative Societies, etc. In this district there are 49 such societies, 11 in Dumka circle, 9 in Pakaur, 14 in Rajmahal, 10 in Deoghar and 5 in Jamtara circle with a total number of 1,653 members—253 in Dumka, 537 in Pakaur, 207 in Deoghar, 527 in Rajmahal and 129 in Jamtara respectively.

(6) *Agricultural Processing Societies.*—These societies include Paddy Husking Co-operative Societies, Oil Crushing Co-operative Societies, Jute Bailing Co-operative Socieites, etc.

The scheme for the development of oil crushing industry was sanctioned by the State Government in 1949 and is being renewed on yearly basis. The Indian Oil Seeds Committee shares the recurring cost of the scheme on 50:50 basis

with the State Government. During the year 1954-55 the State Government sanctioned two schemes for the Community Project areas—(1) for the organisation of Oilmen's Co-operative Societies and (2) for the setting up and running of demonstration units of Wardha *Ghani*. Under the scheme in this district two Oilmen's Co-operative Societies were functioning in Dumka and three in Deoghar circles in 1961-62. The total number of members was 30 and 59 respectively.

There is only one Paddy Husking Co-operative Society in Dumka and 8 in Godda circles.

There are two other co-operative societies, related to the agricultural processing, which are functioning in the Rajmahal circle. The total number of members of both the societies is 43 only.

(7) *Non-agricultural Non-Credit Societies.*—These societies comprise primary stores, industrial societies, Harijan societies, etc. In the district of Santal Parganas there are ten such societies—one in Dumka, three in Deoghar, three in Jamtara, one in Godda and two in Pakaur circles.

(8) *Shoe-makers' Co-operative Societies.*—In this district there are only three Shoe-makers' Co-operative Societies—all functioning in Rajmahal circle with a total number of 55 members.

(9) *Vishwakarma Co-operative Societies.*—There are four such societies in Dumka circle with a total number of 211 members and one in Rajmahal circle with 36 members.

(10) *Consumers' Co-operative Societies.*—There are 11 Consumers' Co-operative Societies in Deoghar circle with a total number of 850 members and 3 in Rajmahal circle with a total number of 53 members.

(11) *Cane and Bamboo Basket Makers' Co-operative Societies.*—There are three societies in Dumka and two in Sahibganj with a total number of 69 and 30 members respectively.

(12) *Co-operative Farming Societies.*—In the First Five-Year Plan a number of suggestions were made for encouraging and assisting individual cultivators to group themselves voluntarily into co-operative farming societies. The conference of the State Ministers of Agriculture and Co-operative held at Mussorie in July, 1956 laid emphasis on the establishment of co-operative farming societies with a view to increasing agricultural production.

A system of farming, in which individual holdings are pooled, is opposed to the instinct and tradition of the Indian peasants and a continuous process of persuation and education is necessary in order to make the idea acceptable to them. Similarly, a great deal of preparatory work has to be done in the rural areas through practical demonstrations and active financial and technical assistance to convince the rural community of the advantages of co-operative farming. To achieve the objective, co-operative farming schemes are being implemented. In this district there are two societies in Deoghar circle and three in Dumka circle with a total number of 28 and 45 members respectively.

(13) *Agricultural Co-operative Marketing Societies.*—Under this scheme there are six primary marketing societies in Deoghar circle, 4 in Dumka circle, 3 in Rajmahal circle and one in Godda circle with a total number of 207, 192, 61 and 40 members respectively.

There are three grain banks in Deoghar circle, one in Godda circle and four in Dumka circle, with a total number of 26,689, 654 and 1,571 members respectively.

In addition to the societies mentioned above, there are one Mahila Co-operative Society (with 72 members) and one Pakistan Refugee Co-operative Society (with 95 members) both at Deoghar. In Dumka circle there are one Canteen Co-operative Society with 26 members, one Tailoring Co-operative Society with 13 members, one Hand Pounding Co-operative Society with 20 members and one Soap-making Co-operative Society with 73 members.

Central Co-operative Banks

The Central Co-operative Banks finance the societies for agricultural purposes and mainly short and medium term loans are advanced. The Central Co-operative Banks sanction loans to their affiliated societies only.

The Central Co-operative Banks were unable to meet their expenditure out of their income from investments in societies as the investments were rather small in most cases. In order to help these institutions, services of the Inspectors and Supervisors were placed at the disposal of the Central Co-operative Banks.

Up to the year 1955-56 the ultimate borrower was required to pay interest at the rate of Rs. 7 per cent on loans advanced for agricultural purposes. "This rate was reduced and the ultimate borrower is now required to pay interest at the rate of 6¼ per cent

on all his borrowings which is the lowest amongst the rates of borrowing by the farmers prevailing in the country."*

The Central Co-operative Banks get advances from the State Co-operative Bank at 3 per cent interest per annum and make advances to the affiliated societies at 5 per cent interest per annum, which in their turn charges 6¼ per cent per annum interest from the ultimate borrowers. The medium-term loan is granted to the borrowers for the purchase of oxen and costly agricultural implements, etc., whereas short-term loan is advanced for the purchase of seeds etc.

In the district of Santal Parganas there are five Central Co-operative Banks, namely, Dumka Central Co-operative Bank, Deoghar Central Co-operative Bank, Godda Central Co-operative Bank, Rajmahal Central Co-operative Bank and Jamtara Central Co-operative Bank. The area of the operation of each bank except Dumka Central Co-operative Bank is co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the Civil subdivision. In case of Dumka Central Co-operative Bank its jurisdiction which was originally confined to the Sadar Subdivision was extended in 1933 to the non-Damin tract of the Pakaur subdivision. Since then its jurisdiction extends over both Sadar and Pakaur subdivisions.

The Dumka Central Co-operative Bank formerly known as the Dumka Central Union Limited was registered under the Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912 on the 17th January, 1928. Similarly, Godda, Jamtara, Deoghar and Rajmahal Central Banks (previously known as Central Union Limited) were registered under the same Act on the 21st June, 1929, 17th April, 1926, 4th March, 1926 and 28th January, 1926 respectively.† The details of the Central Co-operative Banks have been given in the Appendix.

The Central Co-operative Banks functioning in this district have made good progress. The total amount of loan advanced by the Banks in this district in 1960-61 was Rs. 18,46,731 as against Rs. 8,24,916, Rs. 35,648, Rs. 98,974 and Rs. 95,800 advanced in the years 1955-56, 1945, 1933 and 1929 respectively. The working capital of the banks was Rs. 13,06,397 in 1955-56 as against Rs. 3,58,906 in 1945. The share paid-up capital of the banks also swelled from Rs. 55,410 and Rs. 65,450 in 1929 and 1933 respectively to Rs. 88,669 in 1955-56. The banks also earned a profit of Rs. 11,910 in the year 1955-56, but it is not appreciable in view of the fact that in 1929 the banks had made more profit, i.e.,

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*Annual Administrative Report of the Co-operative Department of Bihar for the year 1955-66, page 15.

†Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1929 at page xxxii, Appendix IV.

Rs. 14,986 which points out that though there has been enough expansion in the transaction yet the banks could not prosper financially. The average percentage of collection in this district for the years 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961-62 is 47, 58, 62 and 69 respectively.

Land Mortgage Bank

With a view to providing long-term credit to the agriculturists for purchase of expensive agricultural implements and machinery, liquidation of old debts and development of land, provision was made under the Second Five-Year Plan to organise a Central Land Mortgage Bank with 17 branches, one in each of the districts of Bihar. Under this scheme in this district a branch office has been functioning since November, 1960 at Dumka under a manager. At present (December, 1962) there are eighty-three members out of whom forth-nine members had applied so far for loan to the total amount of Rs. 54,300. Only one member of Barharwa police-station under Rajmahal subdivision was advanced a loan of Rs. 2,300 in July, 1962.

The Bank advances loan on the security of land. The loan is payable in fifteen annual instalments. The amount of loan to be advanced to a member ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 10,000.

The work of the Land Mortgage Bank is handicapped in the district of Santal Parganas where most of the land is non-saleable.

Graingolas

The total number of graingolas functioning in the State under the co-operative societies in 1955-56 was 26, out of which 12 Central Graingolas, namely, Godda Co-operative Graingola, Damin Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Narainpur Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Garia Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Karmatanr Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Sikaripara Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Haripur Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Hasdiha Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Raneshwar Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., Deoghar Central Co-operative Graingola Ltd., Dumka Central Co-operative Graingola, Ltd., are functioning in this district. The total number of members of the Co-operative Graingolas in 1955-56 and 1957-58 was 20,989 and 24,752 respectively. In 1955-56, Rs. 2,10,487 (cash value of the paddy) was advanced in loan and in the year 1957-58, Rs. 3,05,789 was given in loan. The share capital paid up of the graingolas in 1955-56 and 1957-58 was Rs. 18,955 and Rs. 25,895 respectively. The Co-operative Graingolas earned a profit of Rs. 14,802 in 1955-56 and Rs. 41,037 in 1957-58.

The most important among these graingolas is the Central Co-operative Graingola at Deoghar. In the Deoghar subdivision

in 1897 when there was a severe famine in the district, the Rohini and Punasi estates under the Court of Wards lent to the *raiyats* Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 1,000 respectively and made provision for the recovery of the loan in paddy with interest at 50 per cent, which formed the nucleus of the Deoghar Grain Bank. The graingolas under the Deoghar Grain Banks remained the properties of the estates till 1903. At the close of the year 1903 the *Ghatwalin* of the Rohini estate made over the accumulated stock of paddy (4,540 mds.) in the Rohini *gola* to Mr. Bompas, the then Deputy Commissioner of this district to manage it on the co-operative lines. Similarly, the *Ghatwalin* of the Punasi estate after deducting Rs. 1,000 advanced by her as loan to the *raiyats* in 1897, made over the balance of the stock of 2,910 maunds of paddy to the Deputy Commissioner for its proper management on the same lines. The graingolas under the Deoghar Grain Bank were functioning as unregistered societies and were controlled by the Subdivisional Officer till 1950. In 1950 the Deoghar Grain Bank was registered as the Deoghar Central Co-operative Graingolas.

At present (November, 1962), there are 27 branches of the Deoghar Central Co-operative Graingolas, in Deoghar Subdivision. The total working capital of the Central Graingola was (in 1962) Rs. 8,19,483 after calculating the value of paddy at Rs. 2 per maund (book value). The paddy loan due from the members on 30th June, 1962 was 1,23,093 maunds. In 1961-62, 66,095 maunds of paddy was lent to the members. The average collection (for the last three years) is 65 per cent. The total paddy under circulation during 1961-62 was 1,37,710 maunds. According to the annual administrative report of the Co-operative Department for the year 1957-58, the Central Co-operative Graingolas, Deoghar served 22,336 agriculturist families.

The Godda Graingola had 537 members in 1957-58 and the total loans outstanding against members were 1,914 maunds of paddy. The Dumka Central Co-operative Graingola has 20 branches (graingolas) in Dumka circle (which comprise Dumka and Pakaur subdivisions). It advanced paddy in loan to the members worth Rs. 7,625 in 1957-58. It earned a profit of Rs. 498 in 1957-58. There is only one graingola under the Rajmahal circle which is not functioning properly and suffered a loss of Rs. 2,129 in 1957-58.

It may be pointed out that the co-operative movement has special significance in Santal Parganas as the tribals who form a large percentage of the population are mostly in the clutches of the *Mahajans* who charge exorbitant rate of interest. The field investigations suggest that the co-operative movement has not yet penetrated into the remote villages of the district where mostly the Santals and the Paharias reside.

State Assistance to Industrial Development

Under the Bihar State Aid to Industries Act, 1956, Government grants, loans and other technical help are given to persons carrying on or intending to start industries. This aid is intended to encourage the growth of small-scale and cottage industries.

In the district of Santal Parganas till 1961-62, Rs. 5,46,292 was advanced to 826 persons for the development of the following industries:—

(1) Cabinet and furniture-making industries,
(2) Soap making industries,
(3) Machinery and machine parts industries,
(4) Printing works industries,
(5) Iron and steel rolling mills,
(6) Engineering works ,
(7) Wire-making industry,
(8) Hand pounding of rice industry,
(9) Leather goods industries,
(10) Poultry farming industries,
(11) *Tassar* work, blacksmithy, and tailoring, etc.

The details about these industries may be found in the chapter 'Industries'.

It may be mentioned that M/s. Bhagwati Prasad Agarwal was advanced Rs. 50,000 in two instalments in 1960-61 and 1961-62. The firm has received orders from the Defence Ministry for supplying granulators, vibrators, screens, etc., worth six lakhs of rupees. M/s. Gillu Ram Gauri Shanker, Deoghar was granted a loan of Rs. 1,10,000. The firm supplied barbed and copper wire to the District Agricultural Officer and other worth rupees two lakhs. M/s. Bihar Industrial Corporation, Madhupur has taken a loan of Rs. 60,000 and sold low tension insulation and crockeries worth Rs. 50,000 during the year 1961-62. In some cases it is found that the money is not properly utilised for the development of the industries for which the loan is granted.

Trade and Commerce

Courses of Trade

The arteries of commerce, roadways, waterways and the railways of the district have been described separately. The district has a good system of roadways which are very important for trade and commerce. The river Ganga is the only water link for such purposes. The railways do carry a certain percentage of the load but not so much as the roadways. Even Dumka, the headquarters of the district, has no direct railway connection.

Imports and Exports of the district

The chief imports of the district are linseed, mustard seed, tobacco, raw cotton, sugar, refined and unrefined molasses, piece goods, salt, kerosene oil, coal, coke, gunny bags, gram, wheat and maize. The chief exports are paddy, maize, *jawar*, *sabai* grass, road metals, hides, raw fibres and minerals.

The statement below indicates the chief places and areas from where the important commodities are imported and also the destinations of export:—

Import

Name of commodities.	From where imported.
Rahar, gram, *masur* and *mung dal*.	Kanpur, Bhopal and rarely from Calcutta.
Gram	Mostly from the Punjab and U. P. and in small quantity from Rajasthan.
Wheat	Punjab, Patna, Lakhisarai and Bhagalpur in Bihar.
Sugar ..	Raiyam, Majhaulia and Narkatiaganj in Bihar and Ghughuli in U. P.
Kerosene oil ..	Rampurhat and Barakar in West Bengal.
Cotton piece goods	Calcutta, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur and Kanpur.
Coal	Jharia coalfields.
Iron and steel ..	Calcutta.
Potato	Biharsharif in Bihar (in large quantity

Export

Name of commodities.	Destinations of export.
Jack fruit ..	U.P., Delhi and West Bengal.
Brinjals and tomato	West Bengal and other districts of Bihar.
Bones and hides ..	Calcutta and U. P.
Paddy	In small quantity all over Bihar.
Maize	Ditto.
Jawar	Ditto.
Sabai grass ..	Calcutta.
Timber and wooden furniture, etc.	Asansol.

The export of indigenous minerals of the district has been mentioned elsewhere.

So far as the nature and quantity of goods imported into and exported outside the district by rail are concerned, the chart given at the end of the chapter "Communications" and also the statistics relating to traffic shown in Sahibganj town in the chapter "Places of Interest", will give some idea. But as the district is not well-served by rail more than half of the commodities that enter into the market are brought by public carriers or cargo boats.

It is difficult to assess correctly the external or internal volume of trade in the district with any certainty as no reliable figures for the turnover through the roadways and waterways are available. However, the receipts of sales tax may serve as a pointer to the volume and value of internal trade to some extent.

The rate of sales tax varies from 2 P. to 9 P. under Bihar Sales Tax Act, 1959 which repealed the old Bihar Sales Tax Act, 1947. There are two types of taxes, namely, General Sales Tax and Special Sales Tax.

General Sales Tax is levied at the rate of half per cent of the total taxable turnover. Special sales tax is levied at different rates specified in Schedules I, II and III appended with Government circular no. 9133, dated the 1st July 1959.

The lists of goods exempted from the levy of General Sales Tax are coal, hides and skins, iron and steel, oilseeds, fertilisers, fruits and bullion, etc. The rate of Special Sales Tax is 2 P. in respect of the above commodities per rupee of the turnover.

Sales tax is not levied on the commodities, viz., *khadi* cloth, cotton, surgarcane, food, meat and fish, salt, fresh milk, livestock and green vegetables, etc. The other important point to note is that Special Sales Tax is levied only on those businessmen whose annual turnover exceeds Rs. 15,000 and hence it cannot be a true pointer as many dealers with a very small turnover do not come within the purview of the sales tax.

Since the 1st July 1959 there has been a change in the law regarding the collection of sales tax. Now it is also levied on those business men whose annual turnover ranges from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 15,000. Previously the sales tax was levied on only those businessmen whose annual turnover exceeded Rs. 15,000. There is no separate amount collected on the turnover of different commodities in trade. It is also not possible to ascertain the number of tax-evaders and the amount of tax evaded. In spite of all these difficulties, the collection of sales tax is helpful, specially in the absence of other reliable statistics in forming some ideas about the value of the internal trade in the district.

The amount of sales tax collected on the trade turnover of all the commodities (excepting gold and bullion) in 1956-57, 1957-58, 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961-62 was Rs. 9,84,472, Rs.11,31,866, Rs. 12,15,765, Rs. 8,67,541, Rs. 11,61,690 and Rs. 13,53,550 respectively.

The number of persons employed in trade and commerce will also help us in this respect. According to the census of 1951, there were altogether 22,679 persons engaged in different kinds of trade and commerce, either as employers or as employees or as independent workers. Out of this 12,466 were living in the rural areas and 10,213 in urban areas.

THE TABLE GIVEN BELOW SHOWS THE NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF TRADES.

Name of business.	Rural and urban.	Total		Employers		Employees		Independent workers	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Wholesale trade in foodstuff ..	Rural ..	326	..	58	..	87	..	181	..
	Urban ..	2,136	..	208	..	224	..	1,704	..
Total	..	2,462	..	266	..	311	..	1,885	..
Wholesale trade in commodities other than foodstuff.	Rural ..	390	..	36	..	176	..	178	..
	Urban ..	992	..	125	..	235	..	632	..
Total	..	1,382	..	161	..	411	..	810	..
Retail trade in foodstuff	Rural ..	3,185	1,512	215	36	414	27	2,556	1,449
	Urban ..	348	663	32	137	96	166	220	360
Total	..	3,533	2,175	247	173	510	193	2,776	1,809
Retail trade in textile and leather goods	Rural ..	764	182	111	27	98	27	555	128
	Urban ..	296	568	72	89	24	89	200	390
Total	..	1,060	750	183	116	122	116	755	518
Retail trade in fuel	Rural ..	1,703	460	550	6	353	5	800	449
	Urban ..	96	..	24	..	8	..	64	..
	Total	1,799	460	574	6	361	5	864	449

THE TABLE GIVEN BELOW SHOWS THE NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF TRADES—*concld.*

Name of business.	Rural and urban.	Total		Employers		Employees		Independent workers	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Retail trade otherwise unclassified ..	Rural ..	2,108	1,453	188	337	362	373	1,558	743
	Urban ..	652	2,858	80	340	100	358	472	2,160
Total	..	2,760	4,311	268	677	462	731	2,030	2,903
Real Estate	Rural ..	276	..	50	..	185	..	41	..
	Urban ..	1,340	..	400	..	940	..	..	..
Total	..	1,616	..	450	..	1,125	..	41	..
Insurance	Rural ..	9	..	1	..	8	..	..	..
	Urban ..	160	..	..	..	36	..	124	..
	Total ..	169	..	1	..	44	..	124	..
Money lending, banking and other financial business.	Rural	63	35	6	..	7	2	50	33
	Urban ..	104	..	..	..	16	..	88	..
	Total ..	167	35	6	..	23	2	138	33
Total (all kinds of business) ..	Rural ..	8,824	3,642	1,215	406	1,690	434	5,919	2,802
	Urban ..	6,124	4,089	941	566	1,679	613	3,504	2,910
GRAND TOTAL ..	..	14,948	7,731	2,156	972	3,369	1,047	9,423	5,712

SOURCE OF INFORMATION—District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas (published in 1956) from pages 72 to 78.

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It may be mentioned here that the census figures in this connection appear to have been under-estimated. There would not be much of spontaneity to record one as in trade and commerce because of the allergy of being made a payee of Sales tax or Income-tax. However, the Santal Parganas district is primarily an agricultural district where according to the census of 1951 about 91 per cent of the population or a little more have the primary source of livelihood in cultivation and only about two and a half per cent of the population depend on trade and commerce for their primary means of livelihood.

Trade Centres

There are no regulated markets in the district of Santal Parganas. There are mainly nine commodities of importance, namely, foodgrains, cloth, soap, oils, *sabai* grass, timber, jute, *bidi* and coal in which wholesale business is carried on in the district. Many retail dealers of the neighbouring districts in Bihar, such as Bhagalpur and Monghyr, Birbhum and Asansol in West Bengal have direct contact with the wholesale dealers of this district. The petty and less resourceful dealers of the district have their dealings with the local wholesale merchants.

The chief centres of wholesale business in the district are Sahibganj, Madhupur, Deoghar and Dumka. Sahibganj is the most important place for trade and commerce in the district and the details have been given in the description of Sahibganj town in the chapter 'Places of Interest'. The descriptions of other towns also give some ideas of the trade and commerce carried on there.

Wholesale trading in foodgrains is mostly carried on in Sahibganj, Dumka and Deoghar. However, in Dumka there are no grain *mandis*. The whole-salers get cloth and foodgrains from outside the district and the retailers of the mofussil areas obtain their supply from the whole-salers of the district. At Dumka, the headquarters of the district, there is not a single shop which exclusively deals in wholesale trade. The whole-salers at Dumka, numbering about 20 to 25, are retailers also. But in Deoghar and Sahibganj there are exclusively wholesale dealers.

At Dumka the main items of wholesale trade are foodstuff, cloth and oil. There is only one big rice mill at Dudhani (Dumka). In Deoghar subdivision there are ten rice mills, one big oil mill, 28 flour mills, 3 soap factories, 4 hosiery factories and one *bidi* factory. Majority of them are concentrated at Deoghar. The produce manufactured or prepared by the mills and factories mentioned above enters into both wholesale and retail trade. At

Madhupur there is one Railway Workshop where railway sleeper is turned out. The details have been covered in the Chapter on Industries.

Retail Marketing Centres

The main retail marketing centres are as follows:—

Deoghar subdivision	Deoghar, Madhupur, Sarawan, Palajori, Sarath, Rohini, Jasidih, Mohanpur, Ghormara, Karon.
Dumka subdivision ..	Dumka, Jarmundi, Haripur, Basukinath, Raneshwar, Asanbani, Barmasia, Sikaripara, Benagaria, Nonihat, Hansdiha, Saraiya, Ramgarh, Pobna, Barapalasi, Kathikund, Karbinda.
Godda subdivision ..	Godda, Pathargama, Mahagama, Barahat, Firojpur, Poraiyahat, Deotanr.
Pakaur subdivision ..	Pakaur, Hiranpur, Amrapara.
Rajmahal subdivision	Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Barharwa, Kotalpokhar, Barhait, Borio.
Jamtara subdivision	Jamtara, Karmatanr, Mihijam, Kundahait, Fatepur, Nala.

The average annual turnover of the trade at each of these places is over one lakh of rupees. At all these places retail shops of almost all the commodities locally consumed are found. Retail trading is done in commodities like foodgrains, cloth, sugar, *kirana* goods, etc. Here it seems worth mentioning that in Rajmahal subdivision, particularly in Borio, huge quantity of hog's meat is sold on *hat* days. Country liquor is commonly sold throughout the district on *hat* days. The tribals consume country liquor in large quantity.

It is difficult to determine the actual volume of retail trade due to the inadequacy of statistics and tax evasion. Among retail trade shops the grocery group is the most important. It has the largest number of shops. Cereals and pulses, spices, jaggery, oil, *ghee*, tea, indigenous drugs, dry fruits, cigarettes and other commodities of day-to-day consumption are sold in these shops. The value of the stock-in-trade of an individual shop varies from Rs. 500 to Rs. 10,000 and above. The retail

shop-keepers in the district get their stock mostly from the wholesale dealers of the district. The wholesale dealers get their stock from Calcutta, Bombay and Kanpur, etc.

Next in importance to groceries come the sweetmeat and other shops that sell cooked food. There are a large number of such shops in Sahibganj and Deoghar and a few in Dumka, Godda, Jamtara and Pakaur towns. The stock-in-trade of this type of shops varies from Rs. 200 to Rs. 1,000 and above.

There are a large number of *Pan, biri* and cigarette shops in Deoghar and Sahibganj. In Dumka and the other towns of the district the number of such shops is not more than 50.

As regards cloth and hosiery it may be mentioned that these shop-keepers sell textiles, cotton, woollen, silk, etc. But mostly coarse *sari, lungi, dhoti* and *panchi* which the tribal folk wear are sold in large quantity in the retail shops and also in the weekly *hats*. Ready-made garments have not much sale in this district excepting at Sahibganj.

The provisions of the Bihar Shops and Establishments Act, 1953 have been enforced in this district. There are two Inspecting Officers, one posted at Sahibganj and the other at Deoghar who have been empowered to enforce the provisions of the Act in this district. The shops have been registered. Under the Act every shop and establishment is to remain closed for one day in a week. Opening and closing hours for shops are also to be regulated under the Act and the employees are given some protection as regards the payment of their salary or wages.

Our field investigation suggests that the provisions are not strictly enforced and the employees often have to work on holidays for which no overtime payment is made to them. The shops also do not stick to the opening and closing hours as fixed in the Act.

Fairs and Melas and other Rural Marketing Centres.

The fairs and *melas* held in the district may be divided into two classes, viz., seasonal and permanent. Seasonal fairs are those which are held in a particular season and the time for such fair is determined by the lunar calendar. Permanent fairs are those which are held throughout the year once or twice a week irrespective of the season and are locally known as *hats*. Seasonal fairs are basically religious in character whereas permanent fairs are not. The fairs have a large turn over of business in various types of goods and livestock.

The principal fairs of the district are—

Name of fair.	When held.	Duration days.
Dumka Sadar Subdivision.		
Raneshwar *mela*	Last day of *Chait*	8
Nunbil *mela*	Last day of *Pous*	8
Maheshathan *mela*	In *Shivaratri*	8
Basukinath *mela*	In *Falgun*, *Shree Panchmi* in *Magh* and every Monday in *Sawan*.	3+1+4=8
Hijala *mela* (Dumka)	February	7
Deoghar Subdivision.		
Bhado Purnima, Deoghar	September	4
Shree Panchami, Deoghar	February	4
Shivaratri, *Deoghar*	February	5
Burhai—Swori	December	2
Godda Subdivision.		
Basantrai	*Chait Sankranti*	15
Dhansai	*Shivaratri* in February	7
Chapri	*Shivaratri* in February	3
Jamtara Subdivision.		
Jamtara	*Rathjatra*	5
Karamdaha	November	10
	Last day of *Pous*	10
Pakaur Subdivision.		
Pakaur	*Rathjatra* June or July	1
	Kali Puja October or November	1
Rajmahal Subdivision.		
Gajeshwar mela in village Kherwar	*Shivaratri* in *Falgun*	4
Bungalow Barhai Matijharua Bungalow, Maharajpur	Ditto	4

The most important seasonal fairs are held at Deoghar and Basukinath on the occasion of *Shivaratri* (in *Falgun*) when over one lakh of people come to attend the function at both the places. Besides, fairs are also held in different parts of the district on the occasion of the *Durga Puja* and *Diwali* festival. It may be mentioned that in the Santal Parganas district the image of the goddess *Durga* is not immersed into water on the scheduled date as is usually done in other districts of Bihar, but is kept for two or

three or six days more and is immersed into water at different dates fixed by convention. So the *Durga Puja* lasts more than ten days and there is a good business done at that time. The *Puja* attracts a large number of visitors from the rural and urban areas. But the *Shivaratri melas*, which are attended by people from different districts of Bihar and West Bengal, have larger congregations. A large number of temporary shops crop up and articles of almost every description are sold. On the occasion of the *Shivaratri mela*, *Sombari* (every Monday in *Savan* month) and *Shri Panchmi mela* at Deoghar, the sale of *pera* sweets and *Mukundidana* (sugar globules is exceptionally high. The *pera* sweets of Deoghar town and Ghormara village have a very large sale and the worshippers who come to Deoghar or Basukinath usually take *peras* to their houses as *Prasad*.

The number of *hats* is quite large in the district. They are usually held twice or once a week. The *hat* is a primary market for grains and other commodities of day-to-day consumption. The tribals are generally seen on the *hat* day wearing colourful dresses and making purchases. The Santals also sell their surplus produce, mainly vegetables, on the *hat* days. Apart from *hats* and fairs there are several permanent *bazars* in the district. In every big village there are a few shops which cater to the needs of village people. Generally at these shops commodities like salt, mustard oil, kerosene oil, *ghee*, condiments, pulses, cereals, etc. are sold. Many of the Santal and Paharia villages have no shops. Various commodities for daily consumption are taken to such villages by small merchants who carry their ware on their ponies.

Co-operation in Wholesale and Retail Trade

Every retail dealer expects some co-operation from the whole-saler in the shape of credit facility and the latter generally does not hesitate to give this facility if the particular retail dealer happens to be his regular customer. This co-operation depends on the business reputation of a retail dealer and the financial capacity of a whole-saler.

State Trading

There is no State trading in its strict sense in this district. Barring the sale of timber and other forest produce from the State forests, the State does not produce or sell much of the commodities which enter into the local market. The State, however, does sell some commodities like fertilizers, etc. There are some production-*cum*-training centres functioning in the district under the State Government and the products are brought for sale in the market, but their quantity is very meagre.

Fair Price Shops

Due to the exigencies of the Second World War there was an abnormal rise in the price of certain essential commodities viz., rice, wheat, cloth, cement, kerosene oil, petrol, etc. It became necessary to control the supply and consumption of these essential commodities.

In Santal Parganas district fair price shops started functioning from the beginning of 1957. The abstract of the offtake from 1959 to 1962 (up to June) in the district of Santal Parganas is given below:—

Abstract of offtake (in maunds).

Year.	Wheat.				
	Dumka.	Deoghar.	Godda	Jamtara	Pakaur.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1959 ..	27,401	75,600	10,435	23,270	22,972
1960 ..	22,641	80,158	7,139	27,225	24,839
1961 ..	22,816	79,671	4,506	22,662	16,242
1961 Nov. to June	12,179	26,245	1,578	3,087	2,113
TOTAL ..	85,037	2,61,674	23,658	76,244	66,166

Year.	Wheat.	Rice.					
	Sahibgnj.	Dumka.	Deoghar.	Godda.	Jamtara.	Sahib-ganj.	Pakaur.
1	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1959 .	37,833	8,402	7,749	1,428	2,672	4,399	4,419
1960 .	34,804	3,843	5,653	666	54	3,322	3,199
1961 ..	36,596	10,043	10,928	1,752	1,343	4,243	1,488
1961 Nov. to June	19,118	2,643	1,450	102	709	1,426	682
TOTAL ..	1,28,351	24,933	25,780	3,948	4,779	13,390	9,787

The number of fair price shops functioning in the district in 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1962 are 244, 213, 229 and 233 respectively.

(SOURCE OF INFORMATION.—Report from the District Supply Officer, Dumka.)

The quantity of wheat and rice sold by the fair price shops is not sufficient to meet the demand of the people. Moreover, it is sometimes found that the wheat and rice of fair price shops are not sold at the fixed rates and to the proper persons.

The fair price shops have benefited a good percentage of the urban consumers in the period of scarcity.

The Agro-Economic Research Centre of Visva-Bharati University had studied the working of the fair price shops in Bihar, 1956-57 and their brochure on the subject is their *ad hoc* Studies : No. 2.

From this report it would appear that there was no marked rise in the prices of foodgrains in Bihar till the end of 1955. But by February, 1956 prices were beginning to show an upward trend. This made the Bihar Government to decide in favour of opening fair price shops in the city of Patna. In February, 1956 foodgrains prices all over the State had risen considerably and the prospect did not seem bright at all. *Rabi* crops were damaged in 1956-57 and prices started soaring from the beginning of 1957. Fair price shops had to be opened in other districts as well. The study was spread over Patna, Ranchi and Bhagalpur.

This research team come to the conclusion that there was a confusion in Government circles regarding the objectives of the fair price shops. The main purpose behind the opening of fair price shops in the earlier stages was to influence the market prices through their operation. Later on, since middle of 1957 this approach was allowed to recede to the background and the objective of giving relief to the consumers was adopted by the Food Department in the State.

There was also a certain amount of confusion and a duality in the field of responsibility for the administration of these fair price shops between the Central and the State Governments. Whenever supplies were not available, the State Government blamed the Central Government, and when the administration of these shops was not efficient the blame was shifted by the Central Government to the State Government, which was actually responsible for the supervision of these shops. The main responsibility recognised by the State Government was that supplies made available to the fair price shops sold at the fixed rates. The rates were Rs. 14.50 for wheat and Rs. 16.50 for rice at retail price per maund. There was little control over the ruling prices elsewhere.

There was a lot of complaint of the shop owners as well as the public against the irregularity in the supply of foodgrains to

these shops. The shop owners complained that the procedure for obtaining stocks was dilatory and complicated. There used to be gaps of 2 to 3 days between the exhaustion of old supplies and the receipt of new stocks and during these days the customers had to be refused.

After a certain amount of well based research, the team came to the conclusion that the main objective of the fair price shops to bring down the market price of foodgrains was not achieved. The quantity available at the fair price shops was not always sufficient and so even the fair price shop customers had to go to the open market to buy rice and wheat at a much higher price. Over the same period the difference between market price and the fair price had increased from Rs. 0.50 to Rs. 6.50 per maund of wheat. The data convinced them that the fair price shops in Bihar did not succeed in bringing down the retail price in the market.

The consumers' reaction to the fair price shops was not very favourable. A common complaint was that due to the irregularity of the supply of foodgrains the consumers had to make several trips during the week before they could obtain supplies. There was also a general complaint against the quality of wheat supplied through the fair price shops. It was also complained that rice was not always available in the fair price shops.

In spite of the rising prices people still stuck to buy rice and not wheat. Among people in the different income groups, those with income below Rs. 200 per month benefited most from the fair price shops.

The general observations and conclusions of the research team based on their study in Patna, Bhagalpur and Ranchi could, however, apply to this district as well.

Bihar State Warehousing Corporation.

In order to provide facilities to the cultivators for storing their surplus foodgrains and to save them from the middlemen the Bihar State Warehousing Corporation established a branch office at Shibganj in 1959. The warehouse facilities are yet to be appreciated by the people. For the present it is the traders who are more using the warehouse than the actual producers.

At Dumka or other places of the district there are no other facilities except the facility given by the private wholesale dealers

who store goods and charge commission at the rate of Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 2.00 per hundred maunds per month.

Market charges at Dumka and prices of Commodities.

Market charges vary from place to place. At Dumka town the following are the prevailing market charges for *Gosala*, two annas for the sale of goods worth Rs. 100, for *Ganesh Puja*, two annas at the sale of goods worth Rs. 100, weighing charge per bag is 0.4 nP. and loading or unloading charge per bag is 0·3 nP. Bagging and sewing charge per bag is 0.6 nP.

The difference in the price of goods is also noticed from centre to centre. This is seen from the table given below.

The prices of the important wholesale commodities in different centres of the Santal Parganas district on 2nd February, 1952, (per maund) are as follows:—

Name of the Centre.	Paddy.	Rice (medium).	Wheat (white).	Gram.	Maize.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka ..	12.25	22	22	19	13
Deoghar ..	12.25	22.50	20.50	17.50	4.50
Pakaur ..	11.25	24	19	15.12	14.50
Godda ..	Not available.				
Jamtara ..	12.00	20.87	20	18.00	Not available.
Sahibganj ..	12.00	22	18	18.00	13

The prices of retail commodities at the rate of per seer on the 2nd February, 1962 are as follows:—

Name of the centre.	Paddy.	Rice (medium).	Wheat (white).	Gram.	Maize.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka ..	0.34	0.62	0.62	0.56	0.37
Deoghar ..	0.31	0.62	0.56	0.56	0.41
Pakaur ..	0.23	0.44	0.53	0.41	0.25
Godda ..	0.31	0.56	Not available.	0.47	0.37
Jamtara ..	0.31	0.53	0.56	0.47	Not available.
Sahibganj ..	0.33	0.66	0.55	0.50	0.37

N.B.—The information regarding the prices of the commodities mentioned above was supplied by the Price Reporter, Dumka, Santal Parganas.

Merchants' and Consumers' Association.

The Santhal Parganas district is industrially very backward. There are only three merchants organisations in the district worth mentioning.

1. *South Bihar Chamber of Commerce.*—This organisation started functioning from 26th January, 1957 with its headquarters at Deoghar. The main object of the South Bihar Chamber of Commerce is to see that the business is carried on and the merchants are not subjected to oppression. Though the jurisdiction of the Chamber is all over South Bihar yet at present (1962) its activities are confined to the Santal Parganas district only.

There are 13 members of the Executive Committee and 117 ordinary members. The members of the Executive Committee are elected from among the ordinary members. The fee for membership varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 4. The Association is not a registered one.

2. *Dumka Vyapari Sangh.*—The Dumka Chamber of Commerce started functioning in 1959 with the object of making the local dealers acquainted with the rules and regulations of commercial

taxes and other labour laws. It had about 70 members. It was not a registered association and during the short span of its life (i.e., 3 years) it did not function regularly. So it was replaced by the Dumka *Vyapari Sangh* in November, 1962.

At present there are 35 members in the Executive Committee and according to the constitution of the Sangh, every dealer whether wholesaler or retailer is required to be its member. No fee for membership is required. The main function of the Sangh at present is to maintain the price level.

Dumka Petrol Dealers' Association.

It is a very small association consisting of five members (all petrol dealers). It started functioning from June, 1962. The activities of the association are confined to Dumka town only and are in connection with the petrol business of this place. It is also not a registered association.

Weights and Measures.

Regarding weights and measures the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) mentions the following:—

> "In 1856 Mr. Steinforth, the then Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division directed that seer throughout the Santal Parganas should be the uniform weight of 80 tolas. This order was not enforced. In 1864, the Commissioner thought it inexpedient to introduce exceptional rule outside the Damin on the understanding that weights and measures there were generally the same as the districts to which these tracts originally belonged. But as regards the Damin, the Commissioner thought it practicable and desirable that there should be an uniformity in weights and measures and directed as follows:—
>
> 'From the 1st July next, the seer of 80 tolas will be the only lawful and recognised weight in the Damin. Anyone using seers of any other weight will be liable to punishment. From the same date, the pie measure will be a measure containing half a seer (neither more nor less) of Arwa rice, one year old. Person using a pie measure of any capacity but this will be liable to punishment.'
>
> This was approved in Bengal Government letter no. 86, dated the 4th January, 1867"*.

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* *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas*(1938), pp. 279-280.

The arrangement continued till 1960. Due to the creation of confusion and uncertainty in trade on the part of retailers, the State Government of Bihar passed the Bihar Weights and Measures Act, 1959. This Act was enforced only in the municipal towns and notified areas of the Santal Parganas district with effect from 1st January, 1961. For the proper enforcement of the Act, there is one District Inspector of Weights and Measures, with his headquarters at Dumka, under whom there are three Subdivisional Inspectors of Weights and Measures posted at Dumka, Deoghar and Sahibganj. The function of the Weights and Measures Department, as provided under the Act, is to replace the old weights by n w metric weights. The metric system is being enforced in urban areas.

Since 15th November, 1962 the State Government of Bihar extended the provisions of the Bihar Weights and Measures Enforcement Act, 1959 to the rural areas also. With the introduction of the metric system of weights and measures, the age old system of maunds, seer, *chhataks* and inch, foot, yard has to come to an end. The table given below shows the seizure of old weights and the replacements of new weights and scales in the year 1961-62 in the urban areas of the district :—

Seizure.	Weight.	Scale.
Dumka	1,031	..
Deoghar	1,103	..
Sahibganj	205	..
Replacement.		
Dumka	3,126	..
Deoghar	6,116	..
Sahibganj	3,997	34

The Marwaris of Dumka are still (December, 1962) found using the old yard both in rural and urban areas.

Name of the Central Co-operative Bank.	Number of members.							
	Societies.	Individuals.	Societies.	Individuals.	Societies.	Individuals.	Societies.	Individuals.
	1933.		1945.		1955-56.		1960-61.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Dumka Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	79	13	134	12	335	19	702	4
Godda Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	64	15	78	12	170	18	323	18
Rajmahal Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	78	11	..	..	150	16	290	17
Jamtara Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	93	6	98	6	273	4	(719)	9
Deoghar Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd.	163	6	224	7	274	8		..
Total ..	477	51	534	37	1,202	65	2,034	48

Explanatory Note—(1) Figures under bracket ( )indicate total figure for both the banks, namely Jamtara and Deoghar.

(2) Soc.—Societies.

(3) Ind.—Individuals.

(4) N.A.—Figure not available.

Name of the Central Co-operative Bank.	Share capital paid up.				
	1929.	1933.	1945.	1955-56.	1960-61.
1	10	11	12	13	14
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	2,530	4,840	6,940	15,118	1,39,799
Godda Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	2,030	4,990	10,910	15,240	66,412
Rajmahal Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	31,450	29,600	..	14,480	26,565
Jamtara Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	11,140	11,830	12,440	17,010	(1,83,884)
Deoghar Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	8,260	14,190	19,790	26,820	
Total ..	55,410	65,450	50,080	88,668	4,16,660

DIX—*contd.*

Working capital.				
1929.	1933.	1945.	1955-56.	1960-61.
15	16	17	18	19
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1,16,462	75,736	47,235	2,68,095	N.A.
7,796	22,013	37,765	2,63,274	N.A.
2,88,045	3,01,942	..	1,87,197	N.A.
32,842	67,536	51,230	2,54,145	..
62,534	1,02,149	2,22,676	3,33,686	..
5,07,679	5,69,376	3,58,906	13,06,397	..

N.A.—Not available.

Name of the Central Co-operative Bank.	Reserve fund.				
	1929.	1933.	1945.	1955-56.	1960-61.
1	20	21	22	23	24
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	..	322	322	1,625	N.A.
Godda Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	..	220	4,120	66	..
Rajmahal Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	2,681	5,483	..	6,451	..
Jamtara Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	3,065	5,829	6,872	1,030	..
Deoghar Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	1,200	2,747	10,531	1,958	..
Total ..	6,946	14,601	21,845	11,130	..

N.A.—Not available.

DIX—*contd.*

Loans advanced during the year.				
1929.	1933.	1945.	1955-56.	1960-61.
25	26	27	28	29
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
7,604	49,043	1,305	2,02,412	6,11,534
7,017	7,979	13,847	1,18,038	5,04,633
31,767	..	..	1,38,493	2,42,493
40,085	4,471	1,634	2,65,497	(4,88,066)
9,327	37,481	18,862	1,00,476	
95.800	98,974	35,648	8,24,916	..

Name of the Central Co-operative Bank.	Loans repaid during the year.				
	1929.	1933.	1945.	1955-56.	1960-61.
1	30	31	32	33	34
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	N. A.	6,477	9,570	1,45,188	4,80,486
Godda Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	..	6,690	5,879	56,685	3,67,919
Rajmahal Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	..	13,749	..	83,289	2,21,394
Jamtara Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	..	13,095	5,636	1,27,850	(3,96,866)
Deoghar Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	..	31,476	23,449	65,043	
Total ..	..	71,487	50,534	4,78,055	14,66,665

N. A.—Not available.

DIX—*contd.*

Loans due at the end of the year.				
1929.	1933.	1945.	1955-56.	1960-61.
35	36	37	3	39
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
15,509	66,698	13,655	2,12,913	6,89,700
7,017	16,151	20,785	2,00,594	4,80,284
2,81,485	2,49,538	..	1,16,555	3,02,300
81,665	49,408	20,093	2,17,054	(6,79,567)
57,527	82,848	27,149	1,83,236	
4,43,203	4,64,643	81,682	9,30,352	21,51,851

APPENDIX—*concld.*

Profit and Loss.

Name of the Central Co-operative Bank.	1929.	1933.	1945.	1955-56.	1960-61.
1	40	41	42	43	44
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	+132	+2,640	—1,362	—2,163	N.A.
Godda Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	+20	+133	+871	+8,870	..
Rajmahal Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	+10,497	+2,750	..	+422	..
Jamtara Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	+3,054	+764	—567	+3,888	..
Deoghar Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.	+1,283	+1,471	+292	+893	..
Total	+14,986	+7,758	—766	+11,910	..

SOURCE OF INFORMATION.—

(1) Statement A and Appendix IV of Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1929.

(2) Statement A and Appendix V of Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1933.

(3) Statement A and Appendix V of Statements showing the working of Co-operative Societies in Bihar and Orissa for the year 1945.

(4) Statement A of the Annual Administrative Report of the Co-operative Department (Bihar) for the year 1955-56, pages 62 to 65.

(5) Figures for the year 1960-61 were supplied by the Co-operative Department, Bihar, Patna.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Old Time Routes and Highways.

The early history of Santal Parganas as indicated elsewhere will show that the district was full of jungles, hills and terrain when it came under the control of the British. As a matter of fact, the very early name given to the area Jungleterry district is very suggestive. Till 1857 there was only one proper road which ran from Bhagalpur to Dumka and then to Sooree (now in Bengal). This was the road which was used for military movements.

Before roads could be made, the area had to be surveyed. The early pioneers who conducted the survey must have undergone a good deal of hardship which is almost unimaginable at the present time. Col. R. H. Phillimore, C. I. E., D.S.O., in his monumental volumes of Historical Records of the Survey of India published by order of the Surveyor-General of India has mentioned the names of some of these early pioneers. It appears that Capt. Browne "commanding the Light Infantry" and in political charge of Jungleterry detailed one of his officers Andrew Pringle to carry out surveys of the area. It is mentioned "the routes to be surveyed covered the country lying between the Rajmahal hills, Dumka and Madhupur; country was in a disturbed state and Pringle was unable to complete the whole area before he had to close the work whilst on survey at Deoghar his zeal led him to intervene in the native administration and he was severely reprimanded by the Council.*" Rennell's Provincial and General Maps (1772—74) had a map of south-east part of Bihar containing part of Boglipur, Curruckdea and with the passes of Rajemahal and part of Ramghur. † He mentions another map submitted by Rennell later, which contained Boglipur, Monghyr and the Jungleterry districts, with the passes of Birbhum and Rajemahal (covering the whole of the modern Santal Parganas district). This included the surveys by Pringle in 1775.‡

Thomas Carter of the Bengal Infantry was also engaged in 1771 in surveying the portions of the Santal Parganas where his escort had to be strengthened for protection against the "Chowars".**

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*Col. Phillimore's *Historical Records*, Vol. I, pp. 34-35.

†*Ibid*, page 225.

‡ Col. Phillimore's *Historical Records*, Vol. I, p. 225. The old spellings of place names are retained.

**_Ibid_, page 225.

Later "between 1884—1886 Henry Tanner in charge of the invalid thanas was employed in Bhagalpur to survey the limits of the lands allotted to invalid pension soldiers and later in the Rajemahal hills of the Santal Parganas to survey the Government estate, Damin-i-koh".* Capt. Tanner was engaged in survey work of Santal Parganas for about a year. It may be mentioned that Henry Tanner died in Monghyr on 29th May 1884. He was an occasional contributor and his article on "Note on fossil bones of the Rajemahal hills" was published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV, 1835 (1707-08).

Another Surveyor, William Francklin, a student of Historical Geography surveyed a large part of Santal Parganas in order to locate the course of Chandan river reputed to have been the Erannoboas of the Greek historians.† Col. Phillimore mentions that he had surveyed Chandan river from its source near Deoghar to junction with Ganga at Bhagalpur from November, 1814 to March, 1815. He had compiled a map of the Jungleterry district (now Santal Parganas), showing his marches in 1813—20 ‡ The survey done by the pioneers paved the way for the laying of roads in this district of difficult terrain and jungles. The local inhabitants had very little use for trade and commerce and were satisfied with the jungle produce, wild life and a little corn that they could grow effortlessly. The opening of the roads was necessary for running the administration, for bringing the distant places closer and safeguarding the Government employees at different places from unnecessary danger. Although the early administrators, like Brown or Cleveland, were extremely sympathetic and popular, risks could not be taken. The tracks had to be developed into some shape of roads.

The first important road to be laid was the one between Bhagalpur to Sooree (also mentioned as Suri) through Dumka. In P.W.D. proceedings no. 24, 5th January 1856 preserved in the National Archives of India, Delhi, there is a letter from the Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department dated the 15th October 1855. The report is quoted in extenso as it gives information on the conditions under which roads had to be, the wages and the prospects.

The report mentions "A road already exists between Sooree and Bhaugulpore which from the report of the Collector of the district appears to be a mere tract barely passable at the best of times,

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*Col. Phillimore's *Historical Records*, Vol. II. page 137.
†*Ibid*, Vol. III, page 19.
‡*Ibid*, Vol III. page 397.

for bullocks and small country carts. The road is tortuous, winding through the hills for the greater partion of the distance and has been kept open by the expenditure of 5 rupees per cost per annum.

"There is no section of the present road to show the number of rivers crossed or the levels of the floods, but judging from the accompanying section of the More Valley Line which passes over a line of country following nearly the general direction of the existing road—it would appear that the country rises from Sooree to Nooni Haut (a distance of about 53 miles) 461 feet and from thence falls again to within a short distance of Bhaugulpore which is about 40 feet lower than Sooree. The only portion that would be subject to inundation is that near Bhaugulpore or between the 10th and 14th miles on the More Valley section. The remaining portion being high, the rivers and Nullahs are empty almost immediately after rain has ceased. There are no obstacles of any importance shown in the section as the several heavy cuttings and embankments shown as necessary for line of railway would not be necessary for an ordinary road and they might no doubt be generally avoided by a slight detour.

"The streams crossed on the line of section in only one instance exceed 300 feet in breadth, the others 7 in number vary from 100 to 290 feet. It is impossible to tell what number of drain bridges would be required on this line but an approximate idea may be found from other localities and I should say about 50 running feet of waterway per mile in bridges varying from 4 to 15 feet would be sufficient with exception of the large streams and that portion of the road immediately to the south of Bhagulpore where though no flood line is marked in the section it would appear that the country must be subject to the inundations of the Ganges and if such is the case, a viaduct as proposed for the Patna Branch road would be the only means of carrying the road above the flood. But it is a matter for consideration whether a road made level with the country allowing the floods at pass over would not answer for this portion a distance of about 4 or 5 miles.

"In determining the line for the new road it would be better perhaps to select that on which the section is taken from Sooree to about 4 miles south of Nooni Haut following as it does right bank of the More river—whereas the present road crosses the More river near Sooree where it is of considerable width and follows the left bank by following the line of section, the crossing of the More river is effected about 4 miles south of Nooni where it is only 247 feet in breadth. The general feature of the country on both lines are similar and materials on this portion of the road about 50 miles in length are plentiful.

"After crossing the More river the most favourable route, taking the revenue map to be correct, is a little to the west of the line of section by which means one or two rivers would be avoided and joining the line on which the section is taken at the point from whence it runs due north and nearly parallel to the right bank of the Chunder river.

"The present road runs more to the east and apparently on a lower level. The hills appear to cease about 18 miles south of Bhaugulpore though the country gradually falls to within 4 miles of the station from whence it again rises towards the Ganges after leaving the hills. Ghooting will be found for metal, but probably building material will be more expensive than on the hilly portions.

"The road I would propose, should be 24 feet in width of which the centre 12 feet should be metalled with 6 feet of earthen roads on each side when raised the slopes should be 3 to 1 with bridges over the smaller water courses and nullahs. The Ghats of the rivers being sloped down to allow of easy access.

"The distance between Sooree and Bhaugulpore is shown by the section to be 109 miles but as it will be found expedient to make many detours to the cuttings and embankments shown it would be more correct to estimate the length of road at 115 miles.

"To form a road 24 feet wide allowing of an average of 2 feet cutting or embankment it will take say 3,200,000 feet of earth-work per mile. This would probably be executed at the rate of 2 per 00/0 feet or say 640 per mile.

Taking the waterway at 50 feet per mile and allowing that the drain bridges could be constructed at the cost of Rs. 30 per foot forward the amount per mile would be Rs. 1,500.

This of course is exclusive of the cost of bridging the large rivers.

The estimate for the road may therefore be assumed at

	Rs	a.	p.
Earthwork ..	650	0	0
Metal	845	0	0
Bridges over small Nullahs and drains.	1,500	0	0
TOTAL	2,995	0	0

or say 3,000 rupees per mile. This would give a total of rupees 3,45,000 as the cost of forming a good road upon at all seasons for wheel traffic between Sooree and Bhagulpore.

"The above estimate is exclusive of the cost of supervision which would not be less than about 1,200 per month and the probable period of the completion of the road would be 3 years from its commencement.

"During the first season the existing roads might be repaired at a small outlay to serve whilst the contemplated road is under construction."

The 1857 insurrections proved to be an eye-opener and the British administrators realised that the opening up of the communications was very necessary. The subsequent history of the district described elsewhere shows that till 1871 conditions were not quite peaceful and frequent military deployments were necessary and this underlined the necessity of opening up of more roads. The vast amount of authority exercised by the Deputy Commissioner gave him abundant scope for this work. There were other favourable factors as well. Labour was cheap and the people could consume any quantity of wood cut down. The early missionaries, who pioneered evangelical work in the inaccessible parts of the district, also helped in opening up the countryside. Side by side the railways were being laid. The chief obstacle in the path of progress was the army of white ants which made the preservation of wood rather difficult. It is related that Cecil Stephenson, Acting Agent of the East India Company, made experiments for the preparation of bitter aloes for preserving wood from the attacks of white ants*.

There are certain interesting documents in the National Archives of India, Delhi, regarding the survey and laying of railway lines. It is mentioned that the Lieutenant-Governor thought that the Railways and roadways were "of great importance at present with reference to the Sonthal insurrection"**. Private letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie edited by J.G.A. Baired (1911) has many references to the Sonthal rise in 1855. In a letter dated January 6th 1856, Lord Dalhousie stated—"Roads, etc., will at once be commenced everywhere within the country, so as at once to open it up and to employ these poor starving wretches."

From the old documents we also find that the railway lines had to be laid under the protection of guard. Commissioner

*P.W.D. Proceedings no. A-136, 4th April 1856 (National Archives of India).
**P.W.D. Proceedings No. 23, 5th January 1856 (National Archives of India)

Yule in a letter, dated 17th January 1857 mentioned that "it is quite unnecessary to retain any longer guard on the railway near Rajmahal." *

That railways helped the administration very considerably is shown by the fact that Messrs. L. Stokes and A. Boyle, Acting Agents of the East Indian Railway Company were informed by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 12th December 1856 that the Civil Station of the Assistant Commissioner was being removed from Sreekoond to Rajmahal and that it was desirable to establish a telegraphic station at Rajmahal instead of Sreekoond.**

A report of C. C. Adley, Resident Engineer of East Indian Railway, dated the 3rd March 1856, also indicates the extension of the "Electric Telegraph" up to Patna.† The report mentions—"much difficulty is experienced in conveying the wire and other materials in parts of the North Beerbhoom and Rajmahal districts. No persuasion will induce the cartmen to proceed, nor the coolies to accompany them. There does not appear to be any actual danger from the Sonthals, only the panic has not yet subsided along the site. A small guard of sepoys would doubtless reassure the men and enable the working parties to proceed with their work which they cannot do at present.

"I would suggest that application should be made to Government requesting that the officers in charge of troops in the Sonthal district should be authorised to afford the electric telegraph working parties small guards of soldiers, such as they (the military officers) may consider sufficient for the purpose. These on the spot are the best judges of what is necessary. I should suppose 5 men to each party would be quite enough.

"I travelled along the site very late between Colgong and Rajmahal and found the country quiet and traffic going on along the roads as usual—the only object of the guard as proposed is to give confidence to the workmen."

By the time Capt. Sherwill, Revenue Surveyor went round and surveyed the district it had some roads and tracks. Sherwill's Geographical and Statistical Report was published in 1869.‡ Sherwill had also contributed an article "Notes upon a Tour through the Rajmahal Hills" to the Asiatic Society's Journal to which he refers in his Statistical Report.

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*Home Department—Judicial Consultations; A 1857, 13th March, no. 3.

**P.W.D. Consultation no. 86, 12 December, 1856.

†P.W. Proceedings, no. 135-A, 4 April, 1856.

‡A copy was made available by the National Library, Calcutta. Although the report purports to be for Bhaugulpoor district it has descriptions of portions transferred to the districts of Monghyr and Sonthal Pergunnahs (old spellings retained). Sherwill had remarkable observation. (P.C.R.C.).

He mentions that the river Ganges (*Ganga*) was "navigable for boats of any tonnage, and for steamers during the whole year". Regarding roads he mentions four "Imperial roads" one of which was Bhaugulpoor to Sooree. He observes—"The roads in the low lands, are merely nominal, being either washed away yearly, ploughed up, or so neglected, as to be for nine months in the year impassable for wheeled carriages.

"The roads on the high lands, being upon good hard soil, which can boast of a very fine gravel, are good all the year round, although very tortuous, as they wind to avoid every ravine, rock or hillock or patch of broken ground. The roads in the Rajmahal Hills, which were cut by Mr. Pontet, who is in charge of this tract of country, and which extends for upwards of 300 miles in length, are perfect."

Sherwill mentions that the sum allowed for the repairs of the main road from Bhaugulpoor to Beerbhoom during the cold weather of 1849-50 was five rupees per coss, equivalent to five shillings sterling per British mile.

Regarding communications in Godda pergunnah, he mentions "The pergunnah is crossed in every direction by village roads; a tolerable cart road leads from the Fitspatrick's house to Bhaugulpore. "Fitspatrick was an English Zamindar and resident of Kusba Goddah, "the capital of the pergunnah", a small village according to Sherwill.

He has a description of Hendweh pergunnah and mentions—"The principal villages are Noni Haut, a fine flourishing village with a weekly market, a thannah, one Hindoo temple, a very fair bazar, and some fine mango groves. It is situated on very high ground near the banks of a small stream which falls into the More river, three miles from the village. To this village numerous Sonthals resort from their jungle homes to purchase salt, tobacco, beads or grain, or to effect an exchange for those articles giving in return, bamboos, wood, iron, gums and barks, the produce of the jungles. This village, in former unsettled days, was probably the mart for salt for all the surrounding hill people and Sonthals, whence its name Noni Haut, or salt market. The village is situated upon the high road leading from Bhaugulpoor on the Ganges to Soory, the capital of Beerbhoom; the road being over hard and gravelly soil, is naturally good, though very tortuous, having constantly to avoid deep ravines and dense patches of jungle.

At Hasdiha there is a police chowkee. Sarmi, Jhapania are two large villages, and Baskinath is famous for its temple and tank.

The More river traverses the pergunnah from north-west to south-east, receiving within the pergunnah the Pipra, Bhoortooree, and Chupree Nullahs, all of which are dry water-courses during the hot weather, though a small quantity of water may at any period of the year be obtained by digging in the sand.

The hills that lie scattered over the pergunnah nowhere rise into distinct ranges except east of Noni Haut, where two small parallel and contiguous ranges are seen; the western one extending 4 miles north and south, the eastern one 5 miles north and south; the detached hills are in general bare and rounded masses of gneiss penetrated by caves and filled with numbers of the common black bears, who commit great devastation amongst the crops, principally devouring the Junera. The jungles swarm with jungle fowl, black partridges, peafowl and bush quail.

A good road from Noni Haut leads to Deoghur west, another through Sarmi and eventually through the Rajmahal hills to the east; another leads south to Soory, the same road travelling north, leads to Bhaugulpoor. The whole pergunnah is intersected with tolerably good village roads."

This description of Sherwill regarding Rajmahal village gives a good idea of the communications in that neighbourhood—"There is also a police thanah, a moonsiff's cutcherry, post office, an indigo factory, a serai, several coal godowns, for the Government and private steam companies' coal; and a ferry across the Ganges; the ruins of the old Mahomedan city extend for about four miles in a westerly direction, mostly buried in rank jungle, the resort of leopards and jackals. Many of the mosques, which are highly elegant, are fast falling into decay. About five miles west of Rajmahal a fine Mahomedan built stone-bridge spans one of the old beds of the Ganges, and is in excellent repair; it is on the high road from Calcutta to Patna, and across this bridge the many under command of Major Adams, in the year 1763, pursued the broken and discomfited army of Meer Qossim Khan, who was himself absent at Monghyr after the engagement with the British at Oodwanallah, seven miles to the south of Rajmahal, during which engagement 180 pieces of cannon were captured."

About Teeluagarhee pergunnah he observes—"The Calcutta post road runs through the pergunnah from east to west, but is impassable during the rainy season.

There are several indigo factories in the pergunnah, a good bazar at Sahibgunge, and an old ruined stone fort at Teeleeagurhee, built by the Mahomedans, and through which the main road

passes. It is built in a dense jungle upon a spur of the neighbouring hills, and which at this spot run down to the Ganges, and during the rains completely commands the approaches to the road."

Sherwill has a very colourful description of the Rajmahal Hills, or Damin-i-koh and his description gives an excellent account of the Santals, Pahariyas and other inhabitants and the countryside which indicates the problems of communications. He has ended up by giving a graphic description of his long journey on an elephant through the hills, ravines, terrains, rivers, etc., of the Rajmahal areas with flashes on the produce, forests, wild life, avifauna, minerals, people and their food-habits, ornaments, customs, etc. He had partially covered a distance with Mr. Pontet, who was one of the pioneers for road-making and in discovering coal-beds. He had visited Katikund, Gowrapuhar, Burgo, Burwa Tatukpara hill, Chundua, Gumani Nullah, Jola, Dhumaturi, Morjor, Chuperbhita, Kusmah, Kadmah, Gopaladih, Hindoadih, Sonajari, Burhyte, Motijharua, Burkyte, Khurwa, Seergadi cave, Ghutiari, Kiksi, Mori, Hurrah, Horia ghaut, Meghree, Murroro, Simuria, Gogi, Banghi, Nowgachi, Narguijo, Borio, Bazar, Soorujhara, Gowpara, Sendgursa hill, Balkumi, Umrapara, Doobrajpoor, Gopeekandur, Saltaha, Moosuria, Singhpoor and Bellia Narainpur villages to mention a few. He had often to have jungles cut to move. The names of some of the villages have changed. When one thinks of the great difficulties a century and a decade back, one cannot but be struck with admiration with the work of men like Sherwill or Pontet or Pemberton for getting us the present fine roads in the district.

The work of laying roads fell squarely on the Deputy Commissioner and the Assistant Commissioners later known as Subdivisional Magistrates. They had to trek with ponies, elephants or *doolis* or on foot to know the countryside and to give it means of communications. The heavy responsibility was discharged extremely well.

Road Transport National Highways

There is no National Highway in the district except the Sarwan-Chakai-Jasidih-Chopa-Hansdiha road. The road is maintained by the Deoghar Public Works Division from the fund allotted by the Central Government. This is a temporary National Highway which enters the district at 37th mile after passing through Sarwan and Chakai in Monghyr district. After passing through Jasidih, Deoghar, Chopamor and Hansdiha in Santal Parganas the road leaves the district at about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Hansdiha and runs

north to Bhagalpur, where it links the waterway (the Ganga) on the way to Assam. The distance from Deoghar to Bhagalpur is 75 miles. It was formerly a portion of the Assam-Access road constructed by the Central Works Department. About 66 miles of the road falls in Santal Parganas. The road is metalled as having black topped surface. There are bridges on the rivers Dharwa, Punashi and Patharchapti. The distance from Deoghar to Chakai in Monghyr district is 22 miles. The Public Works Department has inspection bungalows at Deoghar and Hansdiha. Vehicular traffic on this road is very heavy.

State Highways

The State Highways are as follows :—(1) *Dumka-Littipara-Sahebganj road.*—It starts from Dumka and passes through the villages Guhiajori, Kathikund, Gopikandar, Amrapara, Littipara, Burhait in the Damin-i-koh area and terminates at Sahibganj. It appears from the old District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) that it was mostly *katcha* and unbridged and impassable for vehicular traffic during the rains. The road has been now metalled, having black topped surface, and is motorable throughout the year. Its length from Dumka to Sahibganj is 96 miles. This road is common with Dumka-Pakaur road up to Littipara, at a distance of 46 miles from Dumka. Bridges have been constructed on the rivers Gumani, Bansloi, Gandra, Gurdware, Derium, Pathro, Jerul, Telo, Harinchara, Nahisol, Kadimo and the Banjhi. Except the bridge on the river Gumani (which was constructed in 1925 by the former District Road Committee) the other gaps have been bridged recently by the Public Works Department. There are inspection bungalows (P.W.D.) at Burhait and Sahibganj and the Damin bungalows at Sakurgarh, one mile from Sahibganj, and at Dharampur, Burhait, Borio and Banjhi. The vehicular traffic on the road is very heavy.

(2) *Dumka-Deoghar road.*—The length of the road from Dumka to Deoghar is 42 miles. It appears from the old District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) that it was fully bridged with masonry bridges and culverts. Out of 42 miles, 30 miles were metalled and 12 miles gravelled. The road has now been improved with black topped surface throughout. It is a common road with the Dumka-Bhagalpur road for 5 miles and with Dumka-Jamtara road for 10 miles. It passes through Lakrapahari, where it bifurcates—one proceeds to Bhagalpur and the other to Deoghar through Jama Mor. Here the Dumka-Jamtara road takes a separate course, through Basukinath Mor, from where one mile District Board feeder road connects Basukinath temple, Jarmundi, Ghormara and links with the National Highway at Chopa Mor to reach

Deoghar. Basukinath and Deoghar are famous places of pilgrimage of the Hindus. It links Dumka with two rail-head centres, Baidyanathdham and Jasidih of the Eastern Railway. Vehicular traffic on the road is very heavy. There are two Inspection Bungalows on the road, one at Jarmundi 17 miles from Dumka and other at Ghormara 30 miles from Dumka. The distance from Dumka to Basukinath is 15 miles and from Basukinath to Deoghar it is 27 miles.

(3) *Dumka-Hansdiha-Bhagalpur road.*—It starts from Dumka and passes through Lakrapahari, up to which it is common with the Dumka-Deoghar road, then through Barapalasi and Nonihat and connects with the National Highway at Hansdiha to reach Bhagalpur. The distance from Dumka to Hansdiha is 26 miles and from Dumka to Bhagalpur is 72 miles. This was formerly a portion of the Bhagalpur-Suri road, which was largely used for military movements. The road has been metalled all through. The vehicular traffic on the road is very heavy. There are two inspection bungalows, one at Nonihat 17 miles from Dumka and the other at Hansdiha 25 miles from Dumka.

(4) *Dumka-Jama-Jamtara-Rupnarainpur road.*—The road is common up to Jama, 10 miles from Dumka, with the Dumka-Deoghar road. It connects Dumka with Jamtara, the subdivisional headquarters of the same name and the rail-head of the main line of the Eastern Railway. The old District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) has mentioned that the road was *katcha* and intersected by 9 unbridged streams. The entire length is now metalled, and, all the rivers have been bridged. The masonry bridge over the river Ajaya at 41st mile is important. From Jama the road passes through Haripur, Palajori, Fatehpur and Jamtara. The distance from Dumka to Jamtara is 44 miles. After Jamtara, the road proceeds east to reach Rupnarainpur *via* Mihijam and terminates near the border of West Bengal. It connects the district with the Grand Trunk road near Barakar. The length of the road from Dumka to Rupnarainpur is 55 miles. There are three Inspection Bungalows on this road, one at Chorkatta on the 18th mile from Dumka, second at Chakuria on the 41st mile and the third at Jamtara on the 44th mile from Dumka. The Public Works Department has recently constructed a small rest house at Palajori on this road.

The other major Public Works Department roads are given below:—

(1) *Dumka-Rampurhat road.*—It is a major Public Works Department road. The distance of Dumka to Rampurhat is 40 miles and though 8 miles of the road falls in West Bengal, it was maintained by the District Committee of Santal Parganas as

mentioned in the District Gazetteer of 1938. Out of 39 miles 9 miles of the road were gravelled. Now the Public Works Department maintains the 32 miles of the road falling in the district and the remaining 8 miles, falling in Birbhum district, are maintained by the West Bengal Government. The entire length of the road has been metalled with black topped surface. It is a common road up to Pattabari, 9½ miles from Dumka, with Dumka-Suri road. After Pattabari the road passes through Shikaripara and Haripur to reach Rampurhat. The vehicular traffic on the road is very heavy. It connects Dumka with Rampurhat, a railway station on the Eastern Railway (Loop Line), which is 135 miles from Howrah. There are two Inspection Bungalows, one at Shikaripara on the 18th mile and the other at Haripur on the 29th mile.

(2) *Dumka-Suri road.*—The road is called Pattabari-Suri road, as up to Pattabari it is common with the Dumka-Rampurhat road. From Pattabari it proceeds towards the south and passes through Masanjore, Rani Bahal, Raneshwar and Maheshkhalla and then enters West Bengal to reach Suri. The road has been throughout metalled with black topped surface. The distance from Dumka to Suri is 43 miles and from Pattabari 33 miles. Only 11 miles of the road falls in the Birbhum district of West Bengal and the rest in this district. Masanjore is 19 miles from Dumka and 9½ miles from Pattabari. The place has gained prominence due to the Mayurakshi dam commonly known as the Canada dam, one of the important river valley projects of India. The site of the dam is picturesque and attracts visitors. There are two Rest-Houses one built by the Government of Bihar and the other by the Government of West Bengal, besides a Youth Hostel. The vehicular traffic on the road is heavy.

(3) *Dumka-Littipara-Pakaur road.*—It is a common road up to Littipara, as stated before, of the Dumka-Littipara-Sahibganj road. From Littipara, another road starts for Pakaur, which connects Dumka with Pakaur, the subdivisional headquarters of the same name and the railway station of the Eastern Railway (Loop). It passes through Amrapara, Littipara and Hiranpur to reach Pakaur. It goes right through the centre of the Damin area. It was formerly gravelled as is evident from the old District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938). But now it has been thoroughly metalled. Hiranpur, 6 miles from Littipara, is an important cattle market in the district. The distance from Dumka to Pakaur is 64 miles.

The major arched masonry bridges are over the river Brahmani at Bhurkunda, over the river Bansloi at Amrapara and over Salpotra, Torai, Kirla, Jobo and Kabath streams between

Amrapara and Hiranpur. There are 7 Damin bungalows on this road, viz., Katikund on the 15th mile, Gopikandar on 22nd mile, Kuschera and Amrapara on 31st mile, Parekolo on 38th mile, Littipara on 46th mile and Hiranpur on the 52nd mile of the road. There are two Inspection Bungalows at Pakaur.

(4) Another road which starts from Pakaur is known as Pakaur-Dhulian road. Its length is 4 miles and is called Ganga feeder road as it connects Pakaur with the river Ganga at Dhulian in the section Barharwa B.A.K. Loop of the Eastern Railway. The road has recently been metalled with black topped surface but three major gaps have yet to be bridged. It is a fair weather road.

(5) *Godda-Hansdiha road.*—It is a metalled road connecting Godda, the subdivisional headquarters with Dumka *via* Hansdiha. Hansdiha is the tri-junction of the Deoghar-Bhagalpur road (National Highway), Dumka-Bhagalpur and the Godda-Hansdiha road. The total distance from Dumka to Godda is 46 miles, the distance from Hansdiha to Godda is 20 miles ; the remaining 26 miles run with Dumka-Bhagalpur road. Formerly it was mostly gravelled. The road has now been metalled. Vehicular traffic is heavy. There is one Inspection Bungalow at Godda.

(6) *Godda-Pirpainty road.*—The Godda-Pirpainty road starts from Godda and terminates at Pirpainty in Bhagalpur district. The distance from Godda to Pirpainty is 36 miles. The construction work has been completed. It is metalled throughout but a causeway over the stream Kajhia about 500 feet long has yet to be constructed to make the road passable throughout the year. Owing to the absence of this causeway the road now serves as a fair weather road.

(7) *Barharwa-Burhait road.*—Barharwa is a railway station on the Loop line of the Eastern Railway and is an important trade centre for forest produce and stone ballast. A metalled road of 13 miles length constructed recently connects Barharwa with Burhait and thereby Dumka and Sahibganj through the State road Dumka-Sahibganj. The gaps over the river Gumani and Pathalianalla have been bridged to make the road passable throughout the year.

(8) *Amrapara-Murarai road.*—It starts from the 30th mile of the Dumka-Sahibganj road and proceeds to West Bengal border *via* Maheshpur and links it with Murarai, a railway station of the Eastern Railway (Loop) in West Bengal. The total length of the road is about 23 miles. It is a metalled road and open to vehicular traffic throughout the year.

(9) *Maheshpur-Pakuria road.*—This is a metalled road (14 miles) from Maheshpur to Pakuria. A causeway has been built over the river Barua but the river Paglo has yet to be bridged. It is a fair weather road.

(10) *Gopikandar-Pakuria road.*—This metalled road (13 miles) starts from Karudih Mor, 21st mile on the Dumka-Sahibganj road, to connect Pakuria. It is the main artery of communication for the people of the eastern Santal Parganas. It is a metalled and bridged road open to vehicular traffic. It is now a fair weather road.

(11) *Dumka-Rajmahal road.*—The distance from Dumka to Rajmahal is about 94 miles. The road up to Borio 75 miles from Dumka is common with the Dumka-Sahibganj road. The road bifurcates from the village Hiranchara Mor in the 76th mile and proceeds towards Tinpahar. The distance from Hiranchara Mor to Tinpahar is about 10½ miles and Tinpahar to Rajmahal 8 miles. There is an Inspection Bungalow at Rajmahal.

(12) *Deoghar-Sarath-Maheshpur road.*—The road starts from Deoghar and proceeds towards the south passing through Sarawan, and Sabijor to reach Sarath, which is 23 miles from Deoghar. From Sarath the road turns towards west to reach Madhupur, 14 miles from Sarath. The major portion of the road has been metalled. Madhupur cannot be reached yet by this road in the rainy season.

From Madhupur the road proceeds to Bengabad which is called Madhupur-Bengabad road. The distance from Madhupur to Bengabad is 14 miles. At Bengabad the road enters Hazaribagh district and terminates at Giridih. This road is a fair weather road.

District Board Roads.

The total length of District Board roads in 1962 is 1,232.12 miles, out of which 30.25 miles are metalled, 652.18 miles gravelled and 549.69 miles *katcha*. The important roads are Dumka-Godda road *via* Ramgarh (40 miles) ; Barmasia-Asanbani-Ranishwar road (16 miles) ; Simra-Boarijore-Borio road (17 miles) ; Jamtara-Karmatanr road (12 miles) ; Karo-Karmatanr (4 miles) ; Hiranpur Durgapur-Pathna road (11 miles) ; Hiranpur-Kotalpokhar road (10 miles) and the Deoghar-Chakai road (9 miles).

The soil is hard and some of the *katcha* roads are passable, except during the rains from the middle of November to the middle of June. Cart traffic, however, is almost suspended during the rains.

Municipal Roads

There are four municipalities in the district, viz., Dumka, Deoghar, Madhupur and Sahibganj. The Dumka Municipality maintains 3 miles of metalled road, 28.50 miles of gravelled and 1.50 miles of *katcha* road. The Deoghar Municipality has 2.5 miles concrete metalled, 6.4 miles metalled and tarred and 8.6 miles gravelled and *katcha* roads. The Sahibganj Municipality has 19.8 miles of road—1/2 mile metalled concrete, 7/8 mile metalled and tarred, $12\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{8}$ miles macadam and $5\frac{2}{3}$ miles *katcha* road. The road mileage of the Madhupur Municipality is 27.70—out of this, .03 miles portion is metalled concrete, 3.23 miles bituminous tarred, 14.75 miles gravelled and 9.20 miles *katcha* road.

The Mihijam Notified Area Committee maintains 4 miles of gravelled and *katcha* road and the Jasidih Notified Area Committee 0.61 miles concrete road. The Pakaur Notified Area Committee has no road.

Forest roads

The forest roads are fair weather roads. The rangewise break-up figures of forest roads are as follows :—

Dumka Damin Range	(In miles)
1. Katikund-Narganj road	6
2. Narganj-Silingi road	11.50
3. Silingi-Durgapur road	11.50
4. Narganj-Gopikandar road	9.50
5. Katikund-Saldaha road	8
6. Saldaha-Kuridih road	6
7. Saldaha-Masania road	6
8. Masania-Karudih road	8
9. Madhuban-Narganj road	7.50
10. Katikund-Jhilmili road	6
11. Taldangal-Kathalia road	2
Total	82

Pakaur-Damin Range.

		(In miles.)
1.	Amrapara-Alubera road	7
2.	Amrapara-Dumarchir road	5
3.	Alubera-Dumarchir road	6
4.	Dumarchir-Kunjbona road	12
5.	Kunjbona-Surajbera road	8
6.	Parerkola-Dumarchir road	7
7.	Dharampur-Simlong road	8
8.	Simlong-Kunjbona road	8
9.	Kadua-Dharampur road	2
10.	Dharampur-Maheshpur road	2
	Total ..	65

Godda-Damin Range.

		(In miles.)
1.	Chanda-Bokrabandh road	8.50
2.	Bokrabandh-Silingi road	9
3.	Ranidih-Kamaldari road	4.50
	Total ..	22

In Hijla range there is only one road of 10 miles, i. e., Asanbani-Ranibahal road. Thus the total road in the Dumka Forest Division comes to 179 miles.

In the Deoghar Forest Division there are three roads—Nawada-Chachali road 7 miles, Beldiha-Phorakusum road 9 miles and Dhasania-Khairabani road. The Afforestation Division has 10 miles of road, viz., Jiakhera-Ghusko road and Koiridih 6 miles, Karandih road 4 miles. Thus the total forest roads in Santhal Parganas come to 209 miles.

Vehicles and Conveyances.

The bullock-cart and the *saggar* are the chief mode of conveyances. The *saggar* consists merely of two solid wheels with bamboos fastened to the axle. They are very light and are capable of negotiating over steep hills with boulders. Ordinary bullock-carts with

wooden wheels with wooden spokes, and rims, generally with flat iron tyres fixed on the rims, are used in this district for conveying goods and passengers. The total number of licensed business bullock-carts and the agricultural carts in 1960-61 was 7,077 and 3,113 respectively and 7,416 and 3,416 respectively were tinplated in 1961-62.* The figures appear under-estimated.

The expansion of roads particularly of metalled roads brought a remarkable increase in vehicular four-wheeled traffic. Motor cars and motor buses as public conveyances had come into use since 1920. Some of the major roads of the district have been nationalised in 1958 and the Bihar Rajya (State) Transport Corporation buses are plying on them. There are also some private buses, plying on some of the roads. The truck traffic is very heavy. Cycles have gone into the villages and serve the common people. There are a number of cycle-rickshaws, Ekkahs and Tamtams in all the urban areas. There are also a few licensed taxis.

The Bihar State Road Transport Corporation has taken under its control the important routes of Santal Parganas. Bhagalpur-Dumka road (the former being the divisional headquarters and the latter the district headquarters of Santal Parganas) is the most important route and the traffic on this route is very heavy. Eleven up and down buses ply to and from Bhagalpur and Dumka. One bus plies to and from Bhagalpur and Dhanbad via Dumka. The distance between Bhagalpur and Dumka is 72 miles. The passenger traffic at Dumka depot during 1961-62 was 999,897. Approximately 500 persons daily move between Bhagalpur and Dumka by Rajya Transport bus.

The second important route is the Bhagalpur-Deoghar road. Deoghar is not only the Subdivisional headquarters of the subdivision of the same name but it is also an important place of Hindu pilgrimage. Eleven up and down buses ply to and from Bhagalpur and Deoghar. One bus of this section goes up to Ranchi. The distance between Bhagalpur and Deoghar is 75 miles. The passenger traffic of the Deoghar depot in 1961-62 was 836,957. Approximately 500 persons move between Bhagalpur and Deoghar daily.

The total number of Rajya Transport vehicles in 1962 is 73 in Santal Parganas.

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*Source.—District Board Office, Santal Parganas.

The following bus routes have been nationalised and State Transport Service buses ply on them :—

	Routes.	Mileage.	
1.	Dumka-Deoghar	42	
2.	Bhagalpur-Dumka	72	
3.	Bhagalpur-Deoghar via Hansdiha ..	75	
4.	Bhagalpur-Godda	65	
5.	Dumka-Godda via Hansdiha	47	
6.	Dumka-Deoghar-Jasidih	46	
7.	Deoghar-Monghyr	120	
8.	Deoghar-Jamui	68	
9.	Deoghar-Godda	50	
10.	Dumka-Sahibganj	96	Private operators also ply.
11.	Deoghar-Pathargama	67	
12.	Dumka-Pakaur	64	Ditto.
13.	Dumka-Godda-Pirpainty	84	
14.	Dumka-Godda-Mahgama	67	

Routes on which private buses ply.

	Routes.	Mileage.
1.	Dumka-Godda via Ramgarh	48
2.	Dumka-Jamtara via Fatehpur	56
3.	Dumka-Jamtara via Fatehpur and Bogdoha	56
4.	Dumka-Jamtara via New Road ..	52
5.	Dumka-Jamtara-Mihijam	61
6.	Dumka-Jamtara via Kundahit	52
7.	Dumka-Madhupur via Palajori	52
8.	Dumka-Maheshkhala via Baramasia and Asanbani.	40
9.	Dumka-Maheshkhala via Masanjore ..	32
10.	Karudih Mor-Pakuria	13
11.	Deoghar-Nogarasarpa via Sarath.. ..	40
12.	Deoghar-Sarsa via Sarath	38
13.	Deoghar-Madhepur via Sarath	38
14.	Deoghar-Madhupur via Sarawan ..	36

Routes.	Mileage.
15. Deoghar-Mihijam	83
16. Deoghar-Mihijam via Sarath and Palajori ..	74
17. Deoghar-Sarpa via Panasia, Jagdishpur, Koriadih Dhiba, Kukrel and Chitra.	42
18. Godda-Sahibganj	56
19. Godda-Pirpainty	36
20. Hiranpur-Sahibganj via Barharwa and Barhait.	60
21. Hiranpur-Pakaur	11
22. Kotalpokhar-Hiranpur-Pakaur Boarijor ..	20
23. Dumariahat-Hiranpurhat via Boarijor ..	54
24. Barhait-Barharwa-Hiranpur	13
25. Barhait-Barharwa-Hiranpur	26
26. Barhait-Barharwa-Rajmahal	26
27. Mirzachowki-Godda	40
28. Jamtara-Pagmapara	14
29. Jamtara-Bogdohri via Khejuria	44
30. Satki-Jamtara	33
31. Satki-Jamtara via Rup Narainpur ..	40
32. Amba-Jamtara via Noniatanr	42
33. Sonapur-Pakuria via Maheshpur Raj ..	26
34. Chandanpur-Maheshpur via Hiranpur and Littipara.	53
35. Bhagalpur-Godda-Hanwara	56
36. Bhagalpur-Hiranpur via Panjwara, Godda, Sundar Pahari and Dhopahari.	62
37. Hiranpur-Sahibganj via Rajmahal, Udhua, Taljhari, Maharajpur and Sakrigali ghat.	41
38. Amrapara-Maheshpur-Pathna	28
39. Dumka-Rampurhat	40

The number of Public Carriers and Trucks which had received permits from the Regional Transport Authority, Bhagalpur to ply in this district is as follows :—

Year.	Number.
1955	42
1956	45
1957	49
1958	49
1959	42
1960	43
1961	60

*Private bus, etc.**

Year.	Bus.	Car.	Jeep.	Motor Cycles.
1957	78	160	70	77
1958	93	149	93	61
1959	99	142	101	67
1960	71	152	105	85
1961	64	163	147	76

Railways.

The district is traversed on the north-east by the Sahibganj loop section and on the south-west by the main line of the Eastern Railway. On the loop section one branch line of 12 kilometres connects Rajmahal with Tinpahar and another short branch from Sakrigali Junction connects Sakrigali Ghat on the bank of the river Ganga. (As the river is not found suitable for navigation purpose at all seasons of the year—the Ghat has to be shifted each year at a colossal expense to Maharajpur and Sahibganj whichever is found more suitable.) On the main line also there are two short branches, viz. Jasidih to Baidyanathdham (Deoghar), a distance of only 6 Kilometres and Madhupur to Giridih, a distance of 38 Kilometres of which only 13 Kilometres, i. e., from Madhupur Junction to Jagdishpur comes within the district of Santal Parganas.

*The figures have been collected from the Regional Transport Authority Office, Bhagalpur and from the Police Office, Dumka.

The following tables indicate the dates of opening of the different sections of the Railway line in the district of Santal Parganas :—

Portion of Railway line (within the district).	Opened on.	Distance.
From Pakaur to Tinpahar	15-10-1860	43 Km.
From Tinpahar to Mirza Chouki ..	1-11-1861	53 Km.
From Tinpahar to Rajmahal (Re-opened) (This was dismantled during the last war).	15-10-1960	12 Km.
From Jamtara to Simultala ..	1-1-1871	96 Km.
From Madhupur to Jagdishpur on Giridih branch.	1-1-1871	13 Km.
From Jasidih to Baidyanathdham ..	23-12-1882	6 Km.

The length of the Eastern Railway serving the district of Santal Parganas is about 223 Kilometres. Loop Line—the major portion of the railway—falls in the loop line of the Eastern Railway. It enters the district at Rajgram, 261 kilometres from Howrah and leaves it at Mirzachowki, 367 kilometres from Howrah. Thus it covers a distance of 106 kilometres in Santal Parganas. There are 16 railway stations excluding Rajgram, viz., Nagarnabi, Pakaur, Tilbhita, Kotalpukur, Gumani, Barharwa Junction, Bakudi, Tinpahar Junction, Kalian Chak, Taljhari, Karanpura, Maharajpur, Sakrigali Junction, Sahibganj Junction, Karamtola and Mirzachowki. Throughout its length, it passes along the skirts of the hills the line being laid in a narrow strip of country hemmed in on one side by the Rajmahal hills and on the other side by the Ganga. The most noticeable engineering work in this portion of the line is the Sitapahar cutting (near Bakudih railway station) a little beyond Barharwa. A bed of solid basalt had to be blasted and lines had to be laid.

Tinpahar-Rajmahal branch of the loop line has a length of 12 kilometres and has only one railway station, i. e., Rajmahal excluding Tinpahar.

Sahibganj-Maharajpur ghat covers a short distance. Between Maharajpur ghat and Maniharighat on the other bank of the Ganga in Purnea district steamer services ply establishing connection with the Eastern Railway and the North-East Frontier Railway.

Main Line.—The Main line of the Eastern Railway enters the district at Mihijam (Chittranjan), 228 kilometres from Howrah. There are 9 railway stations, viz., Jamtara, Karmatanr, Madankata, Madhupur, Mathurapur, Sankarpur, Rohini halt, Jasidih and Lohabon halt. The main line has to cross the table-land of Jamtara and Deoghar subdivisions at an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet and running parallel with the western boundary of the district.

A branch line fron Jasidih connects Baidyanathdham (Deoghar) which is a chief centre of Hindu pilgrimage. The length of the line is only 6 kilometres.

Madhupur-Giridih branch has only one station Jagdishpur in the district and 13 kilometres of the line falls in Santal Parganas.

The Railway have opened up an undeveloped area with great potential and a short account of some of the principal stations may be given here although some of them have been covered elsewhere.

(On the main line).

Jamtara.—Subdivisional Headquarters of the district (252 Kilometres from Howrah).

Karmatanr.—A health resort (270 Kilometres from Howrah).

Madhupur.—294 Kilometres from Howrah—it is a junction point for Giridih branch line. The town is fairly extensive with schools, bazar, hospital, numerous shops and a big Railway Colony. Due to the bracing climate in winter a large number of visitors from different places especially from Calcutta side come here.

Jasidih.—323 Kilometres from Howrah. It is a junction point linking Baidyanathdham by rail with the main line of the Eastern Railway. This is also a healthy station and is visited annually in winter by health seekers.

Deoghar.—329 Kilometres from Howrah. This is a Subdivisional headquarters town of the district. This is also a health resort. The principal places of interest are Baidyanath temple, Trikut and Nandan Pahar, Ashrams of Sri Balananda Brahmachari, Sri Anukul Thakur, Kundeshwari Mata, Tapoban, Charki Pahar, Hathi Pahar, Ramkrishna Vidyapith and Jugal Mandir.

(On the Loop Line).

Pakaur.—271 Kilometres from Howrah. This is a subdivisional headquarters of the district. The station serves the forest area including the villages like Harindanga, Kalikapur, Balihar pur and

Sangrampur on the Eastern border of the district of Santal Parganas. The hills situated near Pakaur though not clad with deep forests are rocky and rugged and are the real sources of Pakaur's famous stone quarries. The area served by the station produces and trades in shellac, jute, rice, vegetables and fruits, specially mangoes, that find an outlet through this station. There are certain other small-scale iron casting mills, rice mills and oil mills. Handloom cloth is manufactured as cottage industry. Stone quarries are provided with sidings to facilitate loading and despatch of stones to numerous points of the Indian Railways.

Kotalpukur.—283 Kilometres from Howrah. The station serves a large number of villages including Kotalpukur, Majirkola, Kusmalatak, Bara Sonarpur, Chota Sonarpur under the Barharwa P.-S. of the district. Besides one middle school, upper primary school, post office and market there are stone quarries and shellac culture. Paddy, pulses, jute and tamarind are the chief produce of the place. There are road connections to Nain Suk (8 M.), Hiranpur (8 M.) and Dhulian (14 M.).

Gumani.—290 Kilometres from Howrah. The village and the station take their name from the river Gumani. It is a small village with a post office at Kankjole about a mile away from the station. Centre of a bi-weekly *hat* (Wednesday/Saturday) Gumani is dependent on Barharwa for schooling, marketing and other facilities.

Barharwa.—A junction station at a distance of about 297 Kilometres from Howrah. It has a Post and Telegraph Office,, District Board Hospital, High School, Middle School, Dak Bungalow and a daily market. Stone quarrying on the adjacent Rajmahal ranges is the principal industry. There are oil and flour mills. Chief Produce are rice, wheat, mustard seeds. Bamboos grow well in this region which give fillip to the cottage industry of making bamboo baskets, etc. It is the centre of a National Extension Service Block with programmes for community development. There are private bus routes to Sahibganj, Borio, Barhait, Godda and Dumka.

Bakudih.—305 Kilometres from Howrah. Stone quarrying is the predominant occupation of the people here.

Tinpahar.—314 Kilometres from Howrah. Nestling in the cool shade of three hills of the Rajmahal range from which the station owes its name, Tinpahar is a village under Rajmahal Police-station. Adjoining villages of Bamangaon, Ramchanki, Brindawan, Borio are served by this station but it is specially important as the gateway to Rajmahal, which is linked by a short branch line from Tinpahar. There is a school sponsored by

Christian missionaries, who have played a prominent role in the social development of the people of the district. Stone quarrying is the main occupation of the people.

Rajmahal.—326 Kilometres from Howrah. It is situated on the western bank of the river Ganga, fringed by the Rajmahal hills. In recent years it has gained added importance as a ferry point for passenger and goods traffic for Malda and other places of North Bengal. After the partition of Bengal in 1947 the original routes to Malda and North Bengal via Pakistan were lost and alternative routes had to be found the principal of which is via Rajmahal. On the opposite bank of Rajmahal the Government of West Bengal have introduced bus services to Malda, Balurghat (W. Dinajpur) and even to Siliguri via Raiganj. There is a post and telegraph Office, a small hospital, a high school, dak bungalow, Dharmashala and a daily market around Rajmahal station. The only small-scale industries of the place are a sand factory and a china-clay factory. Jute and mangoes—both from the district of Malda are sent out by rail through Rajmahal.

Taljhari.—324 Kilometres from Howrah. Taljhari along with some other villages, viz., Lalmati, Beldarichak, Sarkhanda, etc. come under Borio Police-station. It is linked with Rajmahal by an unmetalled road. There is a branch post office dispensary and a missionary middle school near the station. There is a dak bungalow and a bi-weekly *hat.* The principal produce are mangoes, custard apples and vegetables. Bamboos grow well to provide incentive to the making of baskets which are in great demand during the season of the export of mangoes, etc. Rajmahal hills area has silica sand, kaolin, china-clay, flint stone and ballast stone and has encouraged the setting up of a silica sand factory—which has come into great importance due to supplies of raw materials to various concerns. Mangalhat (3 miles away) supplies clay to the Bengal Potteries. Taljhari church is a noted Roman Catholic Church built by Rev. Puxley—the General who became a missionary. There are also other churches.

Karanpura.—330 Kilometres from Howrah. The station along with other villages, e. g., Santal Basti, Mahulitola, etc. come under Borio Police-station. The area is rather under-developed. The nearest school and hospital are at Taljhari. Even the local post office at Sarkanda is about 4 miles away. There is no produce worth mentioning except the abundant growth of *mahua* fruits.

Maharajpur.—338 Kilometres from Howrah. This is also under Borio P.-S. There is a post office, hospital, upper primary school and dak bungalow about a mile away. There are *kutcha* roads leading to Sahibganj and Rajmahal. Pottery is the only cottage industry. The most picturesque waterfall in the whole of the

district is called *Moti Jharna* about 2 miles south-west of Maharajpur station at the head of a beautiful glen of the Rajmahal hills. There are 2 falls each 50 or 60 ft. in height, by which the water of a hilly stream tumbles down over two ledges of rock. The place is sacred for pilgrims on *Shivaratri* day.

Sakrigali Junction.—334 Kilometres from Howrah. This junction is important as a gateway to Sakrigali Ghat station—situated about a mile away on the bank of the river Ganga. The junction station serves villages of Sakrigali, Santali, Pahariatola, etc.—under Borio Police-station. A bi-weekly *hat* takes place here but the nearest Post Office is located near the ghat. Fish, mangoes, potatoes and jute constitute the principal outgoing traffic by Rail from this place.

Sahibganj.—352 Kilometres from Howrah. Sahibganj is one of the most important stations on this loop section of Eastern Railway. Sakrigali Ghat is actually linked up with Sahibganj, passing via Sakrigali Junction; this has served as an important link in the trans-Gangetic route to Assam, North Bihar and North Bengal, particularly since the partition of India in 1947. Recently other alternative routes have been opened viz., Barauni across the newly built Rajendra Pool in Bihar and via Farakka in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal (Barharwa-Farakka line via Tildanga station).

The station Sahibganj serves an old and compact town with a neat Railway Colony. It is flanked by the river Ganga on one side and bordered by the majestic Rajmahal hills. The climate of the town is healthy. There are engineering works, oil and flour mills, soap factories, steel presses for tinplates. It is also a big commercial centre with merchants of long standing and repute. The chief commodities for trade are mustard seeds and oil, wheat, flour, barley, milk products, jute, handloom articles and *sabai* grass. Metalled roads with bus services exist between Sahibganj, Bhagalpur and the district headquarters Dumka. The Subdivisional headquarters has been shifted to this place from Rajmahal. There are a college, several schools of different trades and a public school started by the Roman Catholic Fathers.

Mirza Chowki.—367 Kilometres from Howrah. This is the last station of Eastern Railway on Sahibganj loop section in the district of Santal Parganas. It has a high and a middle school, a bi-weekly *hat*. Local produce are grains, maize, potatoes and onions. Khadi and Tussar cloth are manufactured as a cottage industry. An old catholic church at Gokhla (about 4 miles away) is a seat of missionary enterprise since a long time. Unmetalled roads link Sahibganj, Pirpainty and Godda and bus services ply in fair weather only. Various kinds of milk-products of this place have a good market and a good quantity is exported.

The ruling gradient of the section (Railway) coming under this district on the main line as well as on the loop section is 1 in 200 while the Jasidih-Deoghar branch has a gradient of 1 in 50.

Role of Railway in the Economic Life of the People.

With Independence in August, 1947, sufficient transport facilities have been provided by the Railway. The Railway administration is trying to effect improvement in its service for the trading and travelling public providing amenities for the passengers. New waiting rooms, halls, extension of existing waiting rooms with modern amenities, raising of the platform sheds, electrification of stations, supply of cool drinking water at important stations, etc. are some of the amenities provided. A crossing station, with passenger booking facilities has recently been opened at Kaliyanchak between Tinpahar and Taljhari.

Out agency service is an important facility for the public, which is opened at important places in the hinterlands, away from the railhead, so that those places can get the benefit of the transport services provided by the Railways. Such an out agency has been opened at Malda served by Rajmahal station of this district. The district town of Dumka is the seat of two out agencies—one of which is served by Baidyanathdham (Deoghar) and the other by Rampurhat station on the loop line. The passenger services of both these out agencies are run by the Bihar State Road Transport Corporation (B. S. R. T. C.) while the freight services are managed by private transport contractors of this railway.

Viewing the position from all angles it is not difficult to conclude that the Railways have played an important role in the economic development of this district.

The volume of traffic handled in some of the selected Railway stations has been indicated in the charts which form the Appendix to this text.

The absence of railway services in the far interior of the district of Santal Parganas has to a good extent been compensated by the extensive net work of roads and road services plying between different points within and even beyond the district.

Dumka, the headquarters town of the district is accessible by road from Monghyr via Bhagalpur or via Jamui, Chakai and Deoghar, from Giridih via Chakai and Deoghar and from the Grand Trunk Road via Kulti, Jamtara, Panagarh and Raniganj. Passenger, Bus Services of the Bihar State Road Transport

Corporation ply regularly between Dumka and Bhagalpur, Godda, Jasidih, Deoghar, Pakaur, Rampurhat, etc. Apart from buses operated by the Bihar State Road Transport Corporation, there are several private bus services over different routes in the district.

There is no railroad competition so far. The Railway services have helped the growth of road traffic and hundreds of buses and trucks are plying daily within the district to bring passengers and the goods to the railheads. As a matter of fact there is ample scope for more road traffic and also to increase the rolling stock available to this area. Roadways and Railways have been complementary to each other.

Water Communications.

The only navigable waterway is the Ganga. The railway maintains a ferry steamer service between Maharajpur ghat (Sakrigali ghat) and Manihari ghat (in Purnea). A private ferry steamer service plies to and from between Rajmahal and Manikchak in Malda district of West Bengal. The District Board of Santal Parganas has three *ghat* ferries on the Ganga, at Rajmahal, Sakrigali ghat and Maharajpur ghat. The Rajmahal ferry is settled by the Malda District Board and the dividend is divided half and half between the two District Boards of Malda and Santal Parganas. From Rajmahal ferry the Santal Parganas District Board got a share of Rs. 45,500 in 1960-61 and the same amount in 1961-62. The water traffic of Rajmahal ferry is appreciably large. From the Sakrigali ghat the District Board got Rs. 16,000 in 1960-61 and Rs. 15,000 in 1961-62 and from Maharajpur ghat Rs. 5,500 in 1960-61 and Rs. 5,000 in 1961-62.

There used to be a regular steamer service on the Ganga river largely for cargoes from Buxur to Calcutta via Rajmahal run by a steamer concern of Calcutta. This service has been stopped since about five years. Large cargo boats ply on the Ganga and are largely used throughout the year. Smaller boats are used for ferrying people across. Fishing boats are quite common.

Rest Houses.

The District Board maintains 25 dak bungalows and inspection bungalows. They are at Dumka, Ranishwar, Shikaripara, Haripur, Jarmundi, Chorkatta, Nonihat, Karlidaha, Ramgarh, Hansdiha, Ghongrabandh, Pakaur, Maheshpur, Pakuria, Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Deoghar, Ghormara, Sarath, Pabia, Chapuria, Nala, Kundahit, Fatehpur and Dhasania; out of which Rajmahal, Dumka and Deoghar are dak bungalows and the rest are inspection bungalows. The Public Works Department has inspection bungalows at Godda,

Jamtara, Madhupur, Deoghar, Hansdiha, Sahibganj, Burhait and Pakaur and a rest house at Pakuria and also at Palajori. These dak bungalows and inspection bungalows are mainly for the officers on tour but they are also available to the public. There is a Circuit House at Dumka for class I officers and for the public if rooms are available. The Circuit House at Dumka is the only thatched old type bungalow in the State to be still used as a Circuit House. This type of bungalow is fast disappearing. Although cool, the Circuit House is full of screeching birds.

At Massanjore there are two rest houses—one built by the Government of West Bengal and the other by the Government of Bihar. The sites of both the rest houses are picturesque. A visitor can have the whole view of the Mayurakshi dam from both the rest houses. Besides there are youth hostels at Dighalpahari, Jagdishpur and Koisidih.

Besides inspection and dak bungalows there are 48 Damin bungalows too—13 in Godda Damin, 12 in Pakaur Damin, 9 in Dumka Damin and 14 in Rajmahal Damin areas.

A large number of *dharamshalas* have been constructed by the philanthropy of the rich for the free accommodation of tourists and pilgrims. There are 15 *dharamshalas* at Deoghar and 6 at Basukinath, the two important pilgrim centres of the Hindus. Besides *dharamshalas* there are a large number of lodging houses meant essentially for the pilgrim at Deoghar. There are no hotels of high standard anywhere. Deoghar has now got some hotels for the middle-class people and they are usually full in the winter season. Roadside eating houses with some sort of accommodation are common.

Transport by Air.

There are two small landing grounds—one at Dumka, the district headquarters and the other at Deoghar, the subdivisional headquarters of the same name. No regular air transport services operate from these two landing grounds. These landing grounds are used by small planes belonging to the State Government.

There is no ropeway in this district.

Postal Communication.

The Superintendent of Post Offices, Santal Parganas Division with his headquarters at Dumka is the administrative head of the postal communication of the district. Dumka is the head post office. There were 55 post offices in 1938 as will be evident from the old District Gazetteer of Bhagalpur. Besides Dumka there are

now 33 sub-post offices-*cum*-extra departmental post offices, and the branch post offices number 219.

The average number of postal registered articles served in a month during 1961-62 was 14,573 and that of unregistered postal articles including letters, post-cards, packets, news-papers and parcels was 51,56,117. The value of money-orders issued and paid from 1955 to 1961 is given below :—

Year.	Issued.	Paid.
	Rs.	Rs.
1955-56	88,91,458	75,31,098
1956-57	90,59,850	75,40,656
1957-58	91,29,952	81,72,295
1958-59	90,42,865	81,20,161
1959-60	86,05,038	83,02,606
1960-61	98,83,941	89,85,219
1961-62	99,52,289	92,96,425
1962-63	1,14,51,132	1,15,21,637

The total amount of Savings Bank deposits in the last five years ending 1961, i. e., from 1957 to 1961 was Rs. 93,18,919 and of withdrawals Rs. 3,19,44,842. Thus the amount of withdrawals was more than three times the deposits. It is reported that this was due to the withdrawals made by the displaced persons of Mayurakshi who had to be resettled in the Mayurakshi colony. All the postal sub-offices do the Savings Bank business. They are at Dumka, Deoghar, Burharwa, Burhait, Bengaria, Debargram, Deoghar College, Dudhani, Dumka court, Devasang, Godda, Jamtara, Jarmundi, Jasidih, Jhansgarhi, Kunda, Karmatanr, Madhupur, Maheshpur Raj, Massanjore, Mihijam, Nunihat, Pakaur, Raghunthpur, Rajmahal, Sahibganj, Sakrigalighat, Satsang, Saraiyahat, Godda, Sahibganj, and Dumka colleges.

Telegraph.

There are 23 post-*cum*-telegraph offices, situated at Dumka, Barharwa, Burhait, Benagaria, Deoghar, Godda, Jamtara, Jarmundi, Jasidih, Karmatanr, Madhupur, Maheshpur Raj, Massanjore, Mihijam, Pakaur, Rajmahal, Sahibganj, Saraiyahat, Mahagama, Pathergama, Narayanpur, Sarath, Sarawan and Hiranpur. The number of average messages issued and received per month in 1961 comes to 800 and 925 respectively.

Telephone.

There are 5 telephone exchanges, viz., Deoghar, Dumka, Madhupur, Pakaur, and Sahibganj. The Deoghar telephone exchange has 135 connections, Dumka 89, Madhupur 33, Pakaur 27 and the Sahibganj telephone exchange has 57 connections. Public Call Offices are located at Barharwa, Godda, Jamtara, Jarmundi, Rajmahal, Daburgram, Jasidih, Mihijam, Satsang and Talisma Balasai, besides the above mentioned Exchanges.

Radio.

The number of radio sets in the district in 1958-59 was 588, in 1959-60 654, in 1960-61 the number remained static and in 1961-62 it came to 659. These radio sets have been categorised at domestic sets, commercial sets and community sets. The licenses for the use of these radio sets are issued by the local post offices on behalf of the Government of India.

Wireless.

There are in all 7 wireless stations in the district, one in each of the 5 muffasil subdivisional headquarters, viz., Deoghar, Godda, Jamtara, Pakaur and Sahibganj and two in the district headquarters. One of these, viz., the police radio is meant for law and order and other for urgent administrative matters only.

Organisations of Owners and Employees.

There are no proper organisations of owners and employees in the field of transport and communication.

APPENDIX I.*

CHART SHOWING THE VOLUME OF TRAFFIC MOVED AND EARNINGS THEREFROM FOR 5 YEARS AT STATIONS WITHIN THE DISTRICT OF SANTAL PARGANAS. FIGURES SHOWN FOR THE YEARS 1956-57, 1957-58, AND 1958-59 ARE PROVISIONAL. EARNINGS ARE IN RUPEES.

Station—Jamtara.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1956-57.	1955-56.	1954-55.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Number of passengers—O/W ..	1,25,397	1,42,617	1,23,345	86,363	1,02,585
Earnings	1,24,235	1,38,167	1,59,811	93,324	98,160
Number of passengers—I/W ..	1,48,369	1,44,285	1,28,982	1,10,778	1,19,633
Earnings	1,37,660	1,32,151	1,15,541	1,06,065	1,11,658
Coal—O/W	..	..	24 (Tons).	..	..
Earnings	..	..	45	..	..
Coal—I/W	1,077 (Tons.)	2,736 (Tons.)	2,847 (Tons.)	2,200	1,796
Earnings	4,904	13,086	7,697	6,848	4,083
Other Goods—O/W	12,305 (Tons.)	20,731	6,804 (Tons.)	5,072	14,669
Earnings	78,642	1,43,929	38,092	32,727	1,04,847
Other Goods—I/W	5,694 (Tons.)	5,684 (Tons.)	5,844	5,640	4,282
Earnings	62,213	78,295	58,063	70,275	49,642
Karmatanr.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	1,06,894	1,09,588	1,07,316	92,247	89,343
Earnings	1,02,017	1,13,985	96,181	92,061	84,670
Number of passengers—I/W ..	1,13,318	99,844	1,08,206	71,768	78,713
Earnings	1,10,818	96,871	97,750	73,852	79,462
Coal—O/W	461 (Tons.)	..	..	..	..
Earnings	3,356	..	..	..	..
Coal—I/W	130 (Tons.)	46 (Tons.)	517 (Tons.)	514	793
Earnings	647	230	1,677	1,533	2,365
Other Goods—O/W	7,099 (Tons.)	1,986	5,326 (Tons.)	5,306	5,203

* Source—Eastern Railway.

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

Station—Jamtara.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1956-57.	1955-56.	1954-55.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Earnings	48,639	9,590	30,549	24,650	38,558
Other Goods—I/W	3,639 (Tons.)	4,350 (Tons.)	4,625 (Tons.)	3,376	3,014
Earnings	25,167	43,555	50,170	41,152	35,919
Madhupur.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	3,21,602	2,96,261	3,10,680	2,47,101	2,40,625
Earnings	4,00,241	3,76,087	3,71,219	3,36,147	2,95,175
Number of passengers—I/W ..	2,98,836	2,87,970	3,10,484	2,39,642	2,54,459
Earnings	4,55,412	4,47,181	4,65,269	3,57,489	3,68,509
Coal—O/W	1,302 (Tons.)	236 (Tons.)	1,067 (Tons.)	225	13,535
Earnings	748	936	3,674	1,395	1,01,296
Coal—I/W	16,214 (Tons.)	22,048 (Tons.)	10,192 (Tons.)	9,500	15,539
Earnings	77,845	1,32,610	44,498	35,977	56,258
Other Goods—O/W	29,854	19,729	29,477	11,494	9,044
Earnings	99,537	94,065	1,63,377	54,722	72,980
Other Goods—I/W	42,468	40,900	20,794	24,420	14,202
Pakaur Earnings	2,02,561	2,91,822	1,93,119	2,42,983	1,46,699
Pakaur.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	2,23,299	1,99,990	1,94,952	2,00,318	1,98,912
Earnings	2,50,313	2,42,651	2,08,900	2,09,720	1,84,227
Number of passengers—I/W ..	2,14,644	2,04,550	2,18,128	2,06,537	2,08,304
Earnings	2,29,603	2,43,685	2,18,925	2,00,676	1,93,920
Volume of Coal—O/W ..	..	..	925 (Tons.)	..	..
Earnings	..	..	1,027	..	..
Vol. of Coal—I/W ..	6,402 (Tons.)	19,925 (Tons.)	11,158 (Tons.)	4,208	3,137
Earnings	35,008	60,726	32,874	18,744	13,404

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

Station—Jamtara.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1956-57.	1955-56.	1954-55.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Vol. of Goods—I/W	16,537	17,609 (Tons.)	19,379 (Tons.)	15,034	11,011
Earnings	1,57,876	1,99,210	2,02,064	1,98,372	1,92,060
Vol. of Goods—O/W	6,24,521	7,24,245	5,29,328 (Tons.)	6,94,986	5,78,801
Earnings	69,39,911	80,74,950	60,08,036	53,51,861	51,02,208
Kotalpukur.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	77,002	73,706	80,507	81,253	84,869
Earnings	44,943	39,981	55,687	49,064	49,226
Number of passengers—I/W ..	68,629	73,755	76,902	68,350	77,981
Earnings	37,898	41,238	39,058	35,517	37,331
Vol. of Coal—O/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Vol. of Coal—I/W	264 (Tons.)	..	93 (Tons.)	114	..
Earnings	1,184	..	682	785	..
Vol. of Other Goods—I/W ..	1,842 (Tons.)	990 (Tons.)	1,866 (Tons.)	4,063	1,680
Earnings	16,118	11,785	20,568	38,868	22,406
Vol. of Other Goods—O/W ..	7,704 (Tons.)	6,946	5,741	1,628	3,843
Earnings	82,017	73,473	54,328	22,068	31,833
Gumani.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	28,280	33,940	30,382	28,114	28,162
Earnings	11,656	13,455	13,346	11,730	11,703
Number of passengers—I/W ..	22,483	29,863	26,928	26,446	24,274
Earnings	8,078	8,968	9,004	8,042	7,718
Vol. of Coal—O/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

Station—Jamtara.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1956-57.	1955-56.	1954-55.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Vol. of Coal—I/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Vol. of Other Goods—I/W ..	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Vol. of Other Goods—O/W ..	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Barharwa.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	1,50,736	1,68,707	1,80,619	1,67,489	1,70,718
Earnings	1,27,581	1,25,802	1,16,232	1,10,281	1,09,945
Number of passengers—I/W ..	1,71,610	1,63,709	1,64,370	1,61,886	1,70,893
Earnings	1,33,150	1,25,226	1,17,880	1,14,561	1,23,119
Vol. of Coal—O/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Vol. of Coal—I/W	2,032	366 (Tons.)	2,615 (Tons.)	11,558	896
Earnings	10,481	3,365	13,197	7,690	4,760
Other Goods—O/W	12,659	43,729 (Tons.)	10,308 (Tons.)	8,439	95,118
Earnings	51,718	2,16,511	69,262	80,206	92,430
Other Goods—I/W	5,432	7,896 (Tons.)	5,939 (Tons.)	5,000	4,571
Earnings	55,964	76,831	91,637	68,945	52,859
Bakudih.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	58,166	78,291	65,650	63,190	64,423
Earnings	26,714	42,153	30,609	30,182	29,638
Number of passengers—I/W ..	54,769	48,398	65,841	68,343	55,609
Earnings	25,911	21,916	26,595	26,549	22,455
Vol. of Coal—O/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Vol. of coal—I/W	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

Station—Jamtara.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1956-57.	1955-56.	1954-55.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Other Goods—O/W	57,780	57,057 (Tons.)	28,867 (Tons.)	18,813	24,434
Earnings	5,62,041	5,85,979	2,53,973	1,56,082	1,91,210
Other Goods—I/W	2,133	3,613 (Tons.)	3,716 (Tons.)	1,201	924
Earnings	14,266	17,145	11,785	7,035	6,726
Tinpahar.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	1,58,201	1,14,587	1,27,944	1,23,885	89,945
Earnings	1,19,068	94,450	94,811	89,069	62,616
Number of passengers—I/W ..	1,28,123	1,15,361	1,37,193	1,25,768	1,33,726
Earnings	1,12,989	1,13,078	1,31,715	1,08,670	1,11,098
Vol. of Coal—O/W	22 (Tons.)	..	..	..	..
Earnings	36	..	..	..	..
Vol. of Coal—I/W	422 (Tons.)	181 (Tons.)	616 (Tons.)	490	579
Earnings	3,237	1,650	4,125	2,885	3,813
Vol of Other Goods—O/W ..	51,026	48,117 (Tons.)	55,906	41,134	26,879
Earnings	5,74,158	5,81,250	5,09,023	3,24,546	2,26,465
Vol. of Other Goods—I/W ..	3,746	4,527	3,282	1,836	1,540
Earnings	20,005	34,471	20,897	14,974	13,806
Jasidih.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	3,42,009	3,87,969	3,97,924	2,90,466	2,51,498
Earnings	4,48,761	6,05,721	4,90,197	4,53,983	3,28,020
Number of passengers—I/W ..	3,26,277	3,42,604	3,31,394	2,50,688	2,45,768
Earnings	5,06,737	5,56,531	4,42,959	4,03,484	3,27,465
Coal—O/W	..	..	24 (Tons.)	..	274
Earnings	..	..	36	..	364

APPENDIX I—*contd.*

Station—Jamtara.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1956-57.	1955-56.	1954-55.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Coal—I/W	8,234 (Tons.)	3,081 (Tons.)	2,086	2,257	1,822
Earnings	40,839	19,593	11,031	9,495	3,795
Other Goods—O/W	2,275 (Tons.)	1,948 (Tons.)	4,051 (Tons.)	1,148	1,230
Earnings	29,063	28,264	27,386	26,412	12,797
Other Goods—I/W	1,852 (Tons.)	4,149	2,724 (Tons.)	2,108	2,165
Earnings	29,142	38,033	36,528	21,666	15,708
Jagdishpur.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	58,310	43,339	45,637	43,599	46,643
Earnings	48,155	31,574	29,035	28,702	30,045
Number of passengers—I/W ..	62,746	49,470	47,703	42,873	44,432
Earnings	25,663	23,120	22,599	19,865	19,417
Coal—O/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Coal—I/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Other Goods—O/W	5,666 (Tons.)	..	4,615 (Tons.)	3,228	4,035
Earnings	70,046	..	58,285	34,094	42,807
Other Goods—I/W ..	362 (Tons.)	441 (Tons.)	156 (Tons.)	163	183
Earnings	4,224	7,395	1,806	1,611	1,385

APPENDIX I—*concld.*

Station—Jamtara.	1954-55.	1955-56.	1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Baidyanathdham.					
Number of passengers—O/W ..	3,83,289	3,66,195	4,39,145	4,39,229	3,94,031
Earnings	7,53,062	7,20,171	7,78,656	8,15,266	6,67,736
Number of passengers—I/W ..	3,93,043	3,78,204	4,60,086	4,18,504	4,32,797
Earnings	7,96,201	8,83,179	8,43,279	7,88,024	9,92,403
Vol. of Coal—O/W	..	..	..	..	..
Earnings	..	..	..	..	..
Vol. of Coal—I/W	7,533 (Tons.)	7,377 (Tons.)	9,553	8,010	..
Earnings	33,837	33,916	48,017	50,559	..
Vol. of Goods—O/W	12,784	4,197	6,096	4,300	6,087
Earnings	1,25,923	64,739	83,368	61,203	57,923
Vol. of Goods—I/W	25,252	31,592	23,468	26,388	37,948
Earnings	3,73,076	4,82,812	3,75,831	3,67,508	5,31,437

APPENDIX II.*

CHART SHOWING THE VOLUME OF TRAFFIC MOVED AND EARNINGS AT THE STATIONS WITHIN THE DISTRICT OF SANTAL PARGANAS FOR THE YEARS 1959-60 to 1961-62.

Station.	——	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5
Madhupur ..	No. of passengers O/w.	3,20,780	3,87,488	3,59,551
	Earnings O/w. Rs.	4,30,785 Rs.	5,14,229 Rs.	4,77,167
	No. of passengers I/w.	2,78,202	2,61,577	2,33,778
	Parcel(in maunds)O/w.	25,164	26,193	10,862
	Parcel Earnings O/w. Rs.	34,598 Rs.	37,485 Rs.	33,055
	Parcel (in maunds) I/w.	22,017	23,863	8,463
	Parcel Earnings I/w. Rs.	20,506 Rs.	22,407 Rs.	27,758
	Goods (in maunds) O/w.	2,97,645	2,56,549	1,14,465
	Goods Earnings O/w. Rs.	1,08,975 Rs.	1,23,006 Rs.	1,68,944
	Goods (in maunds) I/w.	5,39,338	4,08,581	1,43,730
	Goods Earning I/w. Rs.	3,49,969 Rs.	3,36,727 Rs.	3,60,389
Jasidih ..	No. of passengers O/w.	4,26,819	4,99,032	5,01,634
	Earnings O/w. Rs.	7,07,541 Rs.	8,36,023 Rs.	8,51,667
	No. of passengers I/w.	2,51,718	3,26,955	3,07,656
	Parcel (in maunds) O/w.	18,462	19,610	3,49,311
	Parcel Earnings O/w. Rs.	26,187 Rs.	28,800 Rs.	23,653
	Parcel (in maunds) I/w.	2,126	1,990	70,366
	Parcel Earnings I/w. Rs.	3,536 Rs.	2,323 Rs.	2,235
	Goods (in maunds) O/w.	32,870	39,214	28,808
	Goods Earnings O/w. Rs.	32,715 Rs.	36,818 Rs.	1,12,100
	Goods (in maunds) I/w.	83,367	22,369	6,097
	Goods Earnings I/w. Rs.	74,071 Rs.	22,798 Rs.	11,310

*SOURCE—Eastern Railway.
NOTE.—O/w.—Outward.
I/w.—Inward.

APPENDIX II—*concld.*

Station.		1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5
Baidyanathdham	No. of passengers O/w.	6,22,530	6,05,783	6,24,862
	Earnings O/w. Rs.	11,78,997 Rs.	13,64,342 Rs.	50,76,060
	No. of passengers I/w.	5,06,662	6,07,826	5,53,699
	Parcel (in maunds) O/w.	12,602	12,02,336	5,05,911
	Parcel Earnings O/w Rs.	14,811 Rs.	78,910 Rs.	80,197
	Parcel (in maunds) I/w.	30,511	13,74,565	15,81,933
	Parcel Earnings I/w. Rs.	47,370 Rs.	53,832 Rs.	65,151
	Goods (in maunds) O/w.	1,77,019	46,939	29,016
	Goods Earnings O/w. Rs.	1,34,196 Rs.	1,07,723 Rs.	94,291
	Goods (in maunds) I/w.	10,36,646	3,32,762	3,24,176
	Goods Earnings I/w. Rs.	8,37,879 Rs.	7,85,323 Rs.	9,04,008

(The turnover of jack-fruit in April and May is usually large and in June the traffic begins to dwindle. Jack-fruit is sent to Kanpur, Tundla, Allahabad, Mirzapur, Gazipur and other towns of Uttar Pradesh.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Miscellaneous Occupations.

Miscellaneous occupations are generally those which are not included under major occupations, viz., Agriculture, Industries, Commerce and Transport. Miscellaneous Occupations, therefore, include public administration, learned professions, domestic and personal services, etc. Persons following miscellaneous occupations form a very small percentage of the people employed in the district. Nevertheless, they have an important bearing on the society as they are the intelligentsia and mostly come from the middle classes, which are the backbone of the society. It is the middle classes that supply the leaders of the society.

The District Census Handbook of the Santal Parganas (1951) gives the statistics of persons engaged in public administration and local bodies administration as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
A. Health, Education and Public Administration.	4,637	1,750
1. Medical and other Health Services ..	1,214	1,529
2. Educational Services and Research ..	1,132	216
3. Police (other than village watchman) ..	788	..
4. Village Officers and servants including village watchmen.	141	..
5. Employees of Municipalities and local boards.	96	5
6. Employees of State Government ..	1,266	..

Some of the figures mentioned above are intriguing and do not seem to be correct. The preponderance of females over males in medical and other health services does not appear to be correct. The figures of 788 persons under police, other than village watchman, appear to be an under-estimate. So also the figures of 141 persons under village officers and servants, including village watchmen. The Bihar Statistical Handbook, 1957, published by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, at page 149 gives the total strength of police from the Inspector to the constable as 1,169. There has been, however, an expansion of the police force and the

figure of 1,169 is for 1957. The same book gives the total strength of Chaukidars in 1957 as 3,641. It is evident that the District Census Handbook figure for village officers and servants, including village watchmen as 141 is incorrect. There are a large number of villages and therefore, it is not possible to imagine that the number of village officers and servants including village watchmen was only 141 in 1951.

Personal services include domestic servants, barbers, washermen, tailors*, keepers of hotels and restaurants. In 1951 Census they were enumerated as service not elsewhere specified. The statistics according to the Census Handbook of Santal Parganas (1951) is as follows :—

	Males.	Females.
A. Services not elsewhere specified ..	7,450	2,980
1. Services otherwise unclassified ..	2,765	1,010
2. Domestic services	2,196	1,185
3. Barbers and beauty shops	654	216
4. Laundries and laundries services ..	252	238
5. Hotel, restaurants and eating houses ..	105	1

Religious, charitable and welfare services were enumerated in 1951 census at 534, consisting of 525 males and 9 females. It is clear that the Pandas were not included in this total. There are several hundreds of Panda families at Deoghar and Basukinath.

The public servants in the miscellaneous occupation group form an important element. In spite of the decentralisation of administration, the role that the public servants play has not been diminished. On the other hand, the extension of the Community Development Projects has brought the public servants more into importance by putting them in direct contact with the villagers. There has been a very large expansion of the public services. People prefer to get the white collared job in the public services rather than be employed as skilled manual workers and craftsmen. The Employment Exchanges register more people who would like to be a clerk and not a steno-typist or a skilled workman. It is also that the employment chances of the skilled workmen are not very bright in this district as there are not many industries. The professions include the lawyers, doctors, teachers, priests, journalists, authors, etc. The total number of such professionals, as recorded in the District Census Handbook of Santal Parganas,

*Tailors, however, do not appear to have been mentioned in 1951 District Census Handbook.

is very small. Nevertheless, inspite of their very small number, the profession has had a very great impact on society and has supplied the leadership. These professions are generally taken up by the middle class—the source of the country's brains, leadership and organising ability. The economic prospects of the doctors in this district, where the people are poor, are not very bright. The number of doctors in this district, according to 1951 census, may or may not have included the Homoeopaths, Vaids and Hakims, but the needs of the district are acute. It may be mentioned that Dumka has only about 3 allopathic doctors, who are private practitioners. In Deoghar there are about 17 practising private doctors. Sahibganj, another large subdivisional town, has got 18 private practitioners. The number of private practising doctors at the other towns alone exceeded more than a dozen. Teaching profession has not attracted, for some reason or the other, the best of talents. Village school teachers are paid low salaries; the village school master is of lower status in many cases and gets lesser emoluments than a peon or a chowkidar in the Government offices. Educational institutions have increasingly to depend on the State for financial support and naturally there has been much more of State control or regulation. The aristocratic class has now disappeared and thus one channel of patronage of the educational institutions has dried up.

There are some professions which are more or less free from direct State control. They are priests, journalists, authors and artists. Their number in this district is extremely small. Law as a profession has not attracted many persons yet. This is due to the stringent statutory restrictions that existed till very recently. The position improved when the Legal Practitioners Act was extended to the Santal Parganas and the restrictions on the number of lawyers were relaxed in the district. In 1956 this restriction was totally removed. In Sadar courts at Dumka there are about 48 pleaders and 11 Mukhtears. Soon after the restrictions were removed, landlordism was abolished. The landlordism was a great source of litigation and since that source has dried up, the incidence of litigation, particularly litigation remunerative to the lawyers, has decreased. The present trend is towards the opening of more and more Panchayati courts. Lawyers are not allowed to appear in the Panchayati courts.

Legal services were enumerated in the 1951 census along with the business services and their total number was 281, out of which 4 were employers, 134 employees and 143 independent workers. From the break up figures the independent workers were enumerated under the legal services. On an enquiry it was found that there were no barristers in this district and the number of advocates

and pleaders was 156. The Mukhtears' number is 44 but this is declining. No Mukhtears are now being recruited as the qualifying examination has been abolished.

Study of law is usually taken up by the average graduates not necessarily in order to join the bar but to follow an independent profession of their own, when they do not possibly find a suitable job. Another factor is that the lawyers seldom change their profession for trade and commerce. Members of the bar have been found to change the profession in their early career and a small percentage get into public services but they seldom become businessmen or managers in the business concern. Very few of the talented youngmen are now drawn to the profession of law. They prefer to secure a job in the private sector or in business firm. This is definitely a bad omen as the lawyers have remained and shall remain a very important element in the society and will have to supply its leadership. In a district like the Santal Parganas with comparatively low incidence of education, the number of scientists and researchers is practically nil. Architects, engineers and accountants are mostly in the public sector. Life insurance business has provided employment to a small percentage of the educated people.

There are not many shop-keepers, doctors and businessmen in this district. The economic trends of these classes have been discussed in other chapters. Trade and commerce have absorbed a rather small percentage of the population and they are concentrated in pockets (described elsewhere). Some of the small shop-keepers like *Pan, biri* sellers, general merchants or those who hold *kirana* shops have done quite well in the urban areas.

The problem of domestic services is a definite economic trend of the present generation. The prestige of the domestic services has gone down and since there are more opportunities to earn a better livelihood in the other avenues, domestic servants are turning to them. The average domestic servants in the last generation came from the occupational classes. Now most of them prefer to work as manual labourers in the collieries or as class IV employees. The craze for jobs in the public sector for the class IV employees is a very definite trend. As the activities of the public sector are expanding, there has been a greater prospect for the absorption of such persons. This is one of the reasons why wayside cheap restaurants and hotels have cropped up even in large villages or townships. Even the barbers prefer to work in shaving saloons than to go round vending their services as before. But the washermen are in short supply, particularly in the urban areas. It is well known that many of the younger generation of this class do not want to stick to their caste occupation. Tailoring has expanded and no tailor is found unemployed. In 1951 census tailoring was

enumerated in the section under Industries. But it appears that the number of tailors was omitted in the District Census Handbook, 1951. It is well known that every large village has some tailors, not to speak of the urban areas.

The total number of persons associated with the hotels and restaurants according to 1951 census was 166. There is a great dearth of well equipped hotels and restaurants. The number of ordinary cheap hotels is fairly large at places like Deoghar, Sahibganj and Dumka but the other subdivisional towns have hardly even the amenities of these ordinary cheap hotels. The number of roadside restaurants selling cheap cooked food has increased considerably. Tea stalls have sprung up at all bus stops, even in the rural areas. Punjabi hotels, selling hot stuff, are becoming common at the bus stops.

In this district the Pandas or the priests form an important element of society, that come under Miscellaneous Occupations. The temples of Lord Shiva at Baidyanathdham and Basukinath have a large number of Pandas (estimated at about 2,100). Pandas as a class do not have any other profession excepting doing *Pujapath* and showing round the pilgrims. The approximate total number of Pandas and their dependants is approximately 10,100.

Arts, letters and Journalism.—The number of persons engaged in these professions is extremely small; only 10 males were enumerated in them in 1951 census. A few weekly journals are published from Deoghar and are of local importance only.

Recreation—Cinema shows are the main source of recreation. Cinema houses have sprung up in almost all the subdivisional towns. According to 1951 census 602 males and 321 females were engaged under the heading, Recreation Services. Although there are very few regular brothel houses, prostitution in some areas is common. In Godda subdivision there is a class of people known as *Khelara* ; prostitution is almost a tradition and a principal source of their livelihood.

The brief review of the incumbents under Miscellaneous Occupations at Deoghar subdivision will be of interest as it will show the pattern in the different subdivisions. The subdivisional headquarters has about 50 public offices of different branches of both Central and State Governments. In addition there are several Anchals and Block offices in the subdivision. The Postal Department has a network of sub and branch offices ; the most important of these are located at Deoghar, Madhupur and Sarath. There is a telephone exchange at Deoghar. The main line of the Eastern Railway has three important stations Madhupur, Jasidih and Baidyanathdham within the subdivision. There are several smaller stations and each

railway station has a number of employees. The number of gazetted officers in Deoghar subdivision is approximately 100. There are quite a few non-gazetted supervisory and gazetted staff working in the subdivision. The administrative branch of the Government, including Block and Anchal office, has a strength of about 350 staff. The police administration has a total strength of 180 persons, including gazetted officers. The number of Chowkidars in the subdivision in 1961 was 700.

There are Government hospitals at Deoghar, Jasidih and Madhupur. In addition, there are a number of medical units in the several Blocks. Most of the public offices have been established during the Plan period for the execution of the development plans of the Government. These offices play an important role in the field of agriculture, industries, medical, sanitation, cottage industries and other welfare activities as envisaged in the Five-Year Plans at different stages. The names of some of the departments are as follows :—

Public Works Department, Forest, Project and Investigation, Animal Husbandry, Agriculture, Labour, Co-operative, Panchayat Training, Public Health Engineering Department, Public Health, Leprosy Centre, Central Tractor Organisation and Collonisation, Anti-Malaria, Waste Land Reclamation, Electricity, Commercial Taxes, Income-Tax, Jail, Hospital, Education, Excise, Public Relations, Co-operative Training Institute, State Transport Corporation, Central Excise, Postal Department, Telephone Exchange and Railways.

The Government employees with a total emoluments of Rs. 100 and below constitute almost 70 per cent of the staff ; they have a low standard of living unless they can supplement their income by engaging in subsidiary occupations. The additional dearness allowance does not keep pace with the rise in prices. The employees of the pay group between Rs. 100 and Rs. 200 (which are 15 per cent of the strength of the staff) have also a low standard of living and are running into debts. As a matter of fact, this class is worse off than the Government employees who belong to class IV group. This class consists of educated people from the middle classes and they have to maintain a better standard of life so that many of them cannot make any savings. The employees of the pay group between Rs. 200 and Rs. 450 constitute about 10 per cent of the staff; they have an average standard of li ing with a small margin of savings. The rest of the employees of higher pay group can afford to have a better standard of living and the margin of savings is higher. The recent 1963 taxation will, however, affect all the groups and the marging of savings will

narrow down. The employees of the State Government, other than medical, have hardly any amenities of housing, recreation, ration, uniforms, travel concessions and other amenities provided to the Central Government employees.

There are Municipalities at Deoghar, Madhupur and Notified Area Committee at Jasidih. A scavenging staff of about 250 and 104 are maintained by Deoghar and Madhupur Municipalities, respectively. Jasidih Notified Area Committee has a small scavenging staff of 15 persons.

There are a large number of high schools and two colleges in the subdivision, besides a number of middle and lower primary schools. There is a Panchayat Training School at Rikhia and a Co-operative Training College at Deoghar. The total strength of teachers in high schools and the Co-operative Training College is about 250 (excluding the figures of middle and primary school teachers).

Besides Government doctors, there are 17 Allopathic practitioners, 15 Homoeopaths, 10 Kabiraj is and a large number of quacks in the subdivision. There are 33 Pleaders and 7 Mukhtears attached to Deoghar Court.

The exact figures of domestic servants, barbers, tailors, and other persons following miscellaneous occupations like masons, sweetmeat sellers, potters, hawkers, cartmen are not available. There are 25 rickshaw pullers in the subdivision. There are also quite a large number of railway potters, gangmen, watchmen and other subordinate employees of the railways. The economic condition of these persons is not too bad and could well be compared with that of the class IV employees. The tailors, masons and sweetmeat sellers earn more than Rs. 100 per month.

There are about 1,500 families of Pandas who reside within the temple areas and earn their livelihood by helping the pilgrims in offering *pujas* to Lord Shiva in the temple of Baidyanath. Due to insufficient income, a very small number of them is leaving the profession and has started taking up business, service, etc.

The income of the lawyers may be said to vary from Rs. 100 to about Rs. 2,000 per month. A report from Sahibganj mentions that there are a few advocates, 17 lawyers, 13 Mukhtears and 32 pleader clerks. It may be broadly said that the income of 4 pleaders including the advocates, is between Rs. 800 to Rs. 2,000 per month. There are 10 pleaders, whose income per month varies between Rs. 400 to Rs. 1,000. The income of some Mukhtears and pleaders is between Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. The income of the other pleaders is below Rs. 150 per month. Some of the petition writers earn more than Rs. 200 per month.

The teaching profession now includes the teaching staff of the Colleges, High Schools for both boys and girls of various denomination from Higher Secondary Schools to the Lower Primary Schools. There are about 200 persons in the district, who earn the livelihood by teaching the students at their residence as private tutors and also by running private coaching classes at their own houses. The income of the teachers in the schools and colleges is according to the scale of pay ; most of them supplement the income by private coaching, examination of papers and writing text books.

There are a large number of railway stations within the district; the number of employees in the railway services is about 1,000. Their pay varies according to their scale of pay.

The number of the contractors in the district is considerable and probably exceeds 1,000. The income of the contractors varies and is between Rs. 300 to Rs. 3,000 per month. Besides, there are a number of brokers (commissioned agents) who earn quite a lot of money.

The number of semi-permanent nomads and vagrants is about 100. It may be mentioned that during the Holi festival about 50 families of nomads particularly from Bikaner (in Rajasthan State) camp for one month in the Sahibganj cattle market. The male population make money by working as musicians and the females by their needle work. A number of Iranis, Gulgulias, Madaris and other professional wanderers visit different places in the district regularly. Every township has a large number of beggars. There are also a few unspecified vagrants in every township, whose source of living is occasionally pick-pocketing, stealing and begging.

CHAPTER IX.

ECONOMIC TRENDS.

General.

The district of Santal Parganas offers an interesting study of how the indigenous pastoral economy of the district had passed into a more or less, purely agricultural economy and how an attempt is now being made to have a mixed economy with much emphasis on industrialisation. This district was full of hills, forests, large uncultivated pasture lands and the indigenous population consisted of the jungle people, like the Paharias, who were pushed out to the top of the hills by the slightly more advanced Santals. The Paharias lived (and they still do so more or less) on jungle produce and on whatever living objects in the jungle they could lay their hands upon. They used to hunt various types of fauna and grow very little. At a later stage they did a little of cultivation due to the impact of the Santals. The Santals did *jhum* cultivation by burning down a little bit of the jungle and scattering a few seeds on the ashes, which gave them some crops. They were good hunters, dashing and energetic and with bows and arrows (often poisoned), traps, etc., they were better experts in getting meat for their food. They made rice-beer and also utilised the *mahua* flowers found in abundance in the jungles for making a slightly stronger intoxicant. The Santals found out a larger number of fruits, tubers, etc., for their food. One such tuber is *bankohra* which is found in abundance in Gopikandar area and is very large in size. Many of these jungle fruits and tubers were also used for medicinal purposes.

It was at this stage of economy of the district that the British came to Santal Parganas. With the advent of the British, jungles were cleared and proper cultivation was encouraged. The early efforts of the British administrators in giving a sort of administrative machinery to the Santals have been described elsewhere. With the stabilisation of the administration through the efforts of sympathetic administrators like Cleveland, Browne, Sutherland and others the pastoral economy of the district started changing. The Santals kept a few poultry, boars, cows and pigs. Now they started taking more to cultivation against their will. They used to be more of a wandering type and after clearing a bit of jungle would cultivate the land for some time but as soon as the question of payment of rental came up they would leave that area and go to a new area. The early British administrators wanted to

change this deep-rooted habit of the Santals and attempted to domesticate their wandering nature. The best way to do this was to fix them up with a particular plot of land and to make them understand that the land was theirs at the payment of a very small rent. The first assessment of the land revenue was done on the basis of the number of ploughs that the Santals had. Usually a man with one plough was assessed a very small sum of Re. 0-8-0 annually. Even this small payment was resented for a pretty long time and the Santals started wondering as to why there should be anyone in between the land and himself.

The unexploited and wild district had to be opened up and the early British administrators concentrated their efforts on improving communications by building a few roads and tracks. The railways came next and provided employment to quite a few of the indigenous population. The demand for timber grown in the Santal Parganas both within and outside the district, was pushed up and the Santals made excellent forest guards and rangers besides being employed for felling the trees and processing them. Timber trade in Santal Parganas was and still is a very lucrative occupation.

The wander-lust of the Santals was fully exploited by the Labour Recruiting Officers for the tea gardens and other concerns outside the district. The Tea District Labour Association had a very lucrative business within the district and thousands of Santals used to be recruited often through various pretexts and false hopes and transported to the tea districts of Assam and elsewhere. The Santals were excellent labourers and the Indigo-planters of North Bihar used to draw upon the almost inexhaustible sources of supply within the Santal Parganas and get imported labour to their plantations. The remnants of the Santals imported to the districts of North Bihar are still to be seen. Most of them have settled down and have continued there for generations. The large percentage of the indentured labour recruited for the tea districts, however, used to come back to their villages and were responsible for introducing a higher standard of living. Many of the rigours of the Tea District Labour Association were removed and the Santal recruits were given better deal. Although the activities of the Tea District Labour Association have now ceased voluntary recruitment of labour from the Santal Parganas still continues.

Another great factor which has had its impact on the economic trends of the district has been the recruitment of the Santals and other population of the districts as Sappers and Miners, members of Civil Pioneer Force and military personnel in the wake of the two great wars. Cleveland even in the eighties of the 18th century appreciated the military talents of the Santals and recruited a corps

of Hill Rangers consisting originally of 1,300 men. For many years they were armed with their country weapons, the bow and arrow. It is an instance of Cleveland's sound judgment, that he named as their first native commandant, a chief named Jourah. After some years the men were armed with muskets instead of bows and arrows and were in all respects on the same footing with other native requirements. A section was known as the Hill Archers. A special school was set up in Bhagalpur for the training of the Santals. Later Cleveland's scheme was given up but the Santals continued to be recruited in the civil constabulary. When the wars came the recruitment in the Santal Parganas was a tremendous success. The return of these recruits, after having worked abroad, had a considerable impact both on money economy of the district as well as on social habits. As a matter of fact, an index of the material prosperity of this district is in the large amount of money that come through money-orders and other ways from the people of Santal Parganas living outside the district.

The next phase was the development of trade and commerece. With the opening of the district a large number of roadways were made and vehicular traffic was introduced. Now the district roads are fully utilised by the motor vehicles. The railways have also considerably helped in developing trade and commerce. The mineral resources of the district are still not fully exploited in spite of the fact that the collieries of Santal Parganas had attracted attention long before. The latest phase is the starting of a few industries at places like Sahibganj, Deoghar, etc. The entrepreneurs are mostly outsiders who are lured by the abundant untapped resources and have stayed on. The finances have been easily found mostly from outside. It may be mentioned that the early *Mahajans* of the district were either Bengalis or Bhojpuris from Bihar and their maltreatment of the Santals had a lot to do with the Santal Insurrections of 1855. The best of the lands of the Santals after being developed were passing into the hands of these outsiders; that was indeed the main grievance of the Santals. The story has been mentioned in other chapters and need not be repeated here.

Livelihood Pattern.

As mentioned elsewhere the population of the district has risen from 1,804,526 in 1901 to 2,675,203 in 1961. The number of rural and urban population was 2,225,312 and 96,780 respectively in 1951 census which rose to 2,532,251 and 142,952 respectively in 1961 census. There were 7 towns in 1951 which had gone up to 10 in 1961. Barring a few, the towns are still very rural in outlook.

The percentage of urban population to total population in 1951 was 4.17 as against 5.33 in 1961. From the above statement it

is evident that the rural population accounts for 94.67 per cent of the total population of the district.

A brief background of the occupational trend given in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) will be of help in appreciating the present occupational pattern of the district. The old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has mentioned that "53 per cent of the population are actual workers and 47 per cent are non-working dependants. The occupations followed by the Actual workers are as below:—

	Per cent.
I Exploitation of animals, and vegetation including pasture and agriculture.	47.8
II Exploitation of minerals	.02
III Industry	1.40
IV Transport	.2
V Trade	1.0
VI Public force	.04
VII Public Administration	.005
VIII Profession and liberal arts	.2
IX Persons living on their income ..	.003
X Domestic service	.1
XI Insufficiently described profession ..	1.8
XII Unproductive occupation	.1

"Of the agricultural population 8,51,900 are tenant cultivators and 98,300 are agricultural labourers. The industrial population include 4,400 weavers, 3,100 basket-makers and 4,300 potters.*"

The statistical pattern of the livelihood classes and sub-classes are given in the *District Census Handbook of Santal Parganas* for 1951 census and show a somewhat slightly different picture.

The population of the district has been divided into two broad occupational classes, viz., agricultural and non-agricultural. The distribution of population in 1951 census has been marked into eight livelihood classes and further of each livelihood classes into three sub-classes. The sub-classes are (*i*) self-supporting persons, (*ii*) non-earning dependants and (*iii*) earning dependants. The following table will show the picture†.

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* *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 81.

†*District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas for* 1951 census published in 1956, pp. 10—17.

Livelihood classes.	Total persons.	Self-supporting persons.		Non-earning dependants.		Earning dependants.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Agricultural Classes	2,131,032	550,952	353,976	430,055	636,951	86,736	72,362
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants.	..	489,768	316,477	378,698	558,840	77,198	63,835
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants.	..	18,367	11,801	16,643	24,119	2,683	2,418
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependants.	..	40,085	23,181	32,879	51,705	6,432	5,623
4. Non-cultivating owners of land agricultural rent-receivers and their dependants.	..	2,732	2,517	1,835	2,287	423	486
Non-agricultural Classes ..	191,060	52,324	24,446	45,363	56,325	7,164	5,438
5. Production (other than cultivation) ..	..	13,901	6,649	8,422	13,038	2,108	1,486
6. Commerce	..	14,948	7,731	11,727	16,099	1,999	1,496
7. Transport	..	3,711	380	3,255	4,877	406	348
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	..	19,764	9,686	21,959	22,311	2,651	2,108

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It appears from the above table that 91.7 per cent of the population of the district fall under agricultural classes and the rest 8.3 per cent are non-agricultural classes. The all-India average of agriculturists and non-agriculturists according to the 1951 census is 68.1 per cent and 31.9 per cent, respectively, while that of Bihar is 86.04 per cent and 13.96 per cent, respectively*. The agricultural classes constitute a large majority in the Santal Parganas than the other districts of the Chotanagpur Plateau Division except Palamau.

In agricultural classes about 42.5 per cent constitute self-supporting persons, 50 per cent non-earning dependants and 7.5 per cent earning dependants.

As will be evident from the above table the livelihood classes of both the agricultural and non-agricultural classes have been divided into four groups. In agricultural classes the first group is cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants. In owner cultivators the aboriginal element is strong; owner cultivators form about 81 per cent of the total district population†. Out of per 10,000 of all agricultural classes of the district, 8,845 belong to the first group (cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants), 357 to the second group (cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants), 750 to the third group (cultivating labourers and their dependants) and 48 belong to the fourth group (non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent-receivers and their dependants)‡.

In non-agricultural classes about 40 per cent of the people are self-supporting persons, 53 per cent non-earning dependants and 7 per cent earning dependants. The preponderance of the females is marked in the non-earning dependants like the agricultural sectors. The non-agricultural classes have also been grouped into four sub-classes. Production (other than cultivation) is the first group in which about 24.5 per cent of the non-agricultural population are dependant. The second group is Commerce in which about 28.2 per cent persons are engaged; in the third group, i.e., in the Transport 6.5 per cent and in the fourth group other services and miscellaneous sources 40.5 per cent people are engaged.

The Report of 1961 Census (Bihar) is still under compilation and such details of livelihood pattern as given for 1951 are as yet not available. But we can have some basic information of the livelihood pattern from the "Census of India—Paper No. 1 of 1962".

Census of India, 1951, *Volume V, Bihar—Part I Report*, p. 73.
†*Ibid.*
‡*Ibid*, Subsidiary Table XXX.

According to this the total population of the district in 1961 was 2,675,203 (1,351,149 males and 1,324 females). For economic purpose the population had been divided into two categories—Workers and Non-workers. Out of 1,351,149 males 806,075 were enumerated as workers and 545,074 male non-workers; whereas in females there were 597,191 workers and 726,863 non-workers. So according to 1961 census about 47 per cent of the population were non-workers. Further workers had been subdivided into nine occupational groups according to sex as follows*:—

	Males.	Females.
1. As cultivator	5,51,652	4,81,787
2. As agricultural labourers	66,427	57,969
3. In Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Plantations, Orchards and Allied Services.	39,659	12,159
4. At Household Industry	41,373	26,786
5. In Manufacturing other than Household Industry.	10,535	1,304
6. In Construction	2,400	69
7. In Trade and Commerce	22,171	3,020
8. Transport storage and communication ..	11,535	62
9. In other services	60,325	14,035

General Level of Prices and Wages.

Prices.

H. McPherson in the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Santal Parganas (1898—1907) in paragraph 119 has discussed about the prices. The prices of foodgrains during the last 40 years preceding the settlement operations appeared to have been marked by violent fluctuations. He has mentioned that fluctuations were more violent in the earlier years because communications were bad and prices were more severely affected by the vicissitudes of the season. The average monthly prices of common rice and the Indian corn which were the staple crops of the district were collected from 1868 to 1874 from MacDonell's "Foodgrain Supply and Famine Relief (1876)" and for later years from the *Calcutta Gazette*. Fluctuations were very violent from 1868-69 to 1888-89, when common rice ranged from 13 to 31 seers to the rupee and the Indian corn from 25½ to 67½ seers. The fluctuations of the last 20 years were within narrower

Census of India, Paper no. I of 1962, pp. 16—19.

limits. Rice ranged from 7½ to 21 seers and Indian corn from 15½ to 37½ seers per rupee. The decennial average prices were as follows :—

	Indian corn seers per rupee.		Common rice seers per rupee.	
	Seer.	Chs.	Seer.	Chs.
1868-69 to 1877-78	42	2	22	11
1878-79 to 1877—88	43	4	22	6
1888-89 to 1897-98	25	8	15	11
1898-99 to 1907-08	24	3	13	10

The whole period had been analysed as follows :—

"The first decade includes the famine year of 1873-74, when the highest price touched by rice was 9 seers per rupee in June, 1874. This decade also includes 1878 when the price of rice rose in the hot weather to 11 seers per rupee. Prices in the second decade were on the whole slightly lower than in the first, and rice never rose above 14 seers to the rupee. The lowest point was touched in 1882 when rice fell to 30 seers per rupee. A marked upward tendency in prices began from 1888. The lowest price during the third decade was 19 seers per rupee in 1895. The highest price was touched in the famine of 1897, when rice rose to 7 seers per rupee in the month of August. Prices have continued steadily to rise in the fourth decennial period. During the first half there were no very marked fluctuations, but in the last three years an extraordinary rise has been witnessed. Prices during the first six months of 1908 have been as high as they were in the famine of 1897 and higher than in the great famine of 1874. The price of Indian corn has risen and fallen very nearly *pari pasu* with the price of common rice."

The prices from 1905-06 to 1935-36 have been discussed in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) which mentions as follows :—

"The average prices (in seers and chitaks per rupee) of common rice, wheat, barley, gram, maize and salt at the headquarters

station of the district during the last fortnight of March during the last 30 years are given below:—

— —	Common rice.		Wheat.		Barley.		Gram.		Maize.		Salt.	
1	2		3		4		5		6		7	
	Sr.	Ch.	Sr.	Ch.	Sr.	Ch.	Sr.	Ch.	Sr.	Ch.	Sr.	Ch.
1905-06 ..	12	15	11	9	19	3	14	9	19	4	14	2
1906-07 ..	9	2	9	13	12	14	11	8	13	2	14	5
1907-08 ..	7	4	8	7	10	3	10	2	11	11	17	2
1908-09 ..	10	10	9	0	11	0	13	5	12	0	16	0
1909-10 ..	15	0	8	0	13	0	11	0	23	0	18	0
1910-11 ..	16	8	11	0	18	0	17	0	27	0	16	0
1911-12 ..	13	12	10	0	13	0	12	8	20	0	16	0
1912—15 ..	8	0	7	0	9	0	9	0	10	0	16	0
1917-18 ..	14	0	8	0	16	0	11	6	20	0	10	0
1919-20 ..	7	0	5	0	6	0	5	12	10	0	12	0
1920—22 ..	8	0	5	0	8	0	7	0	13	0	11	0
1922-23 ..	10	0	7	8	10	0	10	0	14	0	10	0
1923-24 ..	9	0	9	0	10	0	12	0	12	0	9	8
1924-25 ..	8	0	5	0	5	0	8	0	10	0	13	8
1925—28 ..	6	4	6	0	9	0	7	4	9	0	13	0
1928-29 ..	8	0	6	0	8	0	6	8	8	0	13	0
1929-30 ..	10	0	8	0	10	0	9	0	15	0	13	0
1930-31 ..	13	0	9	4	15	0	11	0	20	0	14	0
1931-32 ..	16	0	9	0	16	0	12	0	21	0	13	0
1932-33 ..	16	0	10	0	20	0	13	0	22	0	14	0
1933-34 ..	16	0	10	0	16	0	13	0	22	0	13	0
1934-35 ..	13	0	10	0	16	0	14	0	16	0	13	0
1935-36 ..	12	0	10	0	16	0	14	0	16	0	14	0

"The figures indicate the fluctuation of the price of common rice and maize which are the staple foods of the people. Excluding the good years of harvest, high prices ruled up till 1928-29 and considerably straitened the circumstances of persons living on small fixed incomes, but caused a marked rise in the wages of day labourers. The cultivators being able to dispose of their produce at better prices benefited by the rise. Since the economic depression set in the prices have gone down to such an extent that the agriculturists are feeling considerable difficulty in paying their rents and in purchasing other necessities of life.*"

The prices of the foodgrains recorded an abnormal rise during the decade 1941—50 which was caused due to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. The War closed the depression in prices. Ruling wholesale prices of the decade 1941—50 have been given (monthwise) in the *District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas*†. There was not much fluctuation in the first two years (i.e., in 1941 and 1942) as the price of medium rice ranged from Rs. 4-12 per maund to Rs. 9 per maund. The fluctuation seems more violent in 1943 when the common rice ranged from Rs. 8 per maund in January-February to Rs. 26 per maund in July and August which was the highest during the decade. The price came down to Rs. 12 per maund in December, 1943. The average prices (in maund) of medium rice, wheat (red) and gram from 1941 to 1950 are given below. The average for the year has been calculated from the monthly price given in the *District Census Handbook* based on 1951 census :—

Year.	Rice (medium)			Wheat (red).			Gram.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1941	5	4	0	..			‡4	1	2½
1942	6	3	9	..			5	1	4
1943	15	10	1	17	15	0	12	1	5
1944	11	9	8	16	0	3	11	0	8
1945	10	12	·0	..			10	4	0
1946	13	6	0	13	0	0	10	10	0
1947	16	3	4	19	0	0	15	0	0
1948	18	10	0	25	0	0	14	2	0
1949	17	6	4	23	10	0	16	3	4
1950	17	1	4	21	1	4	15	5	2

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 254-255.

†*District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas for* 1951, published in 1956, pp.174-75.

‡Calculation was made on the basis of figures available of the last five months.

The price index of the decade 1941—50, as is evident from the above statement, shows that there had been more than three times increase in the common rice. Price of wheat remained higher than rice throughout the period. Except for two years, the price of wheat during the War period is not available in the above table but from the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* quoted previously it appears that from 1932-33 to 1935-36 wheat in Dumka, the district headquarters, was sold at Rs. 4 per maund. In 1944 the price of wheat ranged from Rs. 15 to Rs. 19 per maund but in 1946 fell to Rs. 13 per maund. The unprecedented rise in the price of wheat began from July, 1947 when it was sold at Rs. 24 per maund. Henceforward the price of wheat remained high as it ranged from Rs. 20 to Rs. 28 per maund. Gram was sold in 1935-36 at Dumka at 14 seers per rupee or at Rs. 2-13-6 per maund but in 1941 the price ranged from Rs. 4 to Rs. 4-7 per maund.

It may be mentioned that in spite of price control measures and supervision the prices could not be controlled. On the one hand a large quantity of rice was officially sent out from the district to meet the demand in the other districts and particularly to the heavy industries centres, and on the other hand there were reasons to believe that there was a regular smuggling of rice through waterways, roadways and railways. It is always difficult to control smuggling by the waterways. Portions of the neighbouring State of Bengal were very badly affected by scarcity, particularly in the first four years of the decade. Certain smugglers, mostly women used to travel almost everyday by train with a quantity of rice and go to Bhagalpur and Rampurhat areas for sale. Jamtara subdivision which grows a large quantity of rice, was also the scene of operation by these smugglers. A big quantity of rice used to be smuggled out through railway stations from Jamtara side. It was rice which was mainly smuggled out for there was not much demand for wheat outside the district. Within the district also wheat was not a popular item of food and used to remain occasionally unsold in the fair price shops that grew out of price control measures.

The Government sponsored a large number of fair price shops in the urban areas. These price shops used to be supplied with grains by the Government and the licensees were required to sell at controlled prices. Government godowns were started and grains were procured from outside the district as well. The State was treated as a whole for the supply of essential commodities and large-scale procurement was made from the surplus districts.

The pumping of foodgrains and the insistence on the sale of the essential grains and other commodities like kerosene oil, sugar,

etc., had also the objective to bring about a parity between the controlled prices and the ruling prices in shops, other than the fair price shops. This objective, however, was not attained mainly because the quantity of grains at the fair price shops was not always adequate and there used to be a time-lag between the depletion and supply of the stock at the fair price shops. It was seldom that a family could entirely depend for its needs on the fair price shops. Commodities in the open market had to be purchased from time to time and the ruling prices were usually higher than the controlled prices.

The decade 1951—60 also witnessed a rise in prices. The factors which were mainly responsible for the rise in prices were both international and local. The cloud of the possibility of the Third World War, the Korean War and the cold war between two great powers of the world were some of the international factors.

The local causes were occasional inadequate rainfall, failure of *Hathia* rains in some particular years and inflation prices due to large-scale development activities according to the Five-Year Plan. The displacement of a large number of villagers and their rehabilitation in other villages in Raneshwar area due to the implementation of Mayurakshi Dam Project were also local causes. These displaced villagers had to be given large compensation, which brought in a somewhat inflation in the prices. The prices of important commodities shot up appreciably in this period. There were scarcity conditions more or less throughout Bihar in 1951 and 1957 due to the complete failure of *Hathia* rains. These necessitated Governmental intervention to check the rising prices of foodgrains. The Bihar Agricultural Levy Order, 1950, had to be proclaimed and a large quantity of rice was collected from the large producers and licensed dealers. The Bihar Miller Rice Procurement (Levy) Order was subsequently imposed, according to which mill owners and dealers were required to deliver 25 to 50 per cent of their production to Government at the rate of Rs. 16 per maund for standard medium rice.

Besides procurement Government also took measures to regulate the distribution of foodgrains through fair price shops on the basis of printed ration cards. The details of the fair price shops have been covered in the chapter on "Banking, Trade and Commerce".

Since 1958 somewhat normal condition has prevailed in the district. The prices of the important wholesale commodities in the different centres of Santal Parganas on the 2nd February, 1962 were as follows* :—

(In maund.)

Name of centre.	Paddy.	Rice.	Wheat (white).	Gram.	Maize.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dumka	12.25	22	22	19	13
Deoghar	12.25	22.50	20.50	17.50	14.50
Pakaur	11.25	24	19	15.12	14.50
Godda	14.20	21.20	21.16	16.40	16.00
Jamtara	12	20.87	20	18	..
Sahibganj	12	22	18	18	13

The retail prices on the same day were as follows :—

Name of centre.	Paddy.	Rice.	Wheat.	Gram	Maize.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	N.P.	N.P.	N.P.	N.P.	N.P.
Dumka	34	62	62	56	37
Deoghar	31	62	56	50	41
Pakaur	23	44	53	41	25
Godda	31	56	..	47	37
Jamtara	31	53	56	47	N.A.
Sahibganj	33	56	50	50	37

It appears from the above statement that the price level of food-grain was still high.

*Obtained from the office of the District Agriculture Officer, Dumka.

Wages.

Regarding wages the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* has mentioned as follows:—

"The following table shows the rates of daily wages paid for different classes of labour during the years 1895—1936:—

Year.	Masons.	Carpenters.	Coolie (Male-adult).	Coolie (Female-adult).
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1895	0 4 0 to 0 8 3	0 4 0 to 0 8 9	0 2 3 to 0 2 6	0 1 6
1900	0 2 6 to 0 10 0	0 2 6 to 0 10 0	0 2 0 to 0 3 0	0 1 3 to 0 1 6
1906	0 2 6 to 0 10 0	0 2 6 to 0 10 0	0 2 0 to 0 3 6	0 2 0 to 0 3 0
1909	0 5 0 to 0 12 0	0 5 0 to 0 10 0	0 2 0 to 0 3 0	0 1 6 to 0 2 0
1920	0 4 0 to 0 12 0	0 4 0 to 0 12 0	0 3 0 to 0 7 0	0 2 6 to 0 4 0
1924	0 6 0 to 0 14 0	0 6 3 to 0 14 0	0 3 6 to 0 6 0	0 2 0 to 0 4 0
1929	0 8 0 to 1 0 0	0 8 0 to 1 0 0	0 4 0 to 0 6 0	0 3 0 to 0 7 0
1936	0 8 0 to 0 12 0	0 8 0 to 0 12 0	0 2 6 to 0 4 0	0 2 0 to 0 3 0

"Up to 1929 there has been a steady rise in the wage paid for labour largely owing to the increasing demand for labourers caused by the extension of building operations specially in Madhupur and Deoghar, and also by the working of collieries in Deoghar, Jamtara, stone quarries in Pakaur and Rajmahal. The rates of wages have come down since October, 1930 when the economic depression set and the lac market collapsed. Up till 1925, the system of paying labourers in kind was

common, particularly in the case of landless labouring cultivators called *Krishans* to whom the owners of the land used to give one-third of the produce, the lessor supplying the seeds and ploughs and the actual cultivator supplying the labour. Mr. Davies as Settlement Officer investigated and exposed the hidden evils of this *Krishani* system and it has been decided by Government that where the actual cultivator bears the whole or any considerable part of the risk of vicissitudes of the season he is a sub-lessee and not a labourer and sub-lease on produce rent is illegal alienation and both the lessor and the lessee are liable to eviction under section 27 (3) of Regulation III of 1872. Infringement of the well-established principle of Santal Parganas Tenancy Law that rent cannot be recovered at higher than settlement rates from the person in cultivating possession, nor any system, which would tender to foster the exploitation of the actual cultivators by middlemen is not countenanced. Raiyats who desire to preserve their raiyati rights intact must cultivate their lands themselves or by hired labour, which does not cover the system of cultivation known as *Krishani.**"

From the above statement it appears that wages given in the table were of the non-agricultural labourers. Before 1925, the system of paying labourers in kind was common, particularly in the case of landless labouring cultivators due to the prevalence of the *Krishani* system.

Among the agricultural labourers the ploughmen are very important. The daily wages of a ploughman was 3 annas in 1916 as against 4 annas in 1924. The unskilled labourer was both paid in cash and kind. The daily wages of an unskilled labourer when paid in kind were 2 seers 4 chhataks of grain valued at annas 2 in 1916 as against 3 seers valued at annas 3 in 1924. The cash wages of the unskilled labourer were 3 annas in 1916 and 5 annas in 1924†. There is no parity and the wide gap between cash and kind wages of the unskilled labourer seems to be inexplicable. The districtwise wages for agricultural operations are not available in the *Bihar Statistical Handbooks* published

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 251-253.
†*Bihar Statistical Handbook*, 1953.

in 1955, 1956 and 1957. But from the figures of the whole Bihar State it appears that the wage of a ploughmen remained unchanged till 1938-39 but in 1949-50 it rose to 13 annas 8 pies. In 1963 the wages of a ploughmen in Santal Parganas varied from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 1-8.

The Bihar Statistical Handbooks have given the wages of field labourers from 1953 to 1957 as follows * :—

Year.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a p.	Rs. a. p.
1953	1 9 7	1 1 7	0 13 1
1954	1 8 9	1 1 0	0 12 2
1955	1 9 3	1 1 3	0 12 10
1956	1 9 5	1 1 5	0 12 11
1957	1.6 nP.	1·18 nP.	0·83 nP.

The field labourers have not been enumerated, but field labour consists of those who are engaged in ploughing, embanking, harrowing, manuring, transplanting etc.

Besides field labourers there are "other agricultural labourers" who have however, not been defined in the Bihar Statistical Handbook. They appear to be casual workers for lighter work, such as sowing, weeding, etc.

Year.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1953	1 1 7	0 13 7	0 11 1
1954	1 1 0	0 12 10	0 10 8
1955	1 1 3	0 13 3	0 10 0
1956	1 1 4	0 13 4	0 10 11
1957	1.25 nP.	0.92 nP.	0.68 nP.

Herdsmen are not engaged on daily wages. The monthly wages of a herdsman was Re. 1 in 1956 and Rs. 1.28 nP. in 1957 for men, Rs. 1.15 nP. for women and Re. 1 for children in 1957. They usually look after a flock of cattle collected from different household and the wages are usually meant for one animal.

**Bihar Statistical Handbooks, 1955 and 1957.*

The Bihar Statistical Handbook has mentioned carpenters, blacksmiths and cobblers as skilled labourers within the category of agricultural labourers. These skilled men offer their services on hire for both agricultural and non-agricultural work. The wages of the skilled labourers were enumerated from 1953 to 1957 as follows :—

Year.	Carpenter.	Blacksmith	Cobblers.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1953	2 9 8	2 8 0	2 0 0
1954	2 9 6	2 9 6	2 0 0
1955	2 9 10	2 7 4	2 0 0
1956	2 9 7	2 8 0	2 0 0
1957	2.57 nP.	2.53 nP.	1.96 nP.

From local enquiry it was gathered that there is not much variation in the wages of the carpenters, blacksmiths and cobblers in the urban areas. The majority of the towns of the district are semi-urban and semi-rural. In skilled labourers the cobblers get less wages than the other two.

A comparative study of the level of prices and wages given earlier will reveal that both have increased considerably. The level of both prices and wages remained practically unchanged till 1936. The decade 1941—50, as stated before, witnessed considerable rise in consumer's price which led also to an increase in the level of wages. The consumer's price had increased about eight fold from the 1936 level while the wages of the field labourers about five to six fold. So in the strict sense the real wages of the labourers have not increased in commensurate with the rise in prices of the consumer's goods.

Wages in non-agricultural sectors—A local enquiry was conducted in January, 1963 by the Gazetteers' Revision Section at Chitra collieries. It was found that there were three categories of workers male, female and children.

The fixed rate of cutting and loading one *gadda* of coal (i.e. 64 maunds) is Rs. 18. The rate for dust cleaning is Rs. 7 and for loading Rs. 4 per *gadda*. The average daily wages of a male worker come to Rs. 2 to Rs. 3, of female worker Re. 1 to Rs. 1.50 nP. and of children 75 nP. The workers are generally found to work in family group and the average monthly income of a family as based upon the study of 20 families is between Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per month. The average size of a family was 5 out of which 3 were earners and 2 dependents. The employment in those

collieries was found to be seasonal. These workers worked elsewhere, particularly in agricultural operations in other seasons.

The motor transport services have two categories of workers—skilled and unskilled. The monthly wages of a driver are from Rs. 90 to Rs. 100, of a mechanic Rs. 110 to Rs. 140, of a cleaner Rs. 20 to Rs. 35 plus food, and of a conductor Rs. 75 to Rs. 90. The monthly salary of a manager is from Rs. 80 to Rs. 140.

In Engineering works the daily wage of a fitter is from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3, of hammerman and woodturner from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 1-11, drillman Rs. 2-3, moulderman from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3-8, and the labour Rs. 1-8. The machineman gets from Rs. 70 to Rs. 80, clerk 60 to 85, and *jamadar* from Rs. 35 to 43 per month.

The workers of the rice, flour and oil mills are mostly employed on monthly wage basis. The monthly wage of a manager is from Rs. 80 to Rs. 120, clerk from Rs. 55 to Rs. 125, engine-driver from Rs. 60 to 65, fireman and boiler khalasi Rs. 45. The monthly wage of other workers varies between Rs. 45 to Rs. 80.

The wages of the unskilled workers in Pakaur, Sahibganj and Jamtara stone quarries are from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 1-6 per day. The machine fitter gets from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2, and the *sardar* Rs. 1-8 per day.

The wages given in the non-agricultural sectors will reveal that they do not differ widely from the agricultural sectors. It is mainly because Santal Parganas is not an industrialised district in the proper sense.

Standard of Living.

Material condition of the People.

The historical background of the material condition of the people is of importance to appreciate the section standard of living. In this connection Mcpherson's Survey and Settlement Operations Report (1898-1907), paragraph 120, which dwells on the material condition of the people, is worthy of mention. He had made an analytical discussion of the subject. He had analysed the growth of population *vis-a-vis* the extension of cultivation. In the duration of the last 30 years the population had increased by 44 per cent while cultivation extended by 66 per cent and the extension was greater in the superior than in the inferior grades

of land. The next question which he considered was whether the cultivator's share of the produce was greater or less than before. He had mentioned that while rents had enhanced by 54 per cent, prices had risen about 70 per cent. In other words, though the cultivators had to pay more rupees in shape of rents, these rupees represented a smaller share of the produce than was taken by landlords thirty years ago. On the basis of this Mcpherson had inferred that the condition of the peasantry had doubly improved. He had compared the then standard of comfort with that of Wood's time and found 30 per cent improvement in the standard of comfort spread over 30 years. The factors which were responsible for the improvement, in his opinion were unhampered extension of cultivation, the controlled enhancement of rent and the protection afforded to ignorant indigenous cultivators from the advanced races around him by the Santal Parganas legislation.

Further he had analysed the material condition of the people from another set of facts. In paragraph 76 he estimated that the average cultivating family had a holding of 7 acres, paying a rent of Rs. 7-8. The produce of average holding was estimated at Rs. 150, after deducting rent, seed and cost of cultivation which amounted to Rs. 50, a cultivator saved Rs. 100 per annum to support his family and to square with his *mahajan.* The Regulation III of 1872 made a limit in interest and the agrarian system effectively kept the money-lenders off the land. They are protected against *mahajans* by section 6 of Regulation III of 1872, which lays down (1) that interest on any debt or liability for a period exceeding one year should not be decreed at a higher rate than 2 per cent per mensem, and no compound interest arising from any intermediate adjustment of accounts should be decreed ; (2) that the total interest decreed on any loan or debt should never exceed one-fourth of the principal sum if the period be not more than one year, and should not in any other case exceed the principal of the original debt or loan. The Santals and other aboriginals were further secured in the possession of their lands by a provision of law prohibiting the transfer of *raiyoti* rights.

Mcpherson came to the conclusion that 100 years of British rule had completely changed the face of the country. He had compared some of the places like Manihari *tappa,* Lakardewani, Ambar and Sultanabad, and Rajmahal with Buchanan's time and had mentioned about the extension of cultivation in those places. Regarding Damin-i-Koh Mcpherson had mentioned that "of the 1,350 square miles now included in the Damin-i-Koh, 700 square miles are under cultivation and there is a population of nearly 4,00,000 which finds a subsistence within the pillars of the estate".

The old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) had discussed the material condition of the people on the pattern set by Mcpherson. After quoting Mcpherson and discussing the general improvement of land under cultivation it has mentioned that "the cheap grain crops being maize and rice, the double staple reduces the risk of famine. The holdings of the *raiyots* are adequate, the average area of *raiyoti* holdings for which separate rents have been settled at the last revision settlement (1922—35) being 5.3 acres with rent of Rs. 6-12-0 and the average area of the village headman's *nij jote* (private holdings) is 20.7 acres. It is only natural to find that the average headman's *jote* is about four times the size of the average *raiyoti* holding, for headman is selected from the wealthier and more influential *raiyots* of the village".*

The publication of the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee Report (1938) synchronising with publication of the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* had discussed the economic condition and rents in Chapter XI. The Committee was of the view that it was impossible to obtain any statistics to show the total amount of indebtedness in the district. It had discussed the incidence of indebtedness by taking into consideration the marked rise in rent suits which shed reflection of the former. During the period 1920 to 1929 rent suits averaged about 6,000 a year, excluding the rent suits dealt with by the Settlement Courts. The total average incidence of rent suits during that period did not exceed 7,500 including both Civil and Settlement Courts. From 1929 onwards the figures began to rise and reached 15,443 in 1933, 12,496 in 1935 and 15,234 and 17,575 in 1935 and 1936 respectively. Arrears of rent were heavy all over the district. The number of rent suits decreed against *pradhans* was never less than 2,200 in any of the last five years. The arrears of revenue in the Damin-i-Koh also rose from Rs. 153,324 in the last three years to Rs. 376,575, in 1938. It is reported that prior to 1930 large arrears in the Damin-i-Koh were unknown.

The Committee discussed the close connection of the vagaries of rainfall with the economic condition. The classes most affected were the landless labourers and the poorer cultivators who had no stock of food to fall back on. The Committee had been constituted in 1938 and had before them the picture of depression from 1930 onwards marked by a general fall in prices, the collapse of the lac industry, failure of crops in 1935 and 1936.

The Committee differed from H. Mcpherson's estimate of the produce from the three classes of *dhani* lands as mentioned in

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**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), page 257.

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paragraph 116 of the Final Report of Santal Parganas Survey and Settlement Operations as over-estimate. The Committee accepted the corresponding figure in the revision settlement which mentioned the produce for class I, class II and class III *dhani* lands at 22, 18 and 8 maunds respectively.

The Committee thought that the increase in rental of about 30 per cent in non-Damin area and about 40 per cent in the Damin area brought about by the revision settlement was another cause of economic deterioration. A large part of the increase in rental took place after the depression had set in, the collapse of the lac industry and the introduction of the outstill system.

The inalienability of a Santal's land was a handicap to obtain easy credit and let to dubious measures for evasions.

The Committee observed :—"Since the raiyat can neither mortgage nor sublet, the *mahajans* in some cases given possession of the holding as *Bhaolidar* illegally and in other cases he takes *de facto* possession of the holding and the raiyat cultivators for the *Bhaoli*. Both these processes are illegal, but many witnesses have told us that it is becoming very common, especially in the Damin-i-Koh. We are informed that in some cases the *mahajans*, although they have no legal status have been allowed to pay the rent and in other cases the *mahajan* enjoys the holding or the best part of it and leaves the *raiyat* to pay the rent if he can. In normal times it has not been difficult for the cultivators to obtain loans from *mahajan*, because the raiyat in Santal Parganas has had the reputation of being a good payer, but, since the depresssion has become general and the ability of the *raiyat* to repay has diminished, the *mahajans* are much more shy of advancing money except under the illegal arrangement described above."

The Committee did not go minutely into the credit facilities offered by the co-operative. Complaints were made before the the Committee that the interest charged by the co-operative was high and realisation was done strictly. To the Santals the co-operatives were almost as bad as the *mahajans*. Their opinion was that the co-operative movement had not taken root and required remodelling.

Regarding the grain *golas* the Committee observed that the method of storing different kinds of grains in one receptacle was bad and the seed loan was usually given in mixed grain from the grain *golas* which again had to be exchanged at a loss for the particular kind of seed required. The village grain *golas* were recommended to be run by the *Pradhans*.

The Committee was against the extension of the Bihar Money Lenders Act, 1938 either in supersession of or as a supplement to section 6 of the Regulation III. But this recommendation was not accepted and the Act was enforced.

The Committee concluded that the average rent for the whole district was Rs. 1-2-2 per acre. The rates for rent in Santal Parganas were higher than those of Ranchi and Manbhum and lesser than the rates in Hazaribagh and Palamau. The Committee thought the rents were not low but they could not definitely be described as high. But the Committee felt that the rent level was not the prime cause of the current difficulty as arrears of rent were as heavy in the Damin-i-Koh which had the average rent of 13 annas 3 pies per acre.

When the Committee deliberated in 1938 the density of the population was 376 per square mile and characterised it as heavy. The density according to 1961 census had gone up to 481 per square mile and also a rise in the population from 20,50,258 in 1931 census to 26,75,203 in 1961 census.

The Committee felt that there must be an economic development in the district by an expansion of education, improvement of agriculture and irrigation, revival of lac industry and development of village industry. The Committee had suggested that the Development Block should be constituted to look after the economic programme.

The report of Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee gives us a clear picture of the economic trends in the district 25 years before. It may be mentioned here that the lines indicated for the economic development have been, more or less, followed and have been particularly emphasised in the programme of Five-Year Plan. Some success has been achieved as will be seen later excepting the revival of lac industry as its fate does not depend on local causes.

Among the changes in the factors of main sources of livelihood, agriculture is the most important.

Regarding the extension of cultivation there has been a discussion in the text on Agriculture and Irrigation. The settlement report figures of cultivation are some what different and are confusing if the figures given in the District Census Handbook for Santal Parganas (1951) are to be accepted. Confining ourselves to the figures given in the District Census Handbook for Santal Parganas (1951), there had been a somewhat extension of cultivation.* The average net area sown in 1931 was 1,623,680

District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas (1951) P. 160.

acres as against 1,628,260 acres in 1941 and rose to 1,667,003 acres in 1951. Without going into the question of actual increase in the yield through the extension of cultivation, it may be mentioned that the simultaneous increase in the population of the district from decade to decade has nullified the effects of the extension of cultivation to a great extent. In 1941 census there was an increase of 9 per cent and 1951 census recorded a further increase of 3.9 per cent. The last census 1961 had recorded a remarkable increase of 15.21 per cent over 1951 population. The main agricultural economy of the district had continued almost unimpaired.

The average size of agricultural holding mentioned in the last Survey and Settlement Report and the revision survey was 7 and 5.3 acres respectively. The size of the average agricultural holdings and the quality of cultivation, coupled with the quantity of the produce will determine to a great extent the standard of living for the agricultural classes that formed the bulk of the population. There have been no further survey and settlement operations and data for coming to a correct conclusion as to the size of the average holding at the present moment are not available. There are reasons to believe that the average size has undergone diminution for various reasons social and economic. This finds support in a sample survey results mentioned in the District Census Handbook of Santal Parganas (1951), published in 1956 at page 161. According to this sample survey which cannot, however, be very accurate, 689 out of 1,000 agricultural holdings surveyed were found to be less than 3 acres. Out of 689 holdings again as many as 267 holdings were found to be up to 50 acres. The number of holdings exceeding 5 acres and up to 10 acres was only 119.

The average size of the holding at the moment may be described as small and uneconomic. This finds support also in the Census Report for Bihar.* It is held there that the size of the economic holding is about 5 acres. The conclusion is based on the argument as follows :—

It is, therefore, more or less certain, that the figures given above tend to exaggerate to some extent the small size of holdings, using the term holdings in its economic and not legal sense as meaning the net area of land held by one person. We can form some idea of the actual position by correlating the population figures of owner-cultivators and agricultural rent receivers and the statistics relating to net cultivated area. **The total population

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*Census of India 1951, Vol. V. Bihar, Part I, Report.
**Census of India, 1951, Vol. V, Bihar, Part I, Report.

of owner-cultivators and the agricultural rent receivers in the district in 1951 was 900,177 and the net cultivated areas as mentioned before 1,667,003 acres. The average size of a family was assumed at 3.5 persons.* Calculated on this basis, the average size of holdings, using the term in its economic sense, works out to about 6 acres as against 5 acres in the State of Bihar. There is hardly any marked difference in the size of holdings (5.3 acres) given in the revision settlement and this figure. But since revision settlement had taken the term "holdings" in the legal sense no actual comparison can be made.

The irrigational facilities existing now have been discussed elsewhere. Major irrigational facilities were almost totally absent before 1951. The impact of the irrigational facilities of various description has not yet been assessed. But the impact till now will not be as considerable as to improve the standard of living.

In this connection the Community Development Blocks may be mentioned. They have also been separately described. The impact of the integrated scheme of C.D. Project does not appear to have been great.

Our conclusion is that agriculture also has not been able to bring in any marked improvement in the standard of living. If there has been any improvement in standard of living of the bulk of the population this has been due to the employment chances in avenues other than agriculture. Emigration is quite popular in this district. The Santals love to emigrate in particular seasons and find good wages for reaping the crops in many of the districts of Bihar and West Bengal. The collieries in Bihar and West Bengal absorb a sizeable Santal population. The various giant projects at Durgapur, Rourkela, Bhilai, etc. have got sprinklings of Santals. The tea districts in Assam and North Bengal had a larger exodus of people of this district in the earlier years and the flow still continues although in a slightly abated form. The Post Offices in the district receive a very large amount of money through money order sent from outside. A remarkable fact is that the indigenous population of the district has very great attachment to their hearth and home and they almost invariably come back to their villages. The Santals particularly have brought back a high standard of life which they have imbibed from beyond the limits of the district. The Santals that have gone out of the district are easily marked out by their better dress and mode of living. The Christian Missions have also helped in improving the standard of their life. Industrialisation has started although in a very small manner.

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*Census of India, 1951 Vol. V, Bihar, Part I, Report, Subsidiary Table 6.2.

Village industries are sought to be improved. It is, broadly speaking, to those factors that we have to look for the reasons for the improvement of the standard of living.

The Land Revenue Administration reports published by the Government of Bihar will give us some ideas of the material condition of the people from 1937-38 onwards.

The indigenous weaving industry appears to be in a flourishing condition. The use of improved fly-shuttle looms especially by the weavers of the Damin bungalow in Rajmahal subdivision accelerated the rate of production. There was a considerable demand of these indigenous goods. It appears that weaving was mostly done by the non-Santals but improved method of weaving was taught to the Santals at Benagaria Mission. Lac market appears to have been dull throughout the period from 1937-38 to 1945-46. From 1947-48 to 1951-52 the shellac industry thrived well in Pakaur and Rajmahal subdivisions. Lac industry has declined again as the demand from abroad has declined and there is not much demand within the country.

The stone industries at Pakaur and Rajmahal have shown improvement. This is due to their great demand outside the district. The stone business provides employment to a large number of labourers. The Kaolin factory at Mangal *hat* appears to have worked well throughout the period. The export of *sabai* grass to the Titagarh Paper Mills had increased from 1937-38. The development of this industry brought considerable income to the Paharias and *Mahajans* of Rajmahal. The export of *sabai* grass fell abruptly in 1940-41 due to deficient rainfall. In 1943-44 and 1944-45 the outturn was approximately 2½ lakh maunds. This industry was in a neglected condition in 1951-52 outwards. Now the *sabai* grass industry is under the Forest Department and is likely to improve again. *Sabai* grass industry has been discussed elsewhere. Collieries in the Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions and coalpits in the Dumka, Godda and Pakaur subdivisions have continued to work and employ a good number of labourers. This employment is seasonal in most of the collieries which are more of surface collieries.

The small cottage industries viz., making wooden furniture, manufacturing *biris*, ropes, basket, tiles and brick making and rearing of poultry are popular among the Santals.

These industries give employment to a large number of people who have learnt to live in better condition. The trade and commerce prospects have also improved. These aspects have been discussed elsewhere. All these factors have contributed to the improvement of the standard of life.

Another factor which has had a considerable impact on the standard of life is the growing incidence of urbanisation. Details will be found in the text on people. Sherwill in his report* mentions that there were only four principal towns and villages. Sherwill further mentions that the housing conditions in the villages were confined to huts of straw and reeds only. He mentions that the only communication roads were village tracks and the only high road was the one which passed through Deoghar to Jagarnath (Puri) in Orissa. Another road from Deoghar to Sury (Suri) has been mentioned. The changes since 1855 when Sherwill wrote are quite apparent. Some of the larger villages in the district are on the way of becoming townships. Villages with prominent brick and cement buildings are quite common. The roads are now carrying thousands of passengers every day in cars and buses. Carrier trucks are rushing about and have helped trade and commerce. The development of communications has brought in larger places like Calcutta nearer. The improvement to the standard of life is largely due to these circumstances.

Unemployment

Unemployment is a vital problem in any discussion of the economic trends of a district particularly if the economy is mainly agricultural. The Bihar Unemployment Committee in 1954 had partially gone into this question and in its report (Vol.I, 1959) the results of the discussions are indicated. The committee had looked into the question of unemployment in Deoghar, a class III town. The total population of Deoghar in 1951 census was 25,510. The estimated population in 1954 was reported to be 26,811. The estimated number of families covering the estimated population was 2,683, out of which 185 families were surveyed. The sample population surveyed in these families consisted of 1,849 persons, made out of 1,012 males and 837 females. This showed that there were 10 persons per family.

Within the employable age groups of 16 to 60 the committee found 565 males and 509 females, being 52.6 per cent and 47.4 per cent of each sex respectively or about 58.8 per cent of the total sample population. The rest were children, boys and girls below 16 or old men above 60.

Regarding the incidence of urban unemployment and under-employment of Deoghar town the committee as mentioned before had taken 185 sample families ; out of this as many as 94 families were affected by unemployment or under-employment. The number of wholly unemployed persons was 109 out of which 101 were

* *Geographical and Statistical Report of the District of Beerbhoom*, by Capt. W. S. Sherwill, Revenue Surveyor, published in 1855, p.3-10.

males and 8 females while the number of partially unemployed persons was 57 males. There was no partially unemployed female within the sample surveyed families. It was calculated that about 19 per cent males and about 0.2 per cent females were wholly unemployed while about 10 per cent males were partially unemployed.

The incidence of unemployment among the women if the above is true, is very low. But here it has to be mentioned as the committee has observed that "the quest for jobs among women is not as yet strong". The women are mostly uneducated and do the household work. Even the educated girl of a respectable family does not usually seek employment un ess there is financial need. The same committee also made a sample survey of 25 villages out of which 22 were covered. In all these 22 sampled villages the committee found the number of 1,185 families in them or at an average of 53.9 per village. The corresponding number of villages given in 1951 census for Santal Parganas was 11,522 and the number of household 4,34,518 which worked out at 37.7 households per village. This difference was, as the committee had observed, because "our concept of family was different from that of household adopted in the census of 1951. The groups of persons having a common kitchen was considered to constitute a family irrespective of the relationship among the members". The number of households per village as gathered from the report is the lowest in the State of Bihar.

In the section livelihood pattern we have already discussed the agricultural classes. The Committee had also discussed livelihood pattern. Since there is no marked difference in figures of self-supporting cultivators from what we have discussed it is of no use to give the same figures here. But the committee had taken other valuable information. It had recorded the size of sustenance holdings at 8 acres and found such holding to be 261.5 per thousand holdings. The committee had estimated redundant farm population at 376.6 per thousand. It accounts for about 37.6 per cent redundant population in agriculture. From this it can be said that about one-third of the farm population is superfluous and could be usefully employed provided there are employment chances.

The committee had conducted an urban educated unemployment survey and observed that the educated unemployment in the towns of Bihar is acute. Separate figures for Deoghar, a class III town, are not given. The survey indicated that out of 4,716 families surveyed in all the 15 towns, the heads of 999 families i.e. 21.2 per cent were in the educated group. Out of families affected by unemployment 9.7 per cent were in the educated group.

The survey further indicated for the whole of Bihar that while 17 per cent of the unemployed and 4.35 per cent of the partially employed were Matriculates, the number of persons with higher qualifications among the partially employed was less than one per cent of each category. But of those while unemployed 6.79 per cent were Intermediates, 5.01 per cent Graduates and 0.75 per cent were Post-Graduates. Persons holding degree in Commerce, Law and so on accounted for about 2 per cent of the unemployed.

One more significant feature has been brought out by this survey. It is this that 2 families with persons who are Intermediate, 2 Graduates and some others with engineering and legal qualifications are in the lowest income group earning Rs. 50 or less per family per month. From this, it is clear that unless the economy as a whole expands and purchasing power and productivity increase mere imparting of technical and vocational education would not by itself solve the problem of unemployment.

The summary of the observations of the committee as given above applies to the State of Bihar generally and there is no particular mention of the exclusive trends if any within the district of Santal Parganas. However, the observations have their relevancy for Santal Parganas also.

The unemployment problem discussed above on the findings of the Bihar Unemployment Committee (1959) does not definitely lead us to make a conclusion as to the actual incidence of unemployment in the district. Some information could be had from the Employment Exchange but the Exchange also has its limitations. Very few of the unemployed go in for registration at the Employment Exchange.

The following statement will show the number of unemployed persons registered at the District Employment Exchange, Dumka during the quarter ending January-March, 1961, classified according to industrial origin :—

Industrial Division.	No. of persons registered.			Percentage of the total.
	Male.	Female.	Total.	
1. Agriculture, livestock and hunting.	73	6	79	14.0
2. Mining and quarrying ..	..	..	..	..
3. Manufacturing	1	..	1	0.2
4. Construction	4	..	4	0.7

Industrial Division.	No. of persons registered.			Percentage of the total.
	Male.	Female.	Total.	
5. Electricity, Gas Water and Sanitary Services.	2	..	2	0.4
6. Trade and Commerce ..	2	..	2	0.4
7. Transport, storage and communication.	4	..	4	0.7
8. Services	23	..	23	4.1
9. New entrants to the Employment Market.	442	7	449	79.5
Total	551	13	564	100.0

It is gathered that as many as 463 applicants were registered during the preceding quarter, *i.e.*, October-December, 1960. The reasons for this increase was due to chances of employment in Census Tabulation Office and in the Health Department.

The table indicates that 79.5 per cent of the applicants registering with the Employment Exchange were new entrants to the market and 14.0 per cent were those who were formerly engaged in agriculture and had apparently registered with the Employment Exchange in order to seek non-agricultural jobs. This suggests the trend of shift from one occupation to another, if necessary. The increase of urban population from 4.17 per cent in 1951 to 5.33 per cent in 1961 would also suggest that there may be a shift of agricultural population to non-agricultural pursuits.

Sources of Labour Supply

There are observations in the text on people regarding labour supply. In absence of major industries there has been a considerable emigration. The tea gardens of Assam and Bengal have had a great attraction for the Santals and Paharias. The Tea District Labour Supply Agency, Dumka, under a Superintendent, used to supply a large number of labourers to Assam and Bengal. But due to statutory restrictions imposed, the Agency ceased to function from 1953. A good number of labourers even now continue to go to the neighbouring districts in West Bengal, at the time of paddy transplantation and harvesting.

The district has enough of man-power within the district for supply of labour. The district, however, is poor for supply of skilled labour in whatever few industries there are and skilled labour has come from outside. There is, as we have seen, an abundance of redundant farm-labourers in the district.

FAMILY BUDGET

URBAN

The cost of the living index of the families of different income-groups suggests the standard of living. No such systematic survey has been conducted in Santal Parganas. The section on the "Material Condition of the People" in the last Survey and Settlement Reports (1898-1907), the Old District Gazetteer of Santal Pargans (1938) or the brochures of the Department of Statistics, Bihar have not covered the cost of living index of any place in the district. A rapid survey of 30 families has been conducted by Gazetteer Revision Section in Dumka, the district headquarters. The study has been confined to the families of four income-groups below Rs. 100, Rs. 100 to Rs. 200, Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 and Rs. 300 to Rs. 400.

It is essential to have an idea of the average size of the family of each income-group. Out of the 30 families surveyed 12 belong to the income-group below Rs. 100 (the average family size of this group comes to 6.5); 9 families belong to the income-group Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 (the size of the family is 7.1); 4 families belong to the income-group Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 (the size of the family of this group is 6.25); and 5 families belong to the income-group Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 (the average size of the family of this group comes to 8.6).

On field investigation the average monthly income of the first income group has been calculated at Rs. 58.78; of the second at Rs. 149.16; of the third at Rs. 255.78 and of the fourth at Rs. 350.

From the data collected the following statement regarding the monthly family budget of each income-group has been compiled :—

Income group.	Food including fuel.	Clothing and washing.	Beverage.	Education.	Medical and Recreation.	Housing and rental.	Miscellaneous.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Below Rs. 100	53. 69	5.61	2.96	2.0	1.46	9.65	2.17
2. Rs. 100 to Rs. 200	98.05	10.61	9.26	8.0	5.00	4.70	7.44
3. Rs. 200—300 ..	145.74	16.66	2.50	9.00	7.00	38.00	8.50
4. Rs. 300—400 ..	176.80	32.00	13.70	69.80	11.00	24.40	8.69

It will be apparent from the above table that the item of food takes away the largest percentage of the family expenditure. The chief items of food are rice, pulses, vegetables and wheat. The expenditure on beverage shows that it is the lowest in the income-group of Rs. 200—300. Tea is the common beverage. The surveyed families of the income-group of Rs. 200—300 are mostly businessmen and of Saran district and tea drinking is not common with them. Other items of expenditure are in the item housing and rental. The family of the lowest incomegroup has to spend proportionately more than the family of the second income-group. The family of the income-group of Rs. 200—300 has to spend more than the family of the income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400. This is because the majority of the surveyed families of the income-group Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 have their own houses or have been accommodated in Government quarters whereas the families of the income-group below Rs. 100 and of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 are mostly living in rented houses. Owing to paucity of buildings the house rent in Dumka is high. It is much cheaper to live in Government quarters.

The average income of the families of the income-group below Rs. 100 is Rs. 58.78 per mensem whereas the expenditure Rs. 77.14 considering the family size (6.5) of this income-group the above expenditure which comes to about Rs. 12 per capita, is far too low for even bare existence. The majority of the families of this income-group has a deficit family budget or they supplement the income by part-time work elsewhere which they have not shown. This class is hard hit by poverty. Their usual diet in the night is *murhi* (fried-rice) with a few pieces of onion. The landless labourers mostly come within this income-group. Except the skilled labourers *viz.*, carpenters, cobblers and black-smiths the daily wages of the unskilled labour is far too low. They are half starved and half naked and have a precarious existence. Their period of unemployment in 12 months is considerable. In this respect the lot of the class IV Government servants and their counterparts in business is far better off though they have lower income than men of the above sustenance level. The class IV Government servants get about Rs. 67.50 nP. per month due to the recent increase in cost of living allowance. They usually add to their income in the shape of food and lodging by doing some domestic work after office hours.

The labourers hardly have means to spend on education and medicine. Their economic condition is so precarious that even *mahajans* and *banias* hesitate to advance loan to them.

The family budget expenditure of the income-group from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 on the average is Rs. 143 per month. The family

size of this income-group is calculated at 7.1 and so the expenditure comes to Rs. 20 per capita. Food and fuel consume about 58 per cent of the total expenditure. Cloth and washing take away about 15 per cent and beverage about 14 per cent of the expenditure. Tea is a common beverage among them. They usually have tea twice in a day. The group consists of Class III Government Officers, shopkeepers, skilled labourers and mechanics. The people of the income-group of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 do not appear to be living as wretched a life as the people of low income-group below Rs. 100 per month. Dumka is not a big town and so hardly any cost is borne for journeys in attending the offices or business centres which is an usual feature in other big cities like Patna, Jamshedpur and Ranchi etc. Due to the absence of good hotels and restaurants and non-availability of luxury goods the people of this income-group live a more modest life. Visits to the cinemas are also restricted within this group. The want of good pictures in the houses has beneficial economic effect on such people. The soaring prices of the necessities of life would have hit them hard if they had not lived a modest life.

About 50 per cent of the surveyed families of this income-group have deficit family budgets. Such of the families who have their houses or have been provided with Government quarters manage to meet their expenditure with a little saving.

The families of the income-group (Rs. 200—300) have surplus family budgets. The monthly expenditure of the family consisting of 6.25 persons comes to Rs. 197.10 as against their average income at Rs. 255.18. There is some margin for savings unless there are unforeseen factors. Since the survey is confined to only 4 families of business community it would be hazardous to come to a general conclusion. The thrifty habit of the businessmen is proverbial. The expenditure on beverage which is very low in the income group of Rs. 100—Rs. 200 is an index of their habits. Except housing the expenditure on other items is similar to those of the income of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. It may be mentioned that the families in the two previous classes have no subsidiary income either from cattle or poultry. But in this income-group out of 4 surveyed families 3 were found selling milk although they did not belong to the class or caste that sell milk. These families are of contractors.

Poverty is not as acute in the families of the income-group of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 and Rs. 200 to Rs. 300, which is the usual characteristic feature of the middle classes elsewhere. As has been remarked by Roy Lewis and Anges Maude in *English Middle Class*, poverty can be looked at in two ways—from the income and from the expenditure end. Sociologists distinguish

between primary and secondary poverty. The primary poverty is a consequence of not earning enough for the bare or even conventional necessities of existence, the secondary being the consequence of expensive habits. They observe so far the sociologists have hesitated to accord middle class poverty a scientific status, but it seems likely that it would be relegated mainly to the secondary category and the result of "thriftlessness" in the matter of rentals, house-keeping, education of children and in addition (particularly reprehensible in a people who have had advantage in life on insidious craving for culture).* This observation is not applicable to the middle classes of Santal Parganas to a great extent. Here they have not much craving for education and high standard of life. The thrifty nature of the middle classes of these groups is evident from the scheduled expenditure given before. Such of them, however, who go for such pursuits have to incur debts.

The study of the family budget of the income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 was confined to the families of members of the Bihar Junior and Senior Civil Service. Peculiarly enough there was a strong allergy in the officers to give relevent data. Their average income from service is calculated at Rs. 350 and expenditure Rs. 301.42 per month. The family size of this income-group comes to 8.6, the per capita expenditure comes to about Rs. 37.50. Food and fuel consume about 49 per cent of the expenditure. Except food and housing, the proportion of expenditure on other items is quite larger than in the families of the middle income-groups. It was but natural that they should spend a fair portion of their income on the education of their children. About 28 per cent of expenditure is spent on education. The expenditure on housing and taxes comes to Rs. 29.59 per month whereas in the income-group of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 it was Rs. 38 per month. It is because the majority of them has been accommodated in the official quarters with a comparatively low rental in comparison to the rentals of such houses in the private sector. Expenditure on their clothing is much more than in the families of other income-group. This class has usually some income for their family property.

The incidence of indebtedness of the 30 families surveyed does not seem to be high. The people of the low income-group have no means to contract loans and the *mahajans* also hesitate to advance loan in the absence of security. Out of 12 families surveyed only 3 were found in debt. Except one who had taken loan for making a house the other two had taken loan for starting

*Published in the Pelican series, p. 159 and mentioned in the *District Gazetteer of Purnea.*

ordinary business. In the family of the income-group of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 about one-third of the surveyed families was in debt. The incidence of indebtedness was shown to be high in the businessmen. The loans were taken either for investment in business or constructing houses. None of the families of the income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 was in debt. None of the loanees had taken any Government loan. The purpose of loan was declared to be for marriages, business and for meeting deficit family budget and was taken from the local *mahajans*.

The prevalent rate of interest differs from class to class. It was found that the local *mahajans* charge exorbitant rate of interest from the people of the low income-group if any loan is advanced at all. For every rupee they charge one anna interest per mensem. The rate of interest prevalent in business community is 6 per cent annually. This shows a wide contrast between 6 per cent and 75 per cent per annum. The rate depends on the financial stability of the loanee.

The parties are very reluctant to disclose their savings. The Government servants usually deposit a part of their salary in the Provident Fund and in the Postal Savings Banks. The savings are also due to income from sources other than the services. None of the surveyed businessmen disclosed their bank deposits. Out of 30 examined families only three mentioned that they have Savings Bank deposits. Investment in the Life Insurance Corporation was reported from 3 per cent of the surveyed families. The potential for savings is with the people of higher income-group only.

Rural

For the purpose of family budget in the rural areas 31 families of different income-groups were surveyed in the Palajori Block* of the district. Palajori is 24 miles on Dumka-Jamtara road. Out of the total 31 investigated families 17 were of the income below Rs. 100, 6 from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200, 5 from Rs. 200 to 300, 2 from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 and 1 over Rs. 500; their average family size was 9, 7.6, 11, 11.5 and 25 respectively. The average monthly income of each income-group was Rs. 60.53 of the income-group below Rs. 100, Rs. 146.50 of the income-group Rs. 100 to Rs. 200, 239.50 of the income-group Rs. 200—Rs. 300, Rs. 340 of the income-group Rs. 300—Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,050 of the income-group Rs. 500 and over. The family size as mentioned above of the income-group Rs. 500 and over was more than twice of the income-group Rs. 300 to Rs. 500. Joint family system appears to be the usual feature in the rural areas.

*The rapid survey was conducted by the Gazetteers' Revision Section in May, 1963.

Agriculture is the main source of income. The income from agriculture and its subsidiary, cattle and poultry almost account for about 99 per cent of the total income and the rest one per cent is derived from service and miscellaneous sources. Rearing of cattle and poultry is the subsidiary occupation of the people of the different income-groups. The low income-groups particularly had some income from them. The family of the income-group below Rs. 100 has been calculated to derive about 9 per cent of the total income from cattle and poultry. Out of 31 surveyed families only one was found to derive income from industry (carpentry) as a subsidiary income.

The incidence of rural indebtedness is widespread and acute. Out of the 31 surveyed families 26 were reported to be in debt. The rate of interest of the local *Mahajans* is exorbitant and fleecing. It appears that the usual rate of interest of the *mahajan* is 30 per cent. The Co-operative Society appears to have advanced loan to only 4 persons out of the 26 loanees. The rate of interest of the Co-operative Society is 6 per cent per annum. Besides cash loan, paddy loan is also advanced and this type of indebtedness was very common. The rate of interest is one and half times of the principal charged by the *mahajan* and 1¼ times charged by the Co-operatives. The rate of interest is even 75 per cent of the principal. Such a loanee was found to be one out of 26 and he was engaged in hawking business. The purpose of the loan was mostly for cultivation as it accounted for 11 loanees out of 26. The principal amount varies from Rs. 30 to Rs. 400. This sort of loan was mostly contracted by the small cultivators. An amount from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 was contracted for marriages and *Sradhs* by big cultivators. Social obligations and ideas of prestige on such occasions frequently brought in indebtedness. There was only one case where a land improvement loan had been taken.

Seldom a rural family has a pre-planned budget of expenditure. The main items of consumption are rice, maize, *marua* and other lintels and the produce of the farm. Except small cultivators and labourers the foodgrain is generally not purchased by the big cultivators. The small cultivators and agricultural labourers have to purchase foodgrain for four to five months in a year. Maize is the chief item of food for the poor during summer and rainy seasons and that is why maize has a good turnover in almost all the local weekly *hats*. *Mahua* is also consumed by the poor. Except food the other items of expenditure appear to be insignificant. Since the cultivators consume the produce of their farm the expenditure on food has been converted in the following table on the

basis of the prevailing price in the locality. The following statement will show the monthly family budget of different income-groups :—

Income-group.	Food including fuel.	Clothing and washing.	Beverge.	Education.	Medical and recreation.	Housing.	Rental.	Travelling	Miscellaneous.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Below Rs. 100.	59	7.50	3	.5	2.0	..	.25	1	16
2. Rs. 100 to 200.	107	16	..	4	7	..	.65	7	44
3. Rs. 200 to 300.	129	17	2	11	4	40	.50	5	44
4. Rs. 300 to 500.	148	25.50	..	11.25	11	5	.53	2.50	45
5. Rs. 500 and over.	425	200	75	75.0	30	..	5.0	25	100

In almost all the income-groups the major expenditure is on food. In the low income-group (below Rs. 100) about 65 per cent of the expenditure was on food. The rent in Santal Parganas is very low and that is why the cultivators spend very little on this item. For our purpose the annual rent has been converted into monthly rent. The next major item of expenditure after food is the miscellaneous expenditure. This includes the incidental and agricultural operation expenditure, etc. In the low income-group this had taken away about 16 per cent of the total expenditure. Cloth in this income-group had accounted for about only 6 per cent of the total family expenditure. Owing to poverty and the poor standard of living of the rural people the expenditure on cloth is not large. The Santals and other tribals remain almost half naked. But almost all the Santals buy soap, especially the females. The expenditure on education and medical is almost insignificant. The tribals get free education, stipend and book grant. In some cases the stipend has become a source of income. The amount of stipend in the investigated families was found to vary from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 for boys in the high school. Tea is not common in the rural areas. Out of 17 investigated families of this income-group only 8 had to spend on beverage. *Pachai* is the common drink of the Santal and almost every family spends some amount over it. It is home-brewed rice beer and hence cheap. The beverage

accounted for about 2 per cent of the total expenditure. In many cases the beverage and food interchange. The average expenditure according to the preceding table was Rs. 92 for the families of the income-group below Rs. 100 while the income was Rs. 60-53. This wide gulf between the income and expenditure schedules had been accounted for debt which is found to be widely prevalent in the family of this income-group. The recourse to debt is limited and so some of the families had to forego or curtail some of the expenditure even in the items of necessities for life. Poverty is the rule in this income-group. Sometimes the tender leaves of the *Pipal* tree and roots of various plants, wild fruits, *mahua* flowers are taken to quench hunger. Casual emigration partially augments the income. A fair amount earned by the emigrants is spent on travelling and buying knick-knacks, cloths, etc. Their love for hearth and home brings them back to the village. The emigrants either get weekly or fortnightly wages and they usually visit their home in a fortnight if it is within 30 or 40 miles. Seldom does a local Santal Class IV employee of the Government spend a night outside his home. No Santal likes to be away from the house in the night. Their love for the family and home is great.

The average income of the families of the income-group of Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 as stated before comes to Rs. 146.50 and expenditure to Rs. 181.65. The families of this income-group also have to frame deficit budgets. Food and fuel accounted for about 60 per cent of the total expenditure. Next to food was the expenditure on miscellaneous items which had taken away about 24 per cent of the expenditure. The expenditure on clothing was about 8 per cent. Beverage in the surveyed families is not common. To meet the family expenditure the families of this income-group have also to incur debt. Casual emigration is also a source of relief to the families of this income-group. Some of the surveyed families were found to have derived substantial income from service. Rearing of cattle and poultry is also a source of income.

The families of the income-group of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 were found to have an average monthly income of Rs. 239.50 and expenditure (as shown in the table) of Rs. 249.50. There is no wide gulf between the expenditure and income schedules but it shows that the families of this income-group are in deficit budgets. More than 50 per cent of the total expenditure was spent on food and fuel. Miscellaneous expenditure had taken away about 20 per cent. Except one family of this income-group, housing expenditure was not incurred in any of the 31 surveyed families. A big sum was spent by this family on the construction of a new house. Since housing expenditure is not a regular feature it was not found in other families. Most of the houses are *ka cha* plastered with thatched roof. *Pucca* and brick-built houses in the surveyed areas were mostly found in Palajori village

only and rarely in other rural areas. The expenditure on education, except of one of the surveyed families of this income-group was found to be insignificant. Only one family had spent Rs. 50 per month over a ward's college education. Next to agriculture the other source of income was service.

The family budget of the income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, as will be evident from the previous table was almost equal to the previous income-group (Rs. 200 to Rs. 300) families. It was because the size of the family was found to be almost equal and as there was no housing expenditure by the families of this income-group. Their average monthly income was calculated at Rs. 340 and expenditure at Rs.248.75. To all intents and purposes their standard of living did not differ from the families of the preceding income-group. Because of almost regular annual marriages and other social obligations this group spent the apparent savings of the month.

The number of the families of the income-group of Rs. 500 and over (per month) is very few in the rural areas of Santal Parganas. In this rapid sample survey out of 31 surveyed families only one family was found of the income-group of Rs. 500 and over. But here it has to be noted that even this family has assumed the status of this income-group (Rs. 500 and over) due to a joint family of 25 members. Otherwise if *per capita* income is taken into consideration this family also will come under the category of the family of the income-group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 500. Landed property and service were the sources.

The above picture of the family budgets of the different income-groups may not justify any firm general conclusion but show the trends. The standard of living of the people of the district is poor owing to the absence of avenues of employment in the district. The margin of savings as seen is very small for the bulk of the population. The indigenous population is joy-loving and spend thrift. By labour and agriculture the common man can have very small savings.

Emigration money, however, does give a little scope. In the chapter on "Communications' the amount of money-orders paid has been given from 1955-56 to 1962-63. There was a gradual increase in the amount of money--orders paid and in 1962-63 it reached Rs. 1,15,21,637 from Rs. 75,31,098 in 1955-56. The increase in the amount of money-orders is significant. The big increase in population in the census of 1961 has howe er set off the advantages of savings.

The Savings Banks' deposits and withdrawals given in the chapter Banking, Trade and Commerce from 1958-59 to 1961-62 will show that the response of the public is rather poor. The margin of the deposits left after the withdrawals is not encouraging.

Investment in the Life Insurance Corporation as stated before, has yet to become popular. The Life Insurance Corporation has a branch office at Dumka in charge of an Assistant Branch Manager.

It is reported that there were 80 Agents in the district in 1962. In 1960 the Life Insurance Corporation had insured a sum of Rs. 31 lakhs with 797 policy-holders. The business completed in 1961 was reported to be Rs. 41 lakhs and the policy-holders 994. But in 1962 the business dropped considerably as the amount came down to 24 lakhs with 579 policy-holders. The overall picture will show that the investment in Life Insurance is very poor. The savings in Life Insurance policies are also mostly from the urban areas. The savings potentials are also poor in this essentially agricultural district.

The Small Savings Scheme is in progress under the charge of a Small Savings Scheme Officer under the District Development Officer. The details of the scheme have been covered in the chapter on "Banking, Trade and Commerce". The response of the public as mentioned before is poor.

General Level of Employment.

In the section on "Livelihood Pattern' we have already discussed the economic classification of the population according to 1951 census. We have seen that about 91.7 per cent of the population was dependant on agriculture and 8.3 per cent on non-agricultural sections. Amongst the non-agricultural classes 76,770 persons were returned as self-supporting, whose industrial distribution was as follows:—

Industrial Division.	Number of employees including employers.	Number of independant workers.	Total number of self-supporting persons.	Per centage.
1	2	3	4	5
0. Primary industries not elsewhere classified.	1,280	3,899	5,179	6.8
1. Mining and quarrying ..	86	94	180	0.2
2. Processing and manufacturing food stuff, textiles, leather and products thereof.	1,992	8,099	10,091	13.2
3. Processing and manufacturing metals, chemicals and products thereof.	169	544	713	0.9
4. Processing and manufacture not elsewhere classified.	1,263	3,124	4,387	5.7
5. Construction	5,252	5,745	10,997	14.3
6. Commerce	7,544	15,135	22,679	29.5
7. Transport, Storage and Communications.	3,769	1,958	5,727	7.5
8. Health, Education and Public Administration.	5,049	1,338	6,387	8.3
9. Service, otherwise unclassified	8,283	2,147	10,430	13.6
Total ..	34,687	42,083	76,770	100.0

The above statment will show that 29.5 per cent, the largest single group was engaged in commerce and services accounted for 21.9 per cent. Manufacture absorbed 6.6 per cent while construction 14.3 per cent. Mining and quarrying accounted for only 0.2 per cent. It seems that generally seasonal workers are engaged in mining and quarrying during the slack agricultural season and so they had not been enumerated in this industry during the census operation. The above table will also indicate the predominance of the independent workers which was mainly due to the absen e of any large industry in the district. The picture has not changed substantially since.

Employment Exchange.

The Dumka Employment Exchange is the only Exchange in the district and the statistics below show some trends:—

Year.	Applicants registered.	Applicants placed.	Vacancies.
1958	1,509	169	936
1959	1,959	127	1,217
1960	3,296	146	849
1961	4,181	447	1,228
1962	4,411	256	1,075

The last three years have registered more applicants than the first two years. The Employment Exchange has not been very popular. Santal Parganas is a vast district geographically and the people are too poor to come to Dumka to get themselves registered. The Dumka Employment Exchange is about 100 miles from Rajmahal and Sahibganj and some of the Damin areas. The Employment Exchange Office camps once in a month at Sahibganj and Deoghar, two important commercial places of the district for registration.

The above statistics will show the marked difference between the number of the applicants placed, vacancies notified and the applicants registered. This is because the avenues for employment within the district are quite meagre. Registrations and placements according to the educational standard are given below:—

Year.	Registration.			Placement.		
	Matric.	I.A.	Graduate and above.	Matric.	I.A.	Graduate and above.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1958	447	62	19	29	7	2
1959	465	67	36	21	1	2
1960.... ..	640	84	43	43	6	2
1961	1,208	239	68	157	64	17
1962	1,105	258	121	94	9	9

Women seldom get themselves registered in the Exchange for employment. The avenues for employment for the educated women in the district are negligible. Two women Matriculates in 1959, one in 1960, 3 in 1961 and 8 in 1962 were registered in the Exchange, out of which 3 in 1960, 3 in 1961 and 2 in 1962 got employment. Two Intermediate and above were registered in 1961. As expected both registration and placement statistics show the predominance of Matriculates. The percentage of graduates and above is the lowest. The educated persons mostly prefer Government services. State Government Officers seldom notify the vacancies to the Employment Exchange.

The entries in the Live Register give some interesting particulars of the persons who register their names and their preferences for the jobs. The following table is for the year 1961-62:—

Occupational group.	Number of persons on the Live Register.			
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Percentage.
1	2	3	4	5
1. Professional, technical and related workers other than medical health and teaching.	20	..	20	2.1
2. Medical and Health personnel ..	11	..	11	1.2
3. Teaching personnel	1	..	1	0.1
4. Administrative, Executive and Managerial Personnel.	..	..	..	..
5. Clerical workers	5	1	6	9.6
6. Farmers, fishermen and related worker	..	..	..	..
7. Workers in transport and communication occupations.	14	..	14	1.5
8. Craftsmen and production process workers.	41	..	41	4.3
9. Workers not classified by occupation—				
(*i*) Graduate and above ..	23	..	23	2.4
(*ii*) Intermediate	67	..	67	7.0
(*iii*) Matriculates	339	..	339	35.6
(*iv*) Middle and above	326	12	338	35.5
(*v*) Below middle	91	..	91	9.7
Sub-Total	846	12	858	90.2
TOTAL ..	938	13	951	100.0

The above table will show that as many as 90.2 per cent of the applicants on the Live Register were workers not classified by occupations. They had no previous experience or training and were apparently new entrants to the labour market. It is also obvious that most of the persons had entered their names in a complacent manner and did not actually depend on the Employment Exchange for a job . The Employment Exchange does not pursue the registered persons unless they renew their registration.

The following statement will show vacancies notified and filled by the different agencies:—

Year.	Vacancies notified.				
	Central Government.	State Government.	Local bodies and quasi-Government.	Private.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6
1958	78	830	10	18	936
1959	..	1,171	8	36	1,217
1960	2	755	41	51	849
1961	237	920	24	47	1,228
1962	..	969	16	90	1,075
	Vacancies filled.				
1958	4	161	..	4	169
1959	..	88	1	6	95
1960	..	121	13	4	138
1961	237	260	10	3	510
1962	..	218	7	7	232

The avenues for employment in the Central Government establishments in the district are very small. In 1961, 237 vacancies have been filled in the district which was mainly due to the setting up temporarily of the office of the Census Operations at Deoghar. In public sector the bulk of the vacancies was filled up by absorption in State Government services. A number of vacancies filled in 1961 and 1962 was in the Medical and Health establishment, particularly in Anti-Malaria Units.

An age analysis of the applicants on the Live Register on the 31st December, 1960 was as follows:—

Age-group.	Number of persons.	Percentage.
1	2	3
Below 18 Years	76	9.9
Above 18 but below 22 years	339	52.3
Above 22 but below 25 years	180	23
Above 25 but below 35 years	85	11.2
Above 35 but below 45 years	20	2.6
Above 45 years	3	0.4
TOTAL ..	763	100.0

This will show that as many as 85.8 per cent of the applicants on the Live Register were below 25 years of age—a crucial period in one's working life when it is essential to divert the energies of these persons into production activities.

This picture shows that the Employment Exchange solves unemployment problem to a very small degree and has not been able to find suitable jobs for the majority of the people who have registered themselves. The employer hardly depends on the local Employment Exchange for finding suitable men. There is no bar also for an intelligent unemployed to register himself at different Employment Exchanges in several districts. Although no definite conclusions can be drawn it may be said that the Employment Exchange only gives us some ideas of the current incidence of unemployment.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Community Development programme was first started in Raneshwar in 1952. It was one of the 55 selected Community Projects of India which were first launched on the 2nd October, 1952. The Community Development Project is a big experiment which our country has ever launched. Broadly speaking the Community Development Programme has three phases. The first stage is the spoon feeding stage when the areas covering

project have to receive a heavy dose of development. Generally after the completion of five years the second stage comes in when an intensive and concentrated programme is undertaken. In the third stage it is assumed that the area is sufficiently developed and the people have become conscious to keep up the tempo of the work already released.

There are 41 Anchal-*cum*-Development Blocks in the district. There are 7 Pre-Extension Blocks which were started in 1962. They are in preliminary stage. The rest are full-fledged blocks. Since Santal Parganas has a fair percentage of tribal population, Tribal Development Blocks have been started at Borio, Kundahit, Boarijore, Pakauria and Masalia. The Tribal Development Blocks have more targets than their counterparts of the general Community Development Blocks. The tribal areas are more backward and require much more heavy dose of development work than the general blocks. The annexure given at the end of the chapter will show the stage wise details of each block.

An attempt has been made by the Gazetteers Revision Section to study the impact of the Community Development Block on the people. Investigation was made in some of the villages of the Raneshwar and Palajori blocks. The observation of the investigator was mainly confined to a participant observation and actual development work done in the investigated villages. The details of the investigation of both the blocks have been given here separately.

A STUDY OF THE RANESHWAR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK.

A study was made of the impact of Raneshwar Community Development Block on the villagers. For this purpose 10 villages, namely, Raneshwar, Kumardaha, Maheshasthan, Raghunathpur, Ampara, Japahari, Sulango, Bakaken, Baghsola and Nirjhuri were selected. The investigator went round these villages after making enquiries and collecting statistics from the block headquarters at Raneshwar. These villages are located within six miles radius of Raneshwar where the headquarters of the block is located. The villages are scattered. The inhabitants of these villages are agriculturists—both Adibasis and non-Adibasis. Their economic incidence is not very sound. Most of the villagers have dwellings of *katcha* plastered houses with thatched roof. Their lands are of poor quality. On the average the holding of a cultivator will come to about 5 bighas. It will be necessary to give a general sketch of Raneshwar Community Development Block before the actual impact is indicated.

Raneshwar, a village and police-station, is situated 30 miles south-east of Dumka. It came into limelight for being the headquarters

of one of the 55 selected community projects of India which were launched on October 2, 1952. After the completion of the project stage it relapsed to post-intensive stage with effect from 1st July 1956 and subsequently to stage II from 7th June, 1958.

The block is in the extreme south-east corner of Bihar bordering the Birbhum district of West Bengal. The area of the block is co-extensive of the Raneshwar police-station. Its area in 1951 census was recorded to be 144 square miles with a population of 43,587. The population rose to 58,437 in 1961. Its geographical area according to the block office is 87,624.60 acres and the number of villages 217. There is not much difference in the area recorded in the census of 1951 and the present one and can be ignored.

Project Stage.—Before coming to project stage a general picture of the livelihood pattern of the Raneshwar police-station is of interest. The livelihood pattern of the area as enumerated in 1951 census was as follows*:—

AGRICULTURAL CLASSES.

I Cultivation of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants.		II Cultivation of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants.		III Cultivating labourers and their dependants.	
Males	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
16,115	16,405	1,740	1,465	2,374	2,366

IV Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependants.	
Males.	Females.
437	400

NON-AGRICULTURAL CLASSES.

Production other than cultivation.		Commerce.		Transport.		Other services and miscellaneous sources.	
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
509	560	267	223	12	13	382	319

*District Census Handbook of Santal Parganas (1951), page 148.

The above statement indicates that the non-agricultural classes numbered only 2,285 out of the total population of 43,587. The main source of the livelihood is, therefore, agriculture. In agricultural classes the owner of land predominates.

From the Administrative Report of Raneshwar Block (1952-53) it appears that a sum of Rs. 22,43,422 was spent during the project stage under the following heads :—

Item.	Provision.	Expenditure.
	Rs.	Rs.
1. Project headquarters	4,32,320	4,85,728
2. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry extension.	1,23,991	1,81,098
3. Irrigation	4,41,857	5,95,797
4. Reclamation	1,31,166	30,657
5. Health and rural sanitation ..	2,06,900	2,38,519
6. Education	1,69,607	2,07,782
7. Social Education	89,763	1,11,549
8. Communication	4,06,660	2,88,924
9. Rural art, craft and industry ..	1,49,681	1,03,368
Total ..	21,51,945	22,43,422

The Community Development Project is a programme to develop the social and economic life of the community. As the prosperity of the country depends largely on agriculture, the project chiefly lays emphasis on increased agricultural production. The success of the project depends largely on the urge and ability of the villagers themselves to improve their lot through their own efforts with guidance and financial assistance from the Government.

Agriculture.—The topography of the block generally is hilly and undulating and the soil is sandy. The major crop is paddy and terraced cultivation is resorted to. The low-lying lands if terraced are fertile. The villages that were visited have the same topography and the major crop is paddy. Some maize and vegetables are also grown.

The enquiry, however, shows that the same very old agricultural practices continue. It was found that in the project stage there were cattle mangers, cattle troughs and grain-*golas*. Almost all the villages visited had cattle troughs and cattle mangers. But when the project stage was over the villagers did not keep them up. This would rather suggest that the villagers are more prone to be spoon-fed. They did not imbibe much although a lot of money was spent over them.

To give some more concrete instances it may be mentioned that throughout the ten villages only one small plot of 16 Kathas was found to be under Japanese method of paddy cultivation. This method, however, can only be successful if there is plenty of water and the cultivator is financially sound as he has to plough the plot several times and use fertilizers. It is not difficult for the villagers to get fertilizers which are available at Raneshwar or at the neighbouring co-operative centres but the difficulty is to save plenty of water. Very small irrigational facilities were found to exist. The improved paddy seed of BR 37 was, however, found in use at some of the villages and the acreage under *rabi* crops had also increased. At places better type variety of sugar-cane was noticed.

Irrigational facilities are poor. In spite of a huge amount of money being spent over the Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal and the Dighalpahari embankment the problem has not eased. These projects have, no doubt, increased the irrigation potential but proper exploitation is not done for two reasons. The control of the Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal is in the hands of West Bengal Government and Dighalpahari embankment has not produced any result because of some technical defects. The ten villages could have been irrigated from the Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal.

Some of the commercial fertilizers, like aluminium sulphate, superphosphate and bone-meal were becoming popular but the villages did not show much preference to green manure. It was found that only the villagers of Kumardaha and Nirjhuri had shown some preference to green manure. Maheshasthan villagers did not show any aptitude either for green manure or commercial fertilizers. It was peculiar that there should be very few rural compost pits in the ten villages visited. The investigator was told that no practical demonstrations had been held in the villages in 1962. Improved agricultural implements were not seen much in use. But this may be due to the low economic incidence.

The block claims to have planted 152 new and old orchards. In the ten villages visited no orchard was found sponsored by the block. The fruit trees were old like mango, jack-fruits and custard-apple but the papaya, banana and guava species said to be introduced by the block were not seen. There was some improvement so far as cultivation of vegetables is concerned. The Santals who were allergic to grow vegetables have started cultivating the usual vegetables like brinjals, pumpkins, etc. The tanks found are all old ones. Fish spawn is made available to the tanks and there has been some encouragement in growing fish. There is great demand for fish and the price is not low. At Baghsola, a Santal village one old tank has been renovated by the block authorities.

Regarding animal husbandry not much improvement was noticed. The general level of the livestock was poor although the inhabitants know that there are artificial insemination centres and sub-centres nearby. Since the block had crossed the project stage the artificial centres and sub-centres have been lifted. Poultry is the usual subsidiary occupation of the Santals and the Muslims. A Hindu family of Kumardaha village was found growing poultry. The hatching centre at Raneshwar, which has ten sub-centres, seems to have a good impact. Poultry has improved. No improvement was seen in the pigs. The villagers had not grown fodder and no silo-pits were found.

Industry.—From the investigation it was found that the age-old cottage industries like rope-making, blacksmithy, carpentry, weaving, tannery and poultry continue in the old manner. The records in the office of the block indicate that four old industries were revived. The villagers do not respond. None of the villagers admitted having received any industrial loans. There are two rice mills at Raneshwar and one at Raghunathpur which are run by private concerns. It is difficult to notice the impact of the Raneshwar Community Development Project on the village craft and industry.

Communication.—A metalled road of 8 miles from Raghunathpur to Asabani was constructed at a total cost of about two lakhs rupees. The village roads from Maheshasthan to Nijhuri *via* Kumardaha, Baghsola and Ampara have been constructed. These roads are connected with the Dumka-Suri and Raghunathpur-Asabani metalled roads. The village Bakaken is also connected with Nijhuri by a *kachcha* village road. Sulango is by the side of the Raghunathpur-Asabani road. Except Japahari all the villages are connected with the metalled road. These village roads serve the need of the bullock-cart traffic of the agriculturists and the *banias*. There has been a distinct development of communications.

Social education.—The community houses are at Kumardaha and Nijhuri. They are the chief centres of the social education. The villagers of both Kumardaha and Nijhuri attend the community house. *Gandhi Chabutras* are found in almost all the villages. There are libraries at Raneshwar, Kumardaha and Nijhuri and people attend the libraries. The community houses and libraries of Kumardaha and Nijhuri have gained some popularity among the children. The men were found to be conversant of the Sino-Indian border war. A library has been established at Japahari, a Santal village. The incidence of literacy except in Kumardaha and Nijhuri seems to be very low. The Santals are still mostly illiterate.

Public Health.—*Pucca* drains and soakage pits had been constructed in Kumardaha, Raneshwar and Nijhuri and they are

still in existence. People attend the Raneshwar health centre in case of ailment. The Santals also visit the health centre of Raneshwar. But the maternity cases are still mostly conducted by village *Chamains*. The people do not seem to have been impressed by family planning work. Many of the villagers take it as a joke. There is need for proper publicity. The wells are disinfected. Inoculation and vaccination are becoming common. Bath rooms had been built in almost all the villages but they seem to remain unused.

Co-operative.—The co-operative societies of Kumardaha and Nijhuri are in good condition while those of Ampara and Maheshasthan have ceased to function. It was reported at Ampara that the Central Co-operative Bank had refused to advance loan as the old dues are still unrealised. Grain *golas* are found in almost every village. The participant enquiry of the investigator shows that almost all the Santal families are under the grip of *mahajans*. But it was reported that the rampant usury of the *mahajans* had been curtailed to some extent.

Gram Panchayats.—The *Gram Panchayats* are functioning in all the villages visited. But some people mentioned that the *Panchayats* are not free from groupism and partisan attitude. This matter was not investigated. *Panchayat ghars* are found at Nijhuri and Kumardaha. Social work of the *Panchayats* does not show appreciable results, except a bye-lane constructed at Nijhuri.

Conclusion.

The foregoing account of the villages of the Raneshwar Community Development Block suggests there had not been much appreciable change in the social and economic condition of the villagers. More stimulus is still needed to awaken the rural population from the apathy and age old backward social and economic practices. In Raneshwar proper, there is no dearth of wells but due to the old habit the people still bathe in the unwholesome dirty water of the neighbouring tanks. The newly constructed bath house appears to be unused. Some villages have more wells while a village like Bakaken has not got a single drinking well. The drains and roads are also not maintained properly. Since the enquiry was confined to only 10 villages it may not be proper to come to general conclusions for the entire area.

Palajori Community Development Block.

The Palajori Community Development Block was started in 1957 and has not relapsed to stage II on the 1st April, 1963.

It has an area of 119 square miles and covers 291 villages. Its population in 1961 was reported at the block headquarters to be 57,547. The tribals constitute about 48 per cent of the population. The geographical area is about 75,302 acres out of which 37,535 acres are under cultivation. The main crop is paddy. The low land (*bahiar*) is fertile while the upland is not so fertile. The up land consists of both *bari* and *dangal* lands, the latter has very little fertility. Next to paddy, the other crops are *kurthi*, maize, *rahar* and *jinora* which are raised in the *bari* and *dangal* lands. The bulk of the area has mainly one annual paddy crop and its failure has acute results. About 2,000 acres are reported to be double cropped. The main sources of irrigation are the minor irrigation schemes, *bandhs*, tanks and wells. About 1,404 acres of land have hitherto been brought under irrigation (May, 1963).

Improved seed to the tune of 3,350 maunds so far had been distributed. 23 cattle of improved breed had been supplied and 6,952 local bulls had been castrated. A sum of Rs. 7,045 was given as an industrial loan for the development of cottage industry.

An attempt was made to study the impact of the Community Development Block on the people in 9 selected villages. The details of each village have been given separately as follows:—

(1) *Chaudhuri Nawadih.*—The village is situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Palajori and is accessible by the Palajori-Sarath-Deoghar road. The total area of the village is about 400 acres. The cultivators mostly belong to Bhumihar caste. The village has 23 households out of which 8 are of Bhumihars, 5 of Goalas, 4 of Rajwars, 4 of Haris. There is only one household of Hajjam and another of Dom caste. The *bahiar* (low land) seems to be fertile and the up land (*dangal*) though cultivated is not very fertile. In *dangal* land which also includes *bari* land mostly *kurthi* and *rahar* crops are raised. The main crop is paddy. The village has practically no double-cropped land.

The Community Development Block had so far repaired three old *bandhs* and constructed three wells for irrigation which had cost about Rs. 9,000 and Rs. 2,500 respectively. About 100 acres of paddy land are irrigated by them. It has a health sub-centre which is visited by the Block Doctor twice a week. A woman *dai* and a male compounder have been posted there. A soil conservation scheme has brought 45 acres of *dangal* land under cultivation. One bull of improved *hariana* breed has been made available for services.

The cultivators still mostly use cow-dung manure and some of them have constructed compost-pits. The fertilizers and

green manure are seldom used. The cultivators seem to have become somewhat manure-minded. Cow-dung is not generally burnt as fuel. Coal is cheap—Re. 1 per maund.

The agricultural labourers mostly belong to the Backward and Scheduled Castes, who during the slack agricultural season emigrate to the mine areas of Bihar and West Bengal for employment. Except Bhumihars the economic condition of other castes is not satisfactory. The Bhumihars are cultivators and some of them are also service-holders. It was reported by the Scheduled Castes people that they have so far not received any loans from the block under Poultry or Pig Development Schemes. They do not rear ordinary poultry or pig.

The village is both covered by the *Gram Panchayat* and Co-operative. It is under the Barmi *Gram Panchayat*. The change in village leadership seems to be impressive. The *Mukhiya* of the *Gram Panchayat* is of Ghatwari Caste of the Harijan community. The change of the village leadership from the upper caste to the Harijan community is certainly a mark of social and political consciousness of the hitherto Backward community.

The rent collection work of the village is done by a *Pradhan* or village headman who is of the Bhumihar caste. The *Pradhan* has about 5 *bighas* of land under official *jote*.

The impact of Community Development in other spheres seems to be negligible. The cattle seem to be local and of poor breed. Milk is hardly available.

2. *Sagar Bhanga*.—A village in the Palajori block situated about 12 miles south from Palajori on the Dumka-Jamtara road. The total area of the village is about 300 acres. There are about 60 households. The main castes are Kurmi (52), Dom (2), Kamar (2), Kol (1) and the Brahmin (1). The cultivators mostly belong to Kurmi caste. Except Brahmin whose main occupation is *Purohati* (priesthood) the people of other castes are mostly landless labourers. The soil is single paddy-cropped.

Two tanks and one well have so far been dug by the block for the irrigation of about 65 *bighas* of paddy land. One upper primary school has also been started by the block. The village has been covered both by *Gram Panchayat* and the Co-operative Society. The cultivators mostly fertilise their land with cow-dung manure. Fertilizer and green manure are not popular. Poultry of *desi* breed is reared by the Scheduled Castes, viz., Dom, Kamar and Kol. Ordinary goats are kept by some.

3. *Pindra.*—A village situated about one and a half miles from Palajori. It has about 40 households of different castes—Maira (17), Teli (13), Goala (7) and Santal (3). The total area of the village is reported to be above 150 acres. The low land of the village seems to be fertile and the *bari* and *danga* lands have little fertility.

One *bandh* and 10 wells have so far been constructed by the block for irrigation purpose. The construction of wells had been of great help to cultivators; as they not only irrigate paddy lands but are also raising *garma* crop, particularly vegetables. It is the only village where the investigator found *garma* crop in the summer season. It is reported that a few birds of improved breed had been given by the block for improving poultry. It was gathered that Japanese method of paddy cultivation was done in about 20 *bighas* of land. Apparently this did not become popular. Pigs of local breed only were seen. The majority of the irrigation wells were in the lands of the Goalas. The miltch-cows are of poor local breed and the milk is sold mostly in the Palajori market. The block has a tailoring centre.

The village is covered both by the Co-operative Society and *Gram Panchayat.* In spite of the activity of the Co-operative the cultivators are in the grip of village *mahajans.* Their economic condition is very poor due to failure of paddy crop in 1962-63. The incidence of emigration in May, 1963 was reported to be heavy. Emigration was reported from almost all the households. The day labourers usually get wages from 8 annas to 10 annas whereas in West Bengal near Asansol they get Re. 1.25 to Re. 1.37. The raising of *garma* crop is reported to somewhat have been a great relief to some of the cultivators.

4. *Chalbuli.*—A Santal village situated about 4 miles from Palajori. The cultivated lands consist of both low and up lands. The total area of the village is about 605 acres out of which 500 acres are under cultivation. It has 62 households. The main crop is paddy. The autumn crops, viz., *marua*, maize, *jinora*, *gondli* are also raised in the *bari* and *dangal* lands. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation was never tried in the village. The Santals mostly use cow-dung manure. Compost-pits were not seen.

The block has constructed only three irrigation wells and repaired an old *bandh.* A few birds were also distributed. The Santals rear pig of *desi* breed. Almost all the households have poultry and pigs. The village is under Palajori *Gram Panchayat* and Co-operative Society. Almost all the Santals are in the grips

of the *mahajans*. It is a *Pradhani* village and the *Pradhan* is also of Santal caste. The *Gram Panchayat* has practically no function in this Santal village. The *Pradhan* is not only a rent collector but also decides petty criminal cases. The Caste *Panchayat* of the Santals practically decides cases. The *Pradhan* has about five acres of *Pradhani* lands and earns about Rs. 50 as commission on the rent collected. The rent collection is reported to be cent per cent.

The impact of the Community Development Block in this Santal village appears to be insignificant. Out of the three irrigation wells one well was dry. The incidence of indebtedness is heavy. A number of men from this village had emigrated. Both male and female labourers emigrate to West Bengal during paddy transplantation and harvest. In May, 1963 more than 100 out of 55 households had emigrated to the coal-mine areas of Bihar and West Bengal ; some had gone to the local Chitra Colliery. The economic condition of the Santals seems to be deplorable. They hardly have two meals.

5. *Bhounradih.*—A village situated about four miles east of Palajori. The inhabitants of the village are Santals and Kumhars. The village consists of about 40 households. The total area of the village is 288 acres out of which about 176 acres are under cultivation.

The impact of Community Development Block in this village is found to be insignificant. One drinking well has been dug and an old tank repaired. The tank irrigates about 8 to 10 *bighas* of paddy field. The Santals rear poultry and pigs of the local breed. No industrial loan so far has been given to improve the local breed.

The incidence of indebtedness in the village is high. Almost every Santal household is in debt. Casual emigration from the village is reported to be high.

6. *Nawadih.*—A village situated near Palajori. It is inhabited by both Santals and non-Santals. The total area of the village is about 207 acres out of which 169 acres are under cultivation. It is a *khas* village and the rent is collected by the *Karamchari*. The old *Pradhan*, who is of Santal caste still commands the respect of his community. It is covered by the Palajori *Gram Panchayat* and Co-operative Society. The number of households is about 50.

Every Santal household has poultry and pigs. A sum of Rs. 100 was given by the block as an industrial loan for development

of poultry. The loan was re-paid in 1962. A boar of improved breed was supplied to improve the *desi* breed. The *desi* breed of pig has definitely improved. The boar has also been returned to the block. The poultry suffered a great deal due to the spread of Ranikhet disease in 1962. The economic condition of the village does not seem to be satisfactory. Casual emigration is heavy.

7. *Dubia.*—A village located about 6 miles from Palajori on the Sarath-Madhupur road. It has about 45 households. The Santals, Mahuli and the Bhumihar Brahman are the main castes. The total area of the village is about 250 acres out of which 150 acres are under cultivation.

The village is under the Telgarha *Gram Panchayat.* The rent collection work is done by the *Pradhan.* It has also been covered by the Co-operative Society.

The block had constructed three tanks and two wells for drinking purposes. These tanks and wells irrigate about 50 *bighas* o paddy land. *Garma* crop is not raised. The main crop is paddy. Maize, *rahar* and *kurthi* crops are also raised. Excepting the few Bhumihars, the economic condition of the other villagers is not satisfactory. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation appears to have been done only in some demonstration plots.

8. *Benidih.*—A village located about four miles from Palajori on the Sarath-Madhupur road. The village consists of 19 households—10 are of Bhumihars and nine of Kumhars. The total area of the village is about 163 acres out of which 100 acres are under cultivation.

The block has so far constructed two drinking wells, two irrigation wells, one *bandh,* one community hall, one bath-room and one culvert. The main crop is paddy. The village is covered by both the *Gram Panchayat* and Co-operative Society. The rent collection work is done by the hereditary *Pradhan* who is of Bhumihar caste. The *Mukhiya* is a Muslim. It is reported that the election of the *Mukhiya* was contested on caste basis. The low castes and the Muslims are in predominance.

The Bhumihars are the main cultivators. The Kumhars are both cultivators and labourers. They are also engaged in their professional pottery work. The economic condition of the village appears to be not bad. Both Bhumihars and Kumhars have a large number of pigeons. The dropping of the pigeons is given to the paddy field for manure. The other manure is cow-dung. Fertilisers are not popular. The Japanese method of paddy cultivation is only done in demonstration plots. Forty acres

of land have recently been reclaimed under Soil Conservation Scheme by one of the rich cultivators of the village.

9. *Fara-sema.*—A village situated about one mile north of Palajori. It has about 50 households. The inhabitants are mostly Bairagi (Bengali) and Bauris. The latter are mostly agricultural labourers. The area of the village is 500 acres out of which about 350 acres are under cultivation. Some of the Bairagis along with cultivation are engaged in business as well. Bairagis are not good cultivators. It is understood that a few have got employment in transport services. The main avenue of their business is reported to be Palajori and Madhepur *hats.*

The block has so far constructed one *bandh* and two wells for irrigation. One of the wells remains usually dry. The village is covered by the Palajori *Gram Panchayat* and Co-operative Society. The Co-operative Society has advanced loans to a few of its members. It was gathered that the main source of credit is local *mahajan.* Usufructuary mortgage is common. The incidence of emigration in this village is not large. The Bauris generally work locally. The villagers do not raise *garma* crop even where irrigation is possible in summer season through wells. Except cow-dung manure the chemical fertilizers are not popular. Compost-pits have not been made. Cow-dung is not burnt.

This is the picture in brief of the 9 villages in Palajori block. The block has been functioning since more than six years. The development of agriculture is the main programme of the Community Development Block. It is mainly a single paddy growing area. It can be said that there has been no increase in the double cropped area. From the block paper it appears that the area double cropped in 1962-63 was 2,229 acres. Strictly speaking *rabi* crop is not grown. The laterite soil and absence of irrigation are the main hindrances. It was reported that even *khesari* cannot be broadcast in the paddy field which usually remains submerged under water in October and November. In the absence of irrigation *garma* crop also cannot be raised. Among the 9 villages the investigator found *garma* crop only at Pindora village where the cultivators have raised vegetables with the help of the newly constructed irrigation wells. This *garma* crop can be raised in almost all the villages except Bhounradih which has so far no irrigation well. It appears that the Santals are allergic to raise *garma* crops and they have not been induced to do so either. They prefer to emigrate during the summer season to the mine areas than to raise *garma* crops even where irrigation is possible in the summer season. A few irrigation wells have been constructed but they are of little help. Reclamation

was found only in one village out of the nine studied altough there are lands for reclamation. There is no doubt that cultivation is now being done in the *dangal* lands which used to remain fallow a decade before. It may be that the *dangal* lands due to well irrigation have become double cropped (autumn and *aghani*) but the percentage of such lands is very small. Irrigation facilities provided are inadequate.

So far as animal husbandry is concerned no tangible improvement is visible. A Santal of Bhounradih reported to the investigator that his half a dozen goats could not be serviced. Poultry could have been developed much more. The pigs are mostly local.

The co-operative movement is gaining ground. Almost all the investigated villages are covered under the Co-operative Societies. Both money and paddy through grain-*golas* have been advanced by the Co-operative Societies. But due to limited capital the Co-operatives are not in a position to meet the demand. The local *mahajans* are still the chief source of credit. It appears that money-lending is the most lucrative business of the area. A money-lender of South India has recently come to Palajori to do business. It is understood he has some *lathials* to realise his money with 50 per cent interest within ten weeks. A fair percentage of Santals have lands only on paper but they are actually in the possession of the *mahajan* for satisfaction of loans.

Gram Panchayats have covered almost all the investigated villages. The impact of *Gram Panchayat* on the Santals appears to be insignificant. Both in *Pradhani* and *Khas* Santal villages the hereditary villageman commands respect. The cases of the Santals are decided by the *Pradhan* with the help of village *Panches*. Elections are fought. The *Mukhiyas* of backward castes have replaced the old Zamindars.

So far as the public health activities are concerned it may be mentioned that the labour cases are still attended by the village *Chamain*. A health sub-centre has recently been started by the block at Choudhary Nawadih, where there is one *dai* and one compounder. It was reported that even in that village the labour cases are done by the *Chamain*. Vaccination and disinfection of wells have now become a normal feature. Santals are now not allergic to vaccination and other medical help.

Cottage Industries.—Out of the 10 villages investigated industrial loan to the tune of Rs. 100 was given to Nawadih

Santal village for poultry development. No such loan was reported from other villages. A sewing centre is recently started at the village Pindra where there are 8 trainees. Some Santals have been trained in the sewing centres ; 4 Santals of village Bhounradih have recently received 4 sewing machines. It may be said to be a good beginning if the redundant farm population can get fresh avenue of employment. In the block area only Palajori village has been electrified. The electricity is consumed only for lighting purposes. No industry has yet been developed.

The main roads are the Dumka-Jamtara and the Palajori-Sarath roads. The latter is a fair-weather road. No village road was constructed by the block. One culvert was constructed at Benidih. The block papers reveal that 28 such culverts were constructed in the area. The soil is sandy and hilly. Village roads are not considered to be essential. Bullock-carts move freely in the fair-weather season.

The incidence of literacy seems to be extremely poor. Efforts are being made to increase the incidence of literacy. A high school was recently started at Palajori. There are primary schools in all the investigated villages, except at Bhounradih. The allurement of stipend is increasing the number of Santal students in schools. But there is hardly any teaching in the lower classes.

One of the basic aims of the Community Development Programme is to create avenues for rural employment. The block has no records. On the other hand there is substantial evidence that the problem of rural employment has rather been aggravated due to a sharp rise in population. This problem will not be solved unless the district is industrialised.

Economic Potentialities.

The chapter on Industries contains a discussion of the industrial potentialities of this district, and there is no need to repeat it. The economic trends will largely depend on the industrial development of the district. It has, however, to be mentioned that the indigenous pursuits of the Santals and many other communities here are pastoral. They keep poultry and rear goats. There are vast pasturages which can be utilised in rearing goats and sheep. Every Santal home can be converted into a poultry centre if proper encouragement is given. Rearing of pigs also can be developed. The district offers an excellent field for the further development on a large scale of poultry, sheep, goat and pig

rearing. The economic trends will perceptibly change for the poorer classes if this is done.

The future economic trends will also veer more round the traffic through the Ganga river.

From the *Supplements to the Calcutta Gazettes* (1871-72) it appears that Sahibganj was selected due its location the best place for registration of the river-borne traffic. A boat registration office was set up with a staff and a census was taken of the boats that would pass Sahibganj up and down with different types of commodities. The total number of country boats which passed Sahibganj during 1872 for the up-stream traffic and down-stream traffic was 20,364 and 22,580 respectively. During the first six months the up-stream traffic was larger and heavier than the down-stream, but during the second half year when the river was in flood, the down-stream traffic was very much larger. The total weight of the cargoes passing Sahibganj during the period under review for down-stream traffic and up-stream traffic was 5,705,477 maunds and 4,984,545 maunds respectively. The chief staples of the down-stream traffic were wheat, oilseeds, pulses and gram, sugar, tobacco, saltpetre and cotton and up stream traffic rice, salt, pulses and gunnies. The estimate of the quantity of goods was entirely based on what the boatmen gave out and no internal check was made. The quantity would, therefore, be heavier. The total of goods traffic was much larger than the goods traffic of the East India Railway passing through Sahibganj. But later the railways had eclipsed the river traffic.

In spite of the enormous development of roadways there is a great scope for the revival of water-borne traffic through Sahibganj and Rajmahal. The railways have their limitations.

The National Council for Applied Economics had recently made a Ganga traffic survey. The survey showed that the Ganga river could be an excellent escape from the clogged traffic through roads and railways with the mounting pace of industrialisation in the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal regions bordering the Ganga. Bihar will continue to be the transport cushion for rail and road transit traffic to Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Nepal in case the road and rail routes in that area get congested and clogged. The traffic potential of freight and passengers through the Ganga river in Santal Parganas is immense and has a particular importance due to its proximity to West Bengal and Pakistan. The thousands of persons living within 12 miles of the Ganga on the *diara* lands on both sides of the river will take advantage of the transport by river. The commodities to be carried by the

river will be both raw materials and finished goods. These include rice and other cereals, textiles, vegetables, sugar, jute, tobacco and cigarettes, salt, cotton piece goods, iron materials, petroleum and petroleum products specially kerosene oil, stone, sand, building materials, livestock and fish. A steamer service from Patna to Rajmahal, short distance and ferry services need to be organised and the channels regularly dredged and bandelled from October to May every year. The *ghats* which are not in too good a condition require attention. When the Farakka Barrage scheme in West Bengal is completed there will be direct navigational route between Bihar and West Bengal and this district will play an increasingly important role. There is already a cargo service organised by the Ganga Brahmaputra Water Transport Board, between Rajmahal and Burhaj. Co-ordination of rail and water transport at Manihari and Rajmahal will improve the economy of the district substantially. A very substantial traffic used to be transacted through the Ganga as registered at Sahibganj in 1872. With the areas of Assam and West Bengal being brought nearer the river traffic will again increase in spite of the development of the railways and roadways.

Communications.—The arteries of communications are important factors in the development of the economic potentiality of the district. So far as railway is concerned many portions of the district especially the interior, have not been linked with railways. The district is traversed on the north-east and south-west by the Eastern Railway. The absence of the railways in the Damin areas, which have forests and mineral resources, is a big handicap for the proper exploitation of the local mines. The length of the railway in Santal Parganas is only 223 kilometres. The expansion of metalled roads in this region has to some extent improved the communications. The vehicular traffic on almost all the metalled roads will be far heavier as the district becomes more and more industrialised.

Madhupur Community Development Block.

An enquiry was made into the economic condition of the people of some villages in the Madhupur Community Development Block.

The Madhupur Community Development Block was started on the 2nd October, 1961. The block extends over an area of 118,056 acres. The area under cultivation is about 64,686 acres held by 75,486 cultivators in 452 villages.

It is reported and was found by investigation that the majority of the holdings are uneconomic. The cultivable land gets uncertain, deficient and precarious rainfall. The assured irrigation facilities are practically non-existent. From the Block papers it appears

that a sum of Rs. 40,000 was spent on minor irrigation in course of two years. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry accounted for Rs. 16,679. On the whole in the course of two years about Rs. 1,46,000 had been spent on all development spheres.

A sample survey was conducted by actual participation with the villagers.* For this purpose two villages, viz., Siktia and Dhamani were visited.

Siktia.—The village is situated at a distance of about 9 miles from Madhupur. The village is accessible by road from Madhupur and also by the Madhupur-Giridih Section of the Eastern Railway. The name of the nearest railway station is Jagdishpur. The village has an area of 1,188 acres, out of which about 220 acres of land are cultivated. The number of occupied houses as reported by the Gram Sevak is 72 with a total population of 389. The Santals constitute more than 80 per cent of the population. The number of the occupied houses covered by the Santals is reported to be about 58, Pojhar 4, Dusadh 1, Modi 2, Bengali Hindus 4 and Muslim 3. It is a *mul-raiyati* village. The *mul-raiyat* is of the Muhammadan community. The rent collection work is reported to be satisfactory.

The village is covered by both the Gram Panchayat and a co-operative society since about a decade before. The co-operative society is reported to be functioning well. There is a grain-*gola* of the co-operative society which had advanced about 60 maunds of paddy to the needy cultivators during 1962. The farmers are both Santals and non-Santals. Besides grain, co-operative loan to the tune of about Rs. 500 had been advanced to the villagers. The realisation of both grain and cash is reported to be regular. It is reported that the good work of the co-operative society has affected the business of the *mahajans*. From the area of the cultivable land it is evident that there is no big cultivator in the village. The owner-cultivators constitute the majority of the population but the size of the holdings is found to be so small that only agriculture with very little of irrigation is hardly sufficient. Except the Bengali Hindus and Muslims the other cultivators are owner-cultivators-*cum*-labourers. The Bengali Hindus and Muslims get their lands cultivated by labourers. The minerals like quartz and felspar are found in the locality known as Duarpahar. The minerals are brought to Jagdishpur railway station for transhipment to Calcutta. Quarry of this mineral is one of the chief avenues of employment for the local labourers. Two Bengali families are engaged in flower cultivation. About 10 acres of land in all are under flower cultivation. Flowers like

*The sample survey was conducted by the Gazetteer's Revision Section in September, 1963.

rose, chrysenthymum, tube-roses and other seasonal flowers are sent to Calcutta throughout the year. The casual migration of the Santals to the coalfields is also an usual feature.

The impact of the Community Development Block, Madhupur on the people of this village seems to be negligible so far. One silk production centre and one *Mahila Kalyan Kendra* have been started in the village in August, 1963. Both the centres are in the infancy stage. A stud bull of good breed has been given to the village. About half-a-dozen improved birds were distributed for poultry development but none had survived. Two irrigation wells and a community hall are under construction. There is practically no irrigation facility in the village.

The Block staff in the village are one Village Level Worker, a Gram Sevika, a Karamchari and a Gram Sevak. The development staff has not as yet made impression on any sphere of public life. The commercial fertilizer, Japanese Method of cultivation and improved seed are not common here. The incidence of literacy is very small. There is one lower primary school.

Dhamani.—A village situated about 5 miles from Jagdishpur railway station and 13 miles from Madhupur. The village is not under the bus route. The total area of the village is about 675 acres out of which about 250 acres are under cultivation. The number of the occupied houses is 61 with about 600 souls. The incidence of literacy is small. The village contains a middle school and an Ayurvedic dispensary.

The owner-cultivators are predominant. Next to them are the cultivating labourers. The size of the holdings in this village is also reported to be very small. It is a *pradhani* village. The rent collection work is done by a *pradhan* who is of Bhumihar Brahman Caste.

The village is covered by both the Gram Panchayat and a co-operative society which are functioning from before the opening of the Madhupur Block. There is a grain-*gola* of the co-operative society. The co-operative society has advanced both grain and cash loan to the needy cultivators. The realisation of co-operative loan is reported to be regular.

The Block has started one silk production centre and one *mahila kalyan kendra.* Since they have just started there has been no impact. A bull was given for breeding purpose but that had recently died. Improved birds were distributed for the improvement of poultry but it is reported that they are not thriving. There is a health sub-centre which has one *dai.* The Block doctor visits the centre twice a week.

Irrigation facilities are practically non-existent. Two irrigation wells have been sanctioned by the Block.

From the investigation at the two villages and the records of the Block it is gathered that modern scientific agriculture has not yet been introduced. Modern agricultural technique is still unknown. The major irrigation facilities are non-existent. On minor irrigation a sum of Rs. 40,000 was spent for digging wells and the renovation of tanks and *bandhs*. But at the above mentioned two villages practically no minor irrigation work is done. Without some irrigation facilities agriculture is not expected to improve.

It is clear that improvement is called for practically in all directions, namely, water resources, manure, seeds and implements, soil and moisture conservation, agricultural practices and plant protection. In the two villages mentioned cowdung is still found to be the only manure used. Compost pits for the preparation of manure do not exist. It is noteworthy to mention that cowdung is not burnt as fuel in the two villages. It is because firewood is easily available from the local forest area. Coal is also used for fuel. Commercial fertilizers are still unknown. The poor economic incidence and ignorance of the cultivators do not encourage the use of fertilizers. Good seeds have not been supplied. The farmers use their own farm grain as seed.

No impetus has been given to develop any cottage industry. There is now no cottage industry in the villages. Rearing of cattle is a subsidiary occupation to cultivators. It was gathered in the two investigated villages that a good quantity of milk is sold in the Madhupur and Giridih markets. Milk is taken for sale to these two places by rail. The local cows and buffaloes were found to be of poor breed. As stated before better bred stud bul l has been distributed for improvement of the local breed but the small-sized local cows cannot be serviced properly. Poultry which the Santals and the Harijans rear as a routine has not been properly developed. Due to lack of proper market facilities the rearers get poor dividend. There could have been efforts on this line. The newly started silk production centre and the *mahila kalyan kendra*, will open fresh avenues of employment if they function on approved lines. It will take some time to popularise silk production. The *Kalyan kendra* teaches sewing, knitting, etc.

The incidence of literacy in the rural areas seems to be very poor. The aptitude for education is still lacking in the Santals and in the Backward Classes.

The road communications have not developed properly in the Madhupur Block areas. In rainy season Madhupur is not accessible

by road from its subdivisional headquarters, Deoghar and the district headquarters, Dumka. There is no road link between Madhupur and Jamtara. The development of road communication is essential for rural market facilities. Hitherto (1963) a meagre amount (Rs. 1,400) had been spent on communication by the Block.

The co-operative movement is gaining ground. The co-operative society is functioning before the inception of the Block. From the investigated villages it was gathered that it is the chief avenue of the rural credit facility.

Since the Block is itself in an infancy stage it has not made headway in any of the spheres of the development programme. It may be mentioned that instead of trying to bring about an all-round improvement it would be much better if attempts are concentrated in developing floriculture, rearing of silk and poultry. There is abundant scope for these lines.

ANNEXURE.

Name of block.	Year of openings.	No. of villages covered.	Area in sqaure miles.	Year of relapsing.
Dumka Subdivision –				
1. Gopikandar ..	1st April, 1962 ..	129	122	1st April, 1967.
2. Shikaripara ..	1st April, 1958 ..	261	185	1st April, 1963.
3. Ramgarh ..	1st April, 1960 ..	347	204	1st April, 1965.
4. Kathikund ..	1st October, 1961..	197	119	1st October, 1966.
Deoghar Subdivision—				
1. Deoghar at Jasidih	1st October, 1962..	463	169	30th September, 1967.
2. Sarawan ..	1st October, 1960	458	119	1st October, 1965.
3. Madhupur ..	1st October, 1961	452	136	1st October, 1966.
Godda Subdivision—				
1. Godda ..	1st April, 1962 ..	263	92	1st April, 1967.
2. Pathargama ..	1st April, 1958 ..	435	137	1st April, 1963.
3. Poreyahat ..	2nd October, 1959	213	183	2nd October, 1964.
4. Mahagama ..	1st April, 1961 ..	366	69	1st April, 1966.
Pakaur Subdivision—				
1. Hiranpur ..	1st April, 1962 ..	130	108	1st April, 1967.
2. Amrapara ..	1st April, 1959 ..	146	111	1st April, 1964.
3. Litipara ..	1st October, 1960	230	156	1st October, 1961.
Rajmahal Subdivision—				
1. Barharwa ..	1st April, 1957 ..	241	72	30th September, 1963.
2. Rajmahal ..	1st October, 1959	254	113	1st October, 1964.
3. Pathana ..	1st April, 1961 ..	150	151	1st April, 1966.
4. Barhait ..	1st October, 1962	275	230	30th September, 1967.
	STAGE II.			
Dumka Subdivision—				
1. Jama ..	1st April, 1960 ..	120	320	1st April, 1965.
2. Dumka ..	1st April, 1962 ..	276	106	1st April, 1967.

ANNEXURE—*Concld.*

Name of block.	Year of opening.	No. of villages covered.	Area in square. mile.	Year of relapsing.
Deoghar Subdivision—				
1. Sarath ..	1st April, 1960 ..	384	121	1st April, 1965.
2. Palajori ..	1st April, 1963 ..	308	119	1st April, 1968.
3. Karon ..	1st October, 1962	318	192	1st October, 1967.
Godda Subdivision—				
1. Mahagama ..	1st October, 1962	414	78	1st October, 1967.
Jamtara Subdivision—				
1. Jamtara ..	1st July, 1959 ..	353	154	1st July, 1964.
2. Nala ..	1st July, 1959 ..	344	209	1st July, 1964.
Pakaur Subdivision—				
1. Maheshpur ..	1st October, 1961	347	173	1st October, 1966.
Rajmahal Subdivision—				
1. Taljhari ..	1st April, 1961 ..	120	58	1st April, 1966.
	POST STAGE II.			
1. Raneshwar ..	..	222	144	..
	TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS.			
1. Borio IInd Stage	1st April, 1963 ..	402	211	1st April, 1968.
2. Kundahit IInd Stage.	st April, 1963 ..	369	181	1st April, 1968.
3. Boarijore 1st Stage.	1st December, 1961	441	133	1st December, 1966.
4. Pakauria 1st Stage	1st April, 1962 ..	157	108	1st April, 1967.
5. Masalia 1st Stage..	1st April, 1963 ..	318	192	1st April, 1968.
	PRE-EXTENSION BLOCK.			
1. Jarmundi ..	..	..	..	..
2. Mohanpur ..	..	..	..	..
3. Narainpur ..	..	..	..	..
4. Pakaur ..	..	..	..	..
5. Sarayahat ..	..	..	..	..
6. Sundarpahari ..	..	..	..	..
7. Sahibganj ..	..	..	..	..

The statement below will show the schemes completed and the expenditure borne up to 1962:—*

	Schemes completed.	Expenditure. Rs.
1. Health and Rural Sanitation	2,169	10,57,104
2. Education	136	7,41,736
3. Social Education	44	8,59,640
4. Communication	560 miles 560 culverts.	8,37,382
5. Rural Art and Craft	..	5,13,887
6. Housing	20	1,52,402
7. Block headquarters	19	60,63,633

*SOURCE.—District Development Officer.

CHAPTER X.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Act by which the district of Santal Parganas was created is known as Act XXXVII of 1855 which received the assent of the Governor-General on the 22nd December, 1855. The early history of the administration has been described elsewhere and here only its present set-up is mentioned.

Administrative Charges.

For the purpose of civil administration, the district is divided into six subdivisions, viz., Dumka, Deoghar, Godda, Jamtara, Rajmahal and Pakaur.

With the growing complexity of administration, special officers have been appointed for some of the departments. Thus the Deputy Commissioner is now assisted by a Gazetted Superintendent of Excise for the administration of Excise affairs, a Superintendent of Police for running the police administration, a District Sub-Registrar for the registration of documents, a Civil Surgeon for the Medical Department, a Superintendent of Jail for the day-to-day jail administration, etc. He is assisted by a large number of gazetted officers (who are Magistrates of various ranks) for running the administration smoothly. For revenue and development work the district is divided into circles, known as Blocks, each of them being under the charge of a Block Development Officer.

The overall administrative supervision and responsibility, however, rest with the Deputy Commissioner. He is also responsible for revenue collection and the implementation of the development projects. He is under the administrative control of the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division.

Many of the departments like Excise, Co-operative, Jail, Gram Panchayat, etc., at the district level are linked with and subordinate to separate departments at Secretariat level. The local officer incharge of the department has been put under the control of the Deputy Commissioner besides his own superior officers. Thus an Excise Superintendent has to work under the Deputy Commissioner directly but he has also been put under the Deputy Commissioner of Excise of the Division and the Commissioner of Excise as the departmental head.

With the attainment of independence in 1947 the character of the administration has been undergoing a change. The State has assumed the role of a Welfare State and development work has been given a great emphasis in the present set-up of the administration. Because of the large percentage of Scheduled Tribes and Castes in the population, a large number of welfare schemes has been taken up for the welfare of the Backward Communities, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. National Extension Service Blocks and Community Development Projects have been started with the object of carrying out intensive co-ordinated rural development of each area with the active association and participation of the people. An attempt is being made to eradicate the evils of casteism by statute and propaganda. Laws have been made to remove the disabilities of the Harijans from entering temples, public places, tanks, wells, etc. With the abolition of Zamindari, there is now no intermediary link between the State and the cultivators.

The Deputy Commissioner is assisted in general administration (in October, 1962) by an Additional Deputy Commissioner, an Additional Collector, a District Development Officer, a Senior Deputy Collector, a Sub-Deputy Collector, a District Accounts Officer, a District Welfare Officer, a Special Officer for Paharia Welfare, a Treasury Officer, a District Land Acquisition Officer, a District Statistical Officer, a District Industries Officer, a District Panchayat Officer, a Superintendent of Excise, an Administrator for the District Board, a District Sub-Registrar, six Subdivisional Officers and one P.A. to the Deputy Commissioner. Magistrates trying cases are not included here.

The Sadar Subdivision has been functioning as an independent unit since the 1st January 1958 with the following officers :—

Subdivisional Officer—1, Deputy Collector incharge Land Reforms and Development—1, Munsif-Magistrate—1, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate—3, Sub-Deputy Collector—3, Assistant Engineer—1, Block Development-*cum*-Circle Officer—10, Compensation Officer—2.

The Deoghar Subdivisional Officer is assisted by a Deputy Collector, incharge of Land Reforms and Development, two Deputy Magistrates, a Sub-Deputy Collector, an Assistant Engineer, two Compensation Officers and seven Block Development-*cum*-Circle Officers. The Subdivisional Officer, Godda subdivision, has one Deputy Collector incharge of Land Reforms and Development, two Deputy Collectors, one Sub-Deputy Collector,

one Assistant Engineer, one Compensation Officer and seven Block Development-*cum*-Circle Officers to assist him. In the Jamtara subdivision the Subdivisional Officer has the assistance of one Sub-Deputy Collector, one Compensation Officer and five Block Development Officers and in Pakaur subdivision the staff of the Subdivisional Officer consists of two Deputy Collectors, one Deputy Collector incharge of Land Reforms and Development, one Assistant Engineer, one Compensation Officer and six Block Development Officers. The Subdivisional Officer of the Rajmahal subdivision with its headquarters at Sahibganj has one Deputy Collector incharge of Land Reforms and Development, two Deputy Collectors, one Sub-Deputy Collector, one Assistant Engineer, one Compensation Officer and eight Block Development Officers.

The present (in 1962) strength of non-gazetted officers and office assistants of the Collectorate is near about 4,050.

Damin Magistrates.

In the year 1943 the post of a Damin-Magistrate-*cum*-Superintendent of Hiranpur Cattle Market with its headquarters at Hiranpur in Pakaur Subdivision was created. The creation of three more posts of Damin Magistrates at Katikund in Dumka subdivision, Barhait in Rajmahal subdivision, and Sundarpahari in Godda subdivision also followed. All these Magistrates were designated as Resident Magistrates. They had power to take cognizance of complaint cases and used to try all criminal and civil cases of the Damin areas of their respective jurisdiction. They also looked after the collection of revenue in the Damin-i-koh Government Estates and were also entrusted with the welfare of the aboriginals of their areas. The Damin Magistrate at Hiranpur was also entrusted with cattle registration work in the Hiranpur Government Cattle Market.

Now only the Damin Magistrate at Hiranpur is managing the registration of cattle work in Hiranpur and the work of the other three Damin Magistrates was taken over by the Block Development Officers. The recent reorganisation scheme of the District Magistrate and his office as detailed by Shri B. D. Pande, I.C.S., has been implemented in this district also. The details have been covered in the *Bhagalpur District Gazetteer*.

Police.

The police administration in this district is under the Superintendent of Police, who is under the administrative control of the Deputy Commissioner as well as the Inspector-General of Police

(the departmental head with his headquarters at Patna). The Superintendent of Police with his headquarters at Dumka, has primarily to maintain law and order. For the efficient control, supervision and protection by the police, the district was divided into two units, North and South, from 1st January, 1963. The headquarters of the south unit is at Dumka while that of north unit (declared as a sub-district for police administration) is at Sahibganj. The sub-district comprises the Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions and two police-stations of Godda subdivision, namely, Sunderpahari and Boarijore, the rest of the district comes under the jurisdiction of the south unit.

There are 43 police-stations, three outposts and eight town outposts. The district is also divided into 11 circles, viz., Dumka A, Dumka B, Deoghar, Godda, Jamtara, Sahibganj, Pakaur, Amrapara, Katikund, Boarijore and Barhait. Each circle is under one Inspector of Police. There are also six check posts on the Bengal border. The Rajmahal sub-district is under the control of an Additional Superintendent of Police posted at Sahibganj while the south unit functions under the Superintendent of Police, Dumka.

The police staff of the district in 1963 consists of one Superintendent of Police with his headquarters at Dumka, one Additional Superintendent of Police posted at Sahibganj, five Deputy Superintendents of Police, of whom three are working as Subdivisional Police Officers posted at Deoghar, Godda and Sahibganj and two are working as Office Deputy Superintendent attached with the head office at Dumka, 11 Inspectors, 80 Assistant Sub-Inspectors and 1,085 constables. Besides these there is a Prosecuting Inspector of Police at Dumka who conducts police cases and seven Assistant District Prosecutors to conduct cases in different courts in this district. There is also a District Crime office attached to the office of the Superintendent of Police. One Inspector is posted here who carries out the work of the District Crime Branch. At Dumka there is also a Reserve Police Office with one Sergeant-Major, one Quarter-Master Sergeant and one Subedar. A detailed description about the working of the police organisation has been given in the Chapter on 'Law, Order and Justice'.

Excise.

The Superintendent of Excise with his headquarters at Dumka is the head of the administration for excise purpose at the district level. He is under the immediate control of Deputy Commissioner of Excise. The head of the department is the Commissioner of Excise, Bihar with his headquarters at Patna. For the purpose of

excise administration, the district is divided into 14 circles, namely, the Sadar Circle, Katikund, Jarmundi, Godda, Maheshpur, Pakaur, Barharwa, Mahgama, Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Deoghar, Jamtara, Madhupur and Nala circles.

For the administration of excise in the district there are four Excise Inspectors, 26 Excise Sub-Inspectors and nine Assistant Excise Sub-Inspectors.

The excise revenue has been gradually increasing. In 1892-93 it amounted to Rs. 1,65,000; in 1900-01, it was Rs. 2,19,000 and in 1961-62, it rose to Rs. 20,29,512. Thus during the last sixty years the excise revenue has increased about 10 times. During the last ten years the income from excise has increased by about two lacs rupees. The statistics of revenue as derived from different kinds of excisable commodities from the year 1951-52 to 1961-62 are as follows :—

Statement showing the income from Excise from 1951-52 to 1961-62 (in rupees).

Year.	Country spirit.	*Ganja.*	*Bhang.*	Opium.	*Tari.*
1	2	3	4	5	6
1951-52 ..	11,74,478	1,34,823	13,459	45,631	81,984
1952-53 ..	10,55,205	1,01,742	15,475	44,854	88,664
1953-54 ..	8,20,120	96,586	13,549	45,812	82,096
1954-55 ..	7,71,844	1,12,025	12,590	49,969	74,194
1955-56 ..	7,93,205	1,13,748	10,278	43,896	70,637
1956-57 ..	9,35,005	1,27,421	8,891	34,448	72,605
1957-58 ..	8,92,359	1,19,328	7,868	29,725	73,351
1958-59 ..	9,79,351	1,11,016	8,566	13,921	77,081
1959-60 ..	12,36,129	1,30,808	9,090	1,277	75,556
1960-61 ..	12,91,311	1,12,998	10,174	962	80,432
1961-62 ..	13,54,943	94,660	8,883	348	83,520

Statement showing the income from Excise from 1951-52 to 1961-62 (in rupees)—*concld.*

Year.	*Pachwai.*	Foreign liquor including commercial spirit.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1	7	8	9	10
1951-52	4,25,753	7,387	6,614	18,90,129
1952-53	4,39,275	9,386	4,767	17,59,368
1953-54	3,42,707	8,524	3,684	14,14,078
1954-55	3,66,273	9,771	28,991	14,25,657
1955-56	3,83,940	11,866	12,380	14,39,950
1956-57	3,88,385	12,630	17,947	15,97,332
1957-58	4,14,251	12,669	10,456	15,60,007
1958-59	4,71,034	12,034	7,961	16,80,968
1959-60	4,28,857	15,899	13,304	19,10,920
1960-61	4,42,631	16,082	13,619	19,68,209
1961-62	4,32,692	41,696	12,770	20,29,512

The State Government have imposed a ban on the oral consumption of opium from the 1st April, 1959 and opium-eaters have to obtain a medical certificate. This is the reason why the income from opium since 1959-60 has shown a downward tendency.

The *Pachwai* (rice-brewed liquor) is largely consumed by the aboriginals of this district while *tari* caters to the needs of the poorer section of the non-tribal people, who are mostly addicted to it.

Recently (2nd October, 1962) six country spirit shops in the Deoghar town and within a radius of 10 miles of it have been abolished due to strong public demand as Deoghar is a place of pilgrimage.

Registration.

There are six offices, one in each subdivisional headquarters, for the registration of documents under the Indian Registration Act XVI of 1908. There are six Sub-Registrars working under the control and supervision of the Deputy Commissioner, who is the

ex-officio District Registrar. The District Sub-Registrar posted at Dumka assists the Deputy Commissioner in supervising the work of the sub-registry offices in the district. The Inspector-General of Registration, Patna is the Head of the Department.

"The average number of documents registered annually during the quinquennium ending 1935 was 4,879 as against 6,046 in the preceding five years and 6,976 in the quinquennium ending 1904. The decrease of over 20 per cent is due to continued economic depression since October, 1930. It may be noted here that the *ryoti* lands are not saleable in this district except in certain villages in Tappa Muhammadabad in the *khas* villages in pargana Sultanabad and Ambar and in *khas* villages of parganas Kanakjole"*.

The statement given below shows the total documents registered, the value of properties registered and receipts from the year 1951 to 1961.

Year.	Immovable property.			Moveable property.		
	Number of documents registered.	Value of the property registered (in Rs.).	Receipts (in Rs.).	Number of documents registered.	Value of the property registered (in Rs.).	Receipts (in Rs.).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1951 ..	5,008	33,46,100	39,971	249	3,16,627	1,019
1952 ..	5,840	39,01,621	45,034	935	7,16,113	1,076
1953 ..	8,305	41,73,294	52,969	471	2,43,219	1,354
1954 ..	7,745	43,34,573	52,158	424	3,13,732	1,750
1955 ..	8,105	39,57,482	51,691	1,198	2,69,926	4,289
1956 ..	9,655	46,83,888	60,656	1,226	1,94,153	5,594
1957 ..	10,457	48,33,074	64,143	416	1,88,267	1,790
1958 ..	12,622	64,22,200	66,896	1,168	1,79,168	2,882
1959 ..	16,598	69,94,183	91,989	1,545	4,62,261	3,933
1960 ..	15,116	63,87,919	87,808	1,192	3,03,364	4,752
1961 ..	15,843	66,84,713	96,265	1,394	7,25,524	5,954

*From *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (published in 1938), pp. 347-348.

The statement shows that the number of documents registered in respect of immovable property has almost tripled during the last eleven years and the income derived as fees has also risen considerably. The income from the registration of documents in respect of movable property has been fluctuating but from the year 1957 it has been rising steadily.

Stamps.

The revenue from stamps is an important source of revenue of the State Government. "The receipt from this source increased from Rs. 1,38,000 in 1897-98 to Rs. 1,80,000 in 1907-08, to Rs. 3,80,400 in 1935-36"* to Rs. 5,51,055 in 1949-50. The statement showing a gross sale of non-judicial and judicial stamps in the district of Santal Parganas from the year 1958 to 1961 is given below :—

Year.	Non-judicial Stamps.	Judicial Stamps.
	Rs.	Rs.
1958	84,230.00	3,07,029.81
1959	1,46,874.00	3,45,214.49
1960	1,49,475.00	3,92,805.06
1961	2,17,526.00	3,76,088.16

Commercial Taxes.

After the enactment of the Bihar Sales Tax Act a Commercial Taxes Circle was established on 1st May, 1944 at Dumka, with jurisdiction over the whole district. The Sales Tax Officer took over the administration of the following Acts with effect from the dates as mentioned against each below :—

(1) Bihar Agricultural Income-Tax ..	1st May 1944.
(2) Bihar Sales Tax Act	10th October 1944.
(3) Bihar Entertainment Tax Act ..	1st April 1948.
(4) Bihar Electricity Duty Act	1st October 1948.
(5) Bihar Motor Spirit Tax	1st April 1948.
(6) Bihar Passenger and Goods Transport Act.	1st April 1950.

On 1st April, 1950 the headquarters of this circle was shifted to Deoghar and a sub-circle was started at Sahibganj, with its jurisdiction over Rajmahal and Pakaur subdivisions only; the remaining area of the district comes under the jurisdiction of Deoghar circle.

**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (published in 1938), page 346.

The activities of the department have remarkably expanded; the Deoghar circle is now under the charge of a Superintendent of Commercial Taxes and the Sahibganj sub-circle has been put under the charge of an Assistant Superintendent who is under the administrative control of the Superintendent, Deoghar circle. At Mihijam one check-post was set up with effect from the 1st January 1960 and three Assistant Superintendents have been posted to carry on the work thereof. At Deoghar, in addition to the Superintendent of Commercial Taxes, there are three Assistant Superintendents to assist him in the administration of Commercial Taxes. At Sahibganj there is an Additional Assistant Superintendent to manage the work of sub-circle, Sahibganj. There were nine Gazetted Officers and 26 ministerial staff in 1962 as against the sanctioned strength of three Gazetted Officers, three non-Gazetted Officers and ten Ministerial Officers in 1950-51.

In addition to the six Acts of the State Government, as already mentioned, this Department is also administering the Central Sales Tax Act, 1956 with effect from the 1st July 1957.

The collection of revenue under the different Acts from 1954-55 to 1961-62 is given below :—

Act.	Year.			
	1954-55.	1955-56.	1956-57.	1957-58.
1	2	3	4	5
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Sales Tax	9,64,910	9,62,120	9,84,472	11,31,866
2. Agriculture Income-Tax ..	1,28,765	1,07,726	97,447	77,534
3. Entertainment Tax ..	99,417	1,28,289	1,17,592	1,00,245
4. Motor Spirit Tax ..	2,14,538	1,90,189	2,20,519	2,35,094
5. Electricity duty	12,048	20,468	53,350	1,00,245
6. Passengers and Transport Tax	1,57,173	1,38,753	57,656	9,763
7. Central Sales Tax ..	..	..	..	14,235

Act.	Year.				
	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.	1962-63.
1	6	7	8	9	10
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Sales Tax	12,15,765	8,67,541	11,61,690	13,53,550	14,44,902
2. Agriculture Income-Tax ..	72,694	72,153	90,417	1,22,693	30,359
3. Entertainment Tax ..	1,24,148	1,28,178	1,56,639	1,29,576	1,90,571
4. Motor Spirit Tax ..	3,34,768	3,52,698	3,52,698	3,41,046	4,55,597
5. Electricity duty ..	1,24,148	1,28,178	1,11,628	1,39,588	1,90,783
6. Passengers and Transport Tax	2,11,621	1,50,814	1,74,101	5,450	1,70,251
7. Central Sales Tax ..	2,06,554	2,11,976	2,35,490	2,89,768	3,32,150

The sudden fall in the revenue under the Transport Act in the year 1961-62 is due to the fact that the Act has been declared *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court of India and at present (1962) the Act is not operative. The income under Central Sales Tax Act, as indicated by the figures in the statement shows an increasing tendency. Income from other taxes, except Agricultural Tax, has also been gradually increasing during the last eight years. The income under Agricultural Tax has been fluctuating. The district is not agriculturally advanced as the soil is rocky and this is the reason why the income from Bihar Agricultural Income-Tax has been fluctuating.

District Election Office.

The Deputy Commissioner has deputed a Senior Deputy Collector to act as the District Election Officer. The District Election Office started functioning in 1950; prior to this election work was done by the English Office of the Collectorate. The Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer, in addition to their functions relating to general administration, are also the Electoral Registration Officers and the Returning Officers of different Assembly, Parliament and Council constituencies falling within their jurisdiction. They have also to perform certain duties for conducting the elections.

The printing and arrangement of the distribution of the electoral rolls are done in the District Election Office. The electoral

rolls based on adult franchise have to be revised every five years before the general election.

In the First and Second General Elections Rs. 4,23,362 and Rs. 5,38,110 were spent respectively and for the Third General Election the figure of final expenditure is not as yet available. However, up to September, 1962, Rs. 2,80,271.20 nP. has been paid in connection with the Third General Election and many bills are still to be paid. In the First General Election, 1,098 officers, in the Second General Election 1,470 officers excluding 826 police force and in the Third General Election 3,805 officers excluding 1,684 policemen were employed to conduct the election in this district. In the First General Election it took 19 days, in the Second General Election it took 16 days and in the Third General Election it took only seven days in completing the poll in the district.

Agriculture Department.

The present set-up of the department of Agriculture came into existence with a few Agriculture Inspectors near about 1932. The controlling officer was the Deputy Director of Agriculture with his headquarters at Sabour (Bhagalpur). With the pressing need for more food production, extension of agricultural works and intensive agricultural practices, the Grow-More-Food Scheme was launched in 1943 and more persons were appointed. In 1944 the post of District Agriculture Officer was created with his headquarters at Dumka. His field staff consisted of one District Engineering Supervisor, six Engineering Overseers and seven Agriculture Inspectors (six for general inspection and one for Grow-More-Food Scheme). In 1947 the post of Grow-More-Food Officers was created. Six Grow-More-Food Officers were posted in the six subdivisions of the district. Later the posts of Grow-More-Food Officers were declared to be technical and non-technical officers were replaced by technical officers in the year 1954, and the post of Grow-More-Food Officer was redesignated as Subdivisional Officer. In 1955 the posts of a few Subject-Matter Specialists, i.e., Agronomist, Botanist, Chemist, Horticulturist and Mechanic were created. Their work is to fill up the gap between the findings of research and the cultivators and carrying the problems of the cultivators to the research centres. The District Agriculture Officer has to control, guide and supervise the execution of all types of agricultural schemes in the district and to co-ordinate the activities. He also acts as the agricultural adviser.

The District Agriculture Officer now is assisted by six Subdivisional Agriculture Officers (posted in six subdivisions), two Additional Subdivisional Agriculture Officers posted at Dumka and

Deoghar, six Subject-Matter Specialists, forty-one Agriculture Extension Supervisors, two Farm Supervisors, fifteen Agriculture Inspectors, one Horticulture Extension Supervisor, one Agriculture Inspector for Field Experimental Scheme and one Fisheries Inspector. The post of the Fisheries Inspector was previously under the Industries Department. In 1956 this post was merged with the Agriculture Department.

In order to provide better scope for irrigational facilities, a separate department known as the Minor Irrigation Division was created in 1960 in this district with an Executive Engineer at the head with his headquarters at Dumka. Consequently, the work of the execution of irrigational schemes which was previously within the jurisdiction of the Agriculture Department is now with the Executive Engineer, Unified Minor Irrigation Division, Dumka.

In the Third Five-Year Plan period one post of Junior Statistical Assistant has been created under each District Agriculture Officer to maintain agricultural statistics.

In the year 1956 in the Marketing Intelligence Scheme, one post of the District Agricultural Marketing Inspector under the District Agriculture Officer was created along with three Price Reporters. The post of the District Agricultural Marketing Inspector was created with a view to propagate the ideas of agricultural marketing, to survey all the markets of the district for statistical purpose and to prepare a market directory.

The post of the Price Reporters at Deoghar, Sahibganj and Dumka has been created to collect market price of agricultural commodities and to study the market position and tendency from the selected subdivision where they are posted. The Price Reporter keeps watch over the price trends of all important markets and submits daily report to the Government. They are to assist the District Agricultural Marketing Inspector in the execution of the work of marketing section of the district.

The post of the Senior Research Assistant (Agrostology) with two Fieldmen has been created to conduct experiments in the cultivators' plot for showing the improved method of cultivation for getting higher yields.

In the Third Five-Year Plan period (1961-62) one post of District Agriculture Engineering Officer, one blacksmith, one fitter, one carpenter and one orderly peon have been created for popularisation of the improved agricultural implements and for selling the same to the cultivators on 50 per cent subsidy basis.

In the Third Five-Year Plan period (1961-62) posts of one Senior Research Assistant and one Laboratory Assistant have been created with a view to test the soil of the cultivators' field for suggesting the ways and means for better cultivation.

For administrative purpose the State is divided into five ranges and each range is in charge of a Deputy Director of Agriculture. This district comes under the administrative control of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bhagalpur Range, Bhagalpur. The Director at Patna is the head of the department.

Education Department.

The Education Department at the district level functions under the control of the District Education Officer with his headquarters at Dumka. He works under the control of the Regional Deputy Director with his headquarters at Bhagalpur. The Director of Public Instruction with his headquarters at Patna is the head of the Directorate.

The Education Department has had an enormous expansion and there are a number of officers at the district now. The District Education Officer is assisted by one District Superintendent of Education, one District Social and Youth Welfare Officer, six Subdivisional Education Officers, one Deputy Superintendent of Basic Education and one Deputy Superintendent of Physical Education. One Subdivisional Education Officer has been posted in each subdivision and is assisted by Deputy Inspector of Schools and Sub-Inspector of Schools. In this district (in November, 1962) there are six Deputy Inspectors of Schools—one in each subdivision, and 55 Sub-Inspectors ; Dumka Sadar 12, Godda subdivision 8, Pakaur subdivision 7, Jamtara subdivision 7, Deoghar subdivision 8, Rajmahal subdivision 8, and for leave reserve 5 Sub-Inspectors). The District Superintendent of Education (specially for Primary Education) is also assisted by two Deputy Superintendents of Education. Another Deputy Superintendent is in charge of popularising Hindi in the non-Hindi speaking areas of Santal Parganas and Purnea. The District Social and Youth Welfare Officer deals with the organisation of social education and is assisted by 18 male and 11 female Social Education organisers who are posted in some of the blocks of this district.

For girls' education there is one District Inspectress of Schools with headquarters at Dumka since 6th October, 1959. She is not under the administrative control of the District Education Officer and her office functions as an independent unit. The Inspectress of Schools, Bihar with her headquarters at Patna is her immediate

controlling officer. The District Inspectress of Schools is, however, not the proper authority to inspect (*i*) the Government Girls' Multi-purpose Higher Secondary School, Dumka, and (*ii*) Women's Training School, Jasidih (Santal Parganas) as in each of the school a Principal (in class II educational service) of equal rank, is the head of the institution. The former is inspected by the Inspectress of Schools, Bihar and the latter is under the direct control of the District Education Officer. The District Inspectress of Schools is assisted by five Deputy Inspectresses posted at the subdivisional headquarters.

District Employment Exchange Office.

The National Employment Service with the object to provide jobs to the unemployed came into existence after the Second World War. The post of the Director-General of Resettlement and Employment under the control of Central Government was created in July, 1945 with the object of supervising, co-ordinating and directing the work of the Employment Exchanges. The entire country was divided into nine regions and Bihar was one of them. Each region was placed under a Regional Director. Originally the services of the Employment Exchange were available to ex-service-men and women only. In 1948 its services were made available to all categories of employment seekers. On the recommendation of the Training and Employment Service Organisation Committee, the day-to-day administration of the Exchange was transferred to the State Government on the 1st November, 1956.

The District Employment Officer with his headquarters at Dumka works under the control and supervision of the State Director, National Employment Service, Department of Labour and Employment, Bihar whose headquarters is at Patna. For administrative purposes the State has been divided into one region at Patna and four sub-regions at Dhanbad, Ranchi, Jamshedpur and Muzaffarpur. The District Employment Exchange, Dumka is under the jurisdiction of Dhanbad sub-region. The District Employment Officer is assisted by one Junior Statistical Assistant.

The main function of the Employment Exchange is to maintain liaison between the employer and the employment seeker. The Exchange registers the employment seekers with detailed records of qualifications, experiences, preferences, etc. All the employers of public sectors and bigger employers employing above 25 persons in private sectors are required to notify the vacancies through the Employment Exchange under Employment Exchange (Compulsory Notification of Vacancies) Act, 1959. The Exchange sends suitable candidates to the employers.

Animal Husbandry Department.

The posts of the District Animal Husbandry Officer and the Subdivisional Animal Husbandry Officers were created in the Second Plan period. The District Animal Husbandry Officer with his headquarters at Dumka is working in this district since May, 1957. He is assisted by five Subdivisional Animal Husbandry Officers posted at the subdivisional headquarters. There are 31 Veterinary Extension Supervisors posted in the various blocks to look after the veterinary work at Block level. There is a Poultry Inspector at district headquarters for developing poultry.

There are 37 class I veterinary dispensaries and four provincialised hospitals. Six veterinary dispensaries, previously run by the District Board were provincialised with effect from the 30th November, 1960 and are now run by the State Government. In addition to providing medical treatment to the animals the department also has extended its activities to upgrading local cattle, fodder cultivation, poultry development, sheep breeding and piggery development.

Public Health Engineering Department.

For administrative purpose the district is divided into two Public Health subdivisions with headquarters at Deoghar and Dumka. The subdivision at Deoghar was created on 11th March 1950 and the subdivision at Dumka on 29th June 1955. Both the Public Subdivisions were placed under the control of the Executive Engineer, Public Health Division, Bhagalpur at the time of their creation. Subsequently a new division, namely, Public Health Drainage Division was created at Bhagalpur in 1957. The supervision and control of the Public Health Subdivision at Dumka was transferred to the newly created Public Health Drainage Division at Bhagalpur with effect from 1st August, 1958 while the supervision and control of the Public Health Subdivision, Deoghar has remained with the Public Health Division, Bhagalpur.

Each Public Health Subdivision (Dumka and Deoghar) functions under a gazetted officer of the rank of Assistant Engineer.

The Public Health Subdivision, Deoghar has three sections—two at Deoghar and one at Basukinath. Each section is under the charge of a Sectional Officer. Similarly the Public Health, Dumka has also three sections—two at Dumka and one at Pakaur, and each section is in the charge of a Sectional Officer. The Assistant Engineer, Public Health Subdivision controls and supervises the works of the Sectional Officer of his jurisdiction.

There is also a Mechanical Overseer with his headquarters at Dumka who works under the control of an Assistant Mechanical Engineer in charge of Public Health Mechanical Subdivision, Bhagalpur.

There are some important schemes that require a special mention. The scheme known as the new Water-Supply Scheme at Deoghar was taken up in 1950-51. The scheme is nearing completion. There is no water tower at Deoghar. There is a reservoir of water of 2,00,000 gallons capacity constructed on Nandan Pahar. The daily supply of water is between 3 to 6 lakh gallons depending upon the availability of water. Regular water-supply is given to a total population of 30,000 persons nearly. The present supply is considered to be insufficient and steps are being taken to meet the problem.

Basukinath where there is a *Shiva* temple has got water-supply. The capacity of the elevated reservoir at Basukinath is 50,000 gallons. There are at present 15 numbers of hydrants and a vat with 16 numbers of points at Jarmundi. Several other big villages are also going to get piped water-supply.

The water-supply scheme for Dumka town was taken up in December, 1955. The water-supply was made available from January, 1960. There is a reservoir of 2,00,000 gallons capacity on the Hizla hills. The present water-supply to the town is between 2 to 3 lakh gallons a day.

A number of tube-wells have been sunk in the different *anchals* to supply drinking water. Rajmahal *anchal* has been given 139 tube-wells, Sahibganj *anchal* 62 tube-wells, Pakaur and Maheshpur *anchals* 37 tube-wells each.

District Statistics Office.

The District Statistical Officer works under the Deputy Commissioner. His departmental head is the Director of Statistics with his headquarters at Patna. The District Statistical Officer is assisted in his work by one District Statistical Inspector, one junior Statistical Assistant, one juinior Statistical Supervisor, six junior Field Investigators, one Compiler, one Computor and one *Amin*. The work of the office is to collect agricultural and other statistics and prepare various monthly and periodical statements.

Forest Department.

A description of the early management and administration of forests in the Santal Parganas district has been given in the

old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* published in 1938 from pages 230 to 241.

The forests of Deoghar and Jamtara civil subdivisions were under the control and management of the *Ghatwals* and Zamindars prior to the enforcement of the Bihar Private Forest Act in the year 1947. The forests under the management of the Zamindars were fast getting depleted. The need for bringing the forests under scientific management was considered essential and hence the Bihar Private Forest Act, 1947 was passed which was amended and reenacted in the year 1948 and is known as the Act IX of 1948.

After enactment of the Land Reforms Act, 1950 (Bihar Act III of 1950) the forests vested to the State Government and were subsequently notified under section 29 of the Indian Forest Act.

After taking over the private forests under the Bihar Private Forest Act, they were put under the administrative control of the Divisional Forest Officer, Dumka. A forest subdivision comprising the areas of Deoghar and Jamtara civil subdivisions was created with effect from 1st September, 1949. This subdivision continued to function under the administrative control of the Divisional Forest Officer, Dumka till 1st June, 1952.

The Deoghar Forest Division was created comprising the Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions of the Santal Parganas district and Banka subdivision of Bhagalpur district with effect from the 1st June, 1952.

Thus at present there are two forest divisions, namely, Dumka and Deoghar and each division is functioning under the control of the Divisional Forest Officer who is posted at the respective Subdivisional headquarters. The Divisional Forest Officers work under the administrative control of the Conservator of Forests, Magadh Circle at Patna and the Chief Conservators of Forests, Bihar at Ranchi. They have the responsibility of seeing to the proper management of the forests.

The forests of the Dumka (forest) division are divided in six ranges, viz., Dumka-Damin range, Godda range, Pakaur range, Hizla range, Sahibganj range and Simra range. Each range is in the charge of a Range Officer. The Range Officers are assisted by 19 foresters and for the proper protection of the forest, there are 97 forest guards in the Dumka division. The ranges are further divided into 19 beats.

For the proper management of the *Sabai* Grass Scheme which was entrusted to the Forest Department, one Assistant Conservator

of Forests is working under the Divisional Forest Officer, Dumka. The whole area of *Sabai* grass land was divided into four ranges, namely, East Sakrugarh Range, West Sakrugarh Range, Banjhi Range and Mundro Range. Each range is in the charge of a Ranger who is assisted by 3 Foresters, 12 Forest Guards, 2 Depot *Moharirs* and 2 Depot Guards.

The Deoghar Forest Division has two ranges, namely, Jasidih and Madhupur. The jurisdiction of Madhupur range covers the entire subdivision of Jamtara and Madhupur thana of Deoghar subdivision and part of Sarath thana. The remaining portion of Deoghar subdivision forms the jurisdiction of Jasidih range. There are seven beats, three beats in Jasidih range, namely, Mohanpur Mahigarhi and Koiridih and four beats in Madhupur range, namely, Jagdishpur, Burhai, Karmatanr and Kundahit. The whole division is further divided into 51 sub-beats.

The Divisional Forest Officer for Deoghar (forest) division is posted at Deoghar and is assisted by a number of Rangers, Foresters and Forest-Guards like the D. F. O. at Dumka.

District Public Relations Office.

The office works under the administrative control of the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas as well as under the Deputy Director, Public Relations, Bhagalpur Division, Bhagalpur. The head of this department is the Director, Public Relations Department with his headquarters at Patna.

At the district level, the District Public Relations Officer, Dumka is assisted by one Assistant Public Relations Officer at each subdivision. There is one Additional District Public Relations Officer at Deoghar.

In order to make the aboriginals conscious of their rights and duties the department has started publishing periodicals and dramas in the Santali language. Some of the dramas have been staged in the district on certain occasions. There is a Santal Song and Drama Section under the control of the Deputy Director, Public Relations, Bhagalpur. He has his own staff.

Public Works Department.

In the district there are two Public Works Divisions, namely, Dumka division and Deoghar division and each division is in the charge of an Executive Engineer who works under the control of the Superintending Engineer, Bhagalpur. The Dumka Division

started functioning from 23rd November, 1949 and then its jurisdiction was only not limited to Santal Parganas district but was also extended to Khalkhalia Nala Bridge which is on the Bhagalpur-Dumka road, a distance of five to six miles from Bhagalpur town and Sarman. Dumka and Chakai in the Monghyr district were also under its jurisdiction. With the formation of Bhagalpur P. W. D. (new) division in 1955 the jurisdiction of the Dumka division was curtailed to the district of Santal Parganas only except the works under the Godda P. W. D. subdivision. In the year 1956 the Deoghar division was created and the Dumka division has since then jurisdiction over three civil subdivisions of the district, namely, Dumka, Pakaur and Rajmahal.

The Executive Engineer of the respective division is the controlling and disbursing officer of the division under his jurisdiction. He controls and supervises construction of roads and buildings, inspects the work in progress and controls the payments to the contractors. The Subdivisional Officers are the heads of the supervising staff of their respective subdivisions. The Sectional Officer, i. e., Overseer, gets the works executed according to the sanctioned plan and estimate.

In Dumka Division there are three Subdivisional Officers, at Dumka, Amrapara and Pakaur and eleven Sectional Officers posted at each section. One Assistant Engineer posted at Sahibganj and two Estimators attached with the office assist the Executive Engineer, Dumka and work under him. The Dumka P. W. D. Division, has been divided into three subdivisions, namely, Dumka, Amrapara and Pakaur and again these three subdivisions have been subdivided into eleven sections.

For Deoghar Division there is an Executive Engineer assisted by three Subdivisional Officers who are posted at Deoghar, Jamtara, and Godda. The jurisdiction of Deoghar P. W. D. Division comprises the civil subdivisions Deoghar, Jamtara and Godda. The whole area of Deoghar division is divided into nine sections, namely, Deoghar Section I, Deoghar Section II, Hansdiha, Sarath, Madhupur, Jamtara, Palajori, Godda and Mahagama and each section is in the charge of a Sectional Officer.

District Industries Office.

The District Industries Office at Dumka started functioning from the middle of October, 1957. The District Industries Officer is assisted by one Inspector of Industries posted at Dumka. The District Industries Officer works under the administrative control of the Director of Industries whose headquarters is at Patna.

He is also working under the control of the Deputy Commissioner. There are twenty-seven Industrial Extension Supervisors against 41 blocks in this district.

The department has to develop cottage industries and to look after small-scale industries. For the development of industries, loan is also granted by the department to the needy industrialists and small artisans.

Co-operative Department.

For proper administration Co-operative Societies have been divided into six co-operative circles, co-extensive with six civil subdivisions. Each circle is in the charge of an Assistant Registrar, Co-operative Societies. The Assistant Registrar is assisted by a number of field staff according to the need. One Co-operative Extension Supervisor has been posted in almost every Block. He is generally assisted in the field work by Supervisors. His work is to organise Co-operative Societies, to afford facilities and promote food production, and to make efforts for marketing the produce. The programme of the State Government is to bring all the agriculturist families in the co-operative fold by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. So far only thirty per cent of the agriculturist families mainly marginal and sub-marginal cultivators of this district have been brought under the fold of the co-operative societies.

The Assistant Registrars work under the control of the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas and Deputy Registrar at Bhagalpur. The head of the Co-operative Department is the Registrar with his headquarters at Patna. There is no officer at the district level to co-ordinate the activities of the Assistant Registrars working at the subdivisional level. The activities of the co-operative societies have been dealt with in the chapter 'Banking Trade and Commerce'.

Weights and Measures Office.

In Bihar the section of Weights and Measures is attached with the department of Agriculture. The Central Government which meets the major part of the expenditure directs and co-ordinates the activities of the Weights and Measures of different States through its Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

The section of Weights and Measures functions at the State level under the administrative control of the Chief Inspector of Weights and Measures, Bihar with his headquarters at Patna.

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At the divisional level there is a Divisional Inspector of Weights and Measures in every Division of Bihar who supervises the work. One District Inspector of Weights and Measures is posted in every district whose jurisdiction extends over the whole district.

The office of the District Inspector of Weights and Measures started functioning at Dumka with effect from December, 1960. The District Inspector of Weights and Measures is assisted by three Subdivisional Inspectors, Weights and Measures posted at Dumka, Deoghar and Sahibganj respectively. The Bihar Weights and Measures Enforcement Act, 1959 came into force in the municipal towns and notified areas of this district from 1st January, 1961. Prior to the enforcement of the Act, the main duty of the Inspectors was to make publicity of the metric system.

District Mining Office

Previously the Mining Office was located at Dumka. It was shifted to Deoghar in 1956 where it has been functioning under the control of a District Mining Officer. The jurisdiction of the District Mining Officer is not only limited to the district of Santal Parganas but it also extends to Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts. There is only one Surveyor who assists the District Mining Officer. The main function of the District Mining Officer is to realise rents from the mines and minerals found in Santal Parganas, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts. The details regarding the mines in the district will be found elsewhere.

District Panchayat Office

The District Panchayat Office started functioning in this district with effect from December, 1949. The office functions under the administrative control of the District Panchayat Officer with his headquarters at Dumka. The District Panchayat Officer works under the control of the Deputy Commissioner. The head of the department at the State level is the Director of Gram Panchayats with his headquarters at Patna.

The District Panchayat Officer is assisted by 21 Gram Panchayat Supervisors who are posted at different blocks of the district. Moreover there are 8 Instructors and 666 *Gram Sevaks* working under him.

Irrigation Department

The schemes of irrigation are of three types—major, medium and minor. The major schemes are executed by the Irrigation

Department. The Executive Engineer, Waterways of Bhagalpur Division with his headquarters at Bhagalpur has jurisdiction over this district for the execution of major irrigational schemes. There are two Subdivisional Officers, Waterways, with their headquarters at Godda and Rangalia for supervision and execution of the major schemes of irrigation in this district. They work under the Executive Engineer, Waterways, Bhagalpur Division.

The execution of the medium and minor irrigation schemes was previously done by the Revenue and Agriculture departments. But now this work has been entrusted to the Minor Irrigation Department. Under this department, an Unified Minor Irrigation Division Office has started functioning at Dumka with effect from August, 1962. It functions under the control of the Executive Engineer. Unified Minor Irrigation, who is responsible for the proper execution of minor and medium irrigation schemes in this district. He works under the control of the Superintending Engineer, Unified Minor Irrigation, Bhagalpur Circle, with his headquarters at Bhagalpur. The Executive Engineer is assisted by six Assistant Engineers who are posted at each subdivisional headquarters and one Assistant Engineer who has been posted at Dumka. The head of the department is the Chief Engineer, Minor Irrigation Department, Bihar with his headquarters at Patna.

Electricity.

For proper administration of the work of electric supply in the district of Santal Parganas the district has been divided into two divisions, namely, Deoghar and Pakaur and eight subdivisions, viz., Deoghar, Jamtara, Madhupur, Godda, Dumka, Pakaur I (maintenance of supply), Pakaur no. 2 (construction subdivision) and Sahibganj with effect from October, 1962.

The jurisdiction of Deoghar Division comprises Deoghar, Jamtara, Madhupur and Godda subdivisions. Prior to the creation of Deoghar Division, the administration of the area now under Deoghar Division was under the control of Hazaribagh Division. The Deoghar Division came into existence with effect from 1st March, 1957 with its jurisdiction over the whole district of Santal Parganas except Sahibganj subdivision which was then under the jurisdiction of Monghyr Division. With the creation of Pakaur Division in October, 1962, the jurisdiction of Deoghar Division was curtailed and now it has jurisdiction over four subdivisions only as mentioned above. The Deoghar division functions under the control of an Electrical Executive Engineer with his headquarters at Deoghar. He is under the administrative control of the Electrical Superintending Engineer, Bhagalpur. The Executive

Engineer is assisted by four Assistant Electrical Engineers posted at Madhupur, Godda, Jamtara and Deoghar. The Government took over the Electric Supply Company, Limited at Dumka in August, 1953. The Deoghar Division now receives power from the Damodar Valley Corporation from their power stations at Maithon and Nirsa.

Pakaur Division has jurisdiction over Dumka, Pakaur no. 1 (maintenance of supply), Pakaur no. 2 (Construction subdivision) and Sahibganj (Electrical subdivisions). In each (electrical) subdivision one Assistant Engineer with four or five Overseers has been posted. The administrative head of the Pakur Division is the Electrical Executive Engineer posted at Pakaur. He is under the administrative control of the Electrical Superintending Engineer, Bhagalpur.

The State Government have been supplying electricity to Dumka town and some other parts of the present Pakaur Division (previously under Deoghar Division) with effect from 26th October, 1954. Previously Dumka town was supplied electricity through an isolated diesel power station at Dumka, but with effect from 22nd December, 1956 the Hydro-Electric Power Station at Masanjore under the West Bengal Government has been supplying electricity.

The town of Sahibganj receives power from the generator set at Sahibganj.

Previously the work of electric supply was under the control of the Bihar Electricity Department, but with effect from 1st April, 1958, vide notification no. 2884-Elec., dated Patna, the 25th March, 1958 the Bihar State Electricity Board was created which replaced the Electricity Department. The administrative head of the Board for electric supply is the Chief Engineer, Bihar State Electricity Board, with his headquarters at Patna.

District Labour Office.

With the object of proper implementation of different labour laws in the district the District Labour Office started functioning under the control of a Labour Officer with his headquarters at Dumka with effect from June 4, 1957. The office was later on shifted to Deoghar where it has been functioning since 14th October, 1957.

Prior to 1961 the Labour Officer posted first at Dumka and thereafter at Deoghar had jurisdiction over the whole of Santal Parganas

district in respect of all Labour laws enforced in the district. In 1961 one more Labour Officer designated as the Inspecting Officer was posted at Sahibganj. Since then the Labour Officer posted at Deoghar has jurisdiction in respect to (1) Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 (2) Minimum Wages Act, 1948, (3) Weekly Holidays Act, 1952 and other labour laws throughout the district except the Bihar Shops and Establishment Act, 1953 over which his jurisdiction confines to only Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions. The Labour Officer posted at Deoghar has assistance of six Labour Inspectors posted at Deoghar, Jamtara, Dumka, Godda, Sahibganj and Pakaur.

The Inspecting Officer posted at Sahibganj has been empowered to deal with the implementation of the Bihar Shops and Establishment Act, 1953 only in respect of only two subdivisions, namely, Dumka and Sahibganj. The Bihar Shops and Establishment Act, 1953 is not up till now (February, 1963) enforced in Pakaur and Godda subdivisions.

The head of the department is the Labour Commissioner with his headquarters at Patna. There is an Assistant Labour Commissioner posted at Bhagalpur.

Central Excise.

The Superintendent of Central Excise with his headquarters at Bhagalpur has jurisdiction over Santal Parganas district as well as Bhagalpur district. He is under the control of the Assistant Collector with his headquarters at Patna. The head of the Central Excise in Bihar is the Collector of Central Excise with his headquarters at Patna.

For the administration of Central Excise in the district of Santal Parganas, the Superintendent of Central Excise, Bhagalpur is assisted by four Sub-Inspectors and seven Inspectors of Central Excise. The district has been divided into seven ranges, namely, Deoghar, Dumka, Pakaur, Barharwa, Sahibganj, Madhupur and Rajmahal. Each range is in the charge of an Inspector of Central Excise.

The revenue which is derived from Deoghar is mainly from iron and steel products, electric wires and cables, vegetable non-essential oil* and tobacco, from Dumka, vegetable non-essential oil and tobacco from Pakaur, tobacco and non-essential vegetable oil from

*Vegetable non-essential oil is now under exemption from 1st March 1963.

Sahibganj, tobacco and non-essential vegetable oil from Madhupur, tobacco, chinaware and vegetable non-essential oils.

The receipts of the Central Excise derived from the Santal Parganas district from 1957-58 to 1961-62 are given below :—

Year.	Tobacco.	Medicine.	Non-essential oil.	Others.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1957-58 ..	12,89,754.49	..	18,384.00	817.25
1958-59 ..	10,66,062.80	..	1,07,670.77	896.07
1959-60 ..	10,90,438.14	..	1,39,358.73	..
1960-61 ..	15,56,896.09	535.21	1,39,986.24	..
1961-62 ..	17,17,963.54	66,949.60	48,025.60	..

Postal Department

The Postal Department including Telegraphs and Telephones is under the Central Government. For the administration of postal services, there is one Superintendent of Post Offices, Santal Parganas Division with his headquarters at Dumka. Before February, 1963 the Superintendent of Post Offices, Bhagalpur Division controlled the postal services of this district. The Superintendent of Post Offices is under the control of the Postmaster-General, Bihar with his headquarters at Patna.

The jurisdiction of the Superintendent extends over the whole of the district of Santal Parganas. In his work he is assisted by two Inspectors of Post Offices. The Dumka Post Office is the head post office of the district. There are several post offices and branch post offices. The details of the postal services have been covered in the chapter on "Communications".

The mail of the district is conveyed by train, motor vehicles and by runners on foot. The contribution of the runners with spikes and jungling belts in the earlier days of the Postal Department has been splendid. It is they who built up the tradition of

an honest and efficient Postal service when the pathways ran through jungles infested with wild animals. Many of them had fallen prey to prowling animals. There are still quite a few runners throughout the district. There are yet a good number of villages which are not adequately served by this department. Chitra, a village in the Sarath Block under Deoghar subdivision, occupies an important place because of coal deposits in the neighbouring areas. But there is no post office within a radius of about five miles. The Postman, as reported by the villagers, comes only once a week. During the rainy season when the communications of the village are deplorable, the difficulties of the villagers could well be imagined. There is a great need for the extension of the activities of the Postal Department particularly in the rural areas. The target of a Post Office within 5 miles or that every village with a population of 2,000 persons will have a Post Office, has not yet been fulfilled. The observations are based on investigations in 1962-63.

CHAPTER XI

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

Early History

Some of the facts of the early history may be reiterated here. The district of Santal Parganas was constituted in 1855 by Act XXXVII of that year. The territory of this district was carved out of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts and consisted of what was known in the past as the "Jungleterry tract" and the *terai* (valley) of the hills inhabited mainly by the aboriginal tribes. The revenue survey had taken place before the formation of this district. The "Jungleterry tract" which is known as Damin-i-koh was never under the subjugation of any ruler and was held by the Paharias as a semi-independent territory. It appears that in 1600* A. D. Emperor Akbar sent his General Mansingh to settle the affairs of Bengal. A Katauri Sardar named Rup Karan aided Mansingh in escorting his armed forces through the defiles of these hills and in reward got in "Mansab Jagir" free of rent and in perpetuity, the territory comprising the valley included in the hills of the mountaineers (Paharias) which occupies the middle portion of the district beginning from the north and stretching for a considerable length towards the south. To the west of the Damin-i-koh the Katauris were in ascendency and held the *parganas* of Yamuni, Akbarnagar, Manihari, Patsunda, Barkop, Usila and Handwe. All these *parganas* were included in the district of Bhagalpur prior to 1855. To the east of the hill tract were the *parganas* of Ambar and Sultanabad held by adventurers from the up-country who had acquired imperial *farman* during the reign of Emperor Akbar. The southern and the south-western portion of this district formed part of the Zamindari of Birbhum known as Nagar Raj with its capital at Nagore in the district of Birbhum. The Raja of Nagore came to an arrangement for assessment of the land held by the *Ghatwals* of tappa Sarath and recognised the *Ghatwalis* as tenures under the Nagore Raj. There is however no authentic record to indicate separately what revenue was derived from the territories comprised in this district during the time of Mugal Administration. One special feature of the Revenue Administration of this district is that the portions of estates borne on the revenue roll of other districts lie in the district of Santal Parganas as indicated below:—

Bhagalpur Collectorate—Touzi nos. 445, 2792, 2793, 2799, 457, 100, 95, 96, 201, 3516, 217 and 35.

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*McPherson's Settlement Report, p. 18.

Birbhum—Touzi nos. 191, 195, 188, 111, 123, 177 and 186.

Malda—Touzi nos. 259 and 689/1.

Murshidabad—Touzi nos. 327, 328, 1472, 178, 88, 629, 132 and 1152.

The proprietors of these touzis paid land revenue and cess to the Collectors of the districts concerned. The portion of cess realised for the area situated in this district was remitted by the Collectors concerned to this district by Government drafts but this system has stopped after the abolition of Zamindaris. Rent is now directly paid by tenants to the State Government.

Decennial and Permanent Settlements

There is no independent information to indicate the progress of decennial and permanent settlements which took place prior to the formation of this district. There are, however, 467 estates on the revenue roll of this district of which 444 are permanently settled estates and two are temporarily leased out estates. 21 estates were held direct by Government. Of the Government estates by far the most important was the Damin-i-koh which extends over 1,338 square miles. The total revenue payable by the owners of permanently settled estates was Rs. 1,08,808 before the abolition of the zamindaris.

Tenures and Under-tenures

The following classes of tenure-holders existed in this district prior to the abolition of zamindaris :—

(1) *Ghatwali* tenures.

(2) *Mulraiyati* tenures.

(3) *Ghat Choukidari Jagir* lands.

(4) Village Headmen.

There were, besides, the usual *Makraridars*, *Patnidars*, *Brahmottardars*, etc., in this district as in other districts of the State. The proprietors of the Hetampur estate created a very large number of tenures in their estates which numbered about 500. Similarly the proprietors of Ambar and Sultanabad estates created a number of tenure-holders called "*Patnidars*". The peculiar characteristics of the tenures of this district are indicated below :—

(*a*) *Ghatwali tenures.*—Prominent among the tenures more or less peculiar to this district are the *ghatwali* tenures of *tappa* Sarath Deoghar, which cover almost the entire Deoghar subdivision,

and are also found in Jamtara and Dumka. The *ghatwalis* appear to have been originally tenures granted for the protection of the *ghats* or passes through the hills and the *ghatwals* were small hill chiefs, who raised small levies for their defence and were responsible for peace and order in the tracts held by them. *Tappa* Sarath Deoghar was annexed in about 1700 A. D. by the Muslim Rajas of Nagore in Birbhum, but the latter were unable to subdue the hill chiefs altogether and came to an arrangement by which one half of the *ghatwali* lands was held by the *ghatwals* as *jagir* and the other half was liable to assessment. Towards the end of the 18th century the power of the Rajas of Nagore declined still further, and, after the establishment of British rule, the Rajas were unable to exercise any control over the *ghatwals*. Accordingly, in 1790, the Governor-General in Council allowed the Raja an abatement of his revenue equal to the total amount which might be engaged for by the *ghatwals* while the Collector of Birbhum was directed to make engagements with them. At the same time it was ordered that the lands held by the *ghatwals* should be excluded from the management of the Raja and should be managed by the Collector, though the Governor-General (Sir John Shore) declared that the *ghatwals* were not entitled to separation or to enter into engagements as proprietors.

The *ghatwali mahals* having passed under the Collector's management, the latter concluded settlements with the *ghatwals*, but the Raja was credited with all net realizations in excess of the revenue. The *ghatwals*, however, fell repeatedly into arrears, and eventually in 1812 the Governor-General ordered a fresh settlement, deputing a Special Officer Mr. David Scott, for the purpose. By Regulation XXIX of 1814 this settlement was declared perpetual, and the *ghatwalis* were recognised as permanent tenures at a fixed rent. The tenures were declared part of Zamindari of Birbhum and the rents were to be paid to the Collector, who, after deducting the Government revenue on that part of the estate, was to pay the balance to the Zamindar. The new *jama* was fixed at Rs. 20,889 and the *Sadar jama* at Rs. 15,172 the difference (Rs. 5,717) being payable by Government to Birbhum Raja. *Tappa* Sarath Deoghar was transferred to the Santal Parganas in 1855, and after the re-adjustment of district boundaries in that year the *ghatwali* revenue payable at Dumka was Rs. 23,494 and the amount payable by Government to the Zamindar Rs. 7,310.

The Nagore Rajas have now lost their estate and the surplus profits of Sarath Deoghar *ghatwalis* accrue to the State Government. There were altogether 53 *ghatwali* tenures in Sarath Deoghar, the gross rental of which was Rs. 2,50,000 while the revenue they paid to Government was Rs. 16,183-8-6.

The incidents of the *ghatwali* tenures were as follows :—

"The *ghatwal* has an inalienable life interest in his tenure; but no lease granted by a *ghatwal* could bind his successor until the enactment of Act V of 1859, by which leases can, with the sanction of the Commissioner of the Division, be granted for building and mining purposes. A *ghatwali* is hereditary, but, to complete his title the heir has to appear before the Deputy Commissioner and execute *Kabuliyat* and a *Muchlika* undertaking a variety of duties connected directly or indirectly with the maintenance of peace within the *ghatwali*. As a *ghatwali* was inalienable it could not be sold by the Civil Courts, but the surplus proceeds, after providing for the due performance of police duties can be attached by a decree-holder. If a *ghatwal* refuses to reside in his estate or defaults in the performance of other duties, the *ghatwali* may be attached and managed on behalf of the *ghatwal* by order of the Commissioner. The police duties of the *ghatwals* have gradually become less, for, as the country developed, Government found it necessary to make police arrangements of a more elaborate character than could be undertaken by the *ghatwals*. At present the principal police duty required of them is to provide for the pay and equipment of the village watchmen within the limits of their tenures. The power of appointing and dismissing *ghatwals* is vested in the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division. Ordinarily the next heir of a deceased *ghatwal* is appointed to succeed him, provided that he is fit to perform the duties attendant upon the office.

"Out of 1,010 square miles covered by the 53 *ghatwalis*, ... all but 25 square miles are in the possession of the families with whom Mr. Scott made his settlement. They owe their preservation to the custom of primogeniture that applies to them, to the service nature of the tenure which renders it inalienable, and to the provisions of Regulation XXIX of 1814 and Act V of 1859. There can be no doubt that but for these safeguards the major portion of the area would long ago have passed into the hands of usurers and lawyers. As the law stands, *ghatwals* cannot contract debts that are binding on their successors, nor can their estates be sold up in execution of money decrees. A *ghatwal's* succession, more over, requires the confirmation of Government. The consequence is that their powers of borrowing are extremely limited and that they are compelled to live more or less on current income".*

The land revenue was payable in monthly *kists* and for defaults the *ghatwal* was liable to pay interest at 12 per cent per annum.

**District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 303.

(*b*) *Mulraiyati tenures.*—Another kind of tenure found in the Deoghar subdivision is the *mulraiyati* tenure, which is an artificial creation. In 1876-77, in the course of the settlement of that subdivision by Mr. Browne Wood, 80 men, who had been recognised as headmen, presented a petition to Government claiming that they were ryots having a right to transfer their holdings, and that the cultivators under them should be recorded as under-ryots or *korfadars* with no right of occupancy. It was finally decided that the memorialists and others in a like position should be styled *mulraiyats*; but the rights of other cultivators were protected by the record-of-rights drawn up by the Settlement Officer. Two criteria were set up for settling claims to the status of *mulraiyat* both of which should have been satisfied before a claim was allowed :—

(1) that the claimant should be descendant of the original founder of the village; and

(2) that the right of transfer of the *mulraiyati* interest had been exercised and established.

In practice, sometimes one of these tests was applied, sometimes the other, rarely both and the result was that *mulraiyati* status had to be recorded in Sir H. McPherson's Settlement in 540 villages. A *mulraiyat* is a village headman who possesses certain special rights and is subject to certain special incidents. He may transfer his *mulraiyati* right as a whole and to a single individual and a co-*mulraiyat* may similarly transfer only as a whole one to a single individual his specified share in the *mulraiyati* right including the official holding (if any) corresponding to that share and the private holding, if any. The transferee needs recognition by the Deputy Commissioner. A *mulraiyat* or his co-sharers may with the sanction of the Subdivisional Officer partition their private holding and on receiving by partition a separate holding, a co-sharer (other than the *mulraiyat* himself) becomes an ordinary *jamabandi* ryot. This is equally applicable to partition of a co-*mulraiyat's* private holding. The official holding cannot be partitioned. A *mulraiyat* or co-*mulraiyat* may with the consent of the Subdivisional Officer settle out his private holding as a whole or in part at the rental to ryots. Land so settled becomes ordinary raiyati land of the village. When a *mulraiyat* or co-*mulraiyat* dies, the nearest male heir is entitled to succeed and if there be no male heir the Deputy Commissioner may permit a female heir to succeed. Only the private holding will pass and it will pass as an undivided whole to those who are heirs and the holding will continue to be private holding appertaining to the *mulraiyati* right. All succession has to be reported to the Subdivisional Officer and by him to the Deputy Commissioner who has to recognise the succession. The *mulraiyat*

or the whole body of co-*mulraiyats* acting jointly may with the consent of the Deputy Commissioner surrender the right of transfer, in which case he (or they) becomes ordinary *Pradhan*. If a *mulraiyat* dies without an heir or is dismissed for misconduct, there shall thereafter, be no *mulraiyat* of the village. The Deputy Commissioner, shall after consulting the proprietor, either appoint a *Pradhan* or declare the village *khas*. If a co-*mulraiyat* dies without an heir or is dismissed the Deputy Commissioner may appoint another co-*mulraiyat* or take such other action for the disposal of the deceased or dismissed co-*mulralyat's* rights and the performance of his duties, as he deems best after consulting the proprietor, villagers and other co-*mulraiyats*. During the revision settlement of 1922—1935, there were 448 *mulraiyati* villages against 540 during settlement of H. McPherson.

(c) *Ghat Chaukidari Jagir lands.*—A peculiar service tenure also exists in the Jamtara subdivision and the holders are known as the Ghat Chaukidars. They are holders of Jagir lands, the grants of which were made to them by the Raja of Nagore (Birbhum) before the Permanent Settlement. Some of these Jagirs consist of lands in the Jamtara subdivision and some lands partly in Birbhum and partly in Jamtara and some lands wholly situated in Birbhum. In return of these grants the Chaukidars were required to watch the roads leading to the town of Rajnagar, the seat of the former Raja of Birbhum, that is, their duties were to guard passes which are now situated in the district of Santal Parganas. At the Permanent Settlement no assessment of revenue was made on these Jagir lands. Under orders contained in Bengal Government's letter no. P. C.-4/12, dated the 22nd August, 1889, it is the duty of the Magistrate of Birbhum to look after the lands in his district which are held as service tenures by Chaukidars working in the Santal Parganas. In 1895, a Ghat Chaukidari Fund was established in the Jamtara subdivision and the services of the Jamtara Ghat Chaukidars were consummated so that they made cash payments in lieu of giving their services. In 1900 the Government of Bengal in their letter no. 2968-J., dated the 2nd August, 1900, directed that the same system of resumption and settlement of Chaukidari Jagirs which was adopted in the district of Birbhum should be extended to these parts of the Santal Parganas where the services of the Ghat Chaukidars were no longer required. Mr. Bompas who was the Deputy Commissioner at the time strongly recommended for these orders in regard to the Jamtara Ghat Chaukidars and in Bengal Government Judicial Department letter no. 1760-J., dated the 14th March, 1903, it was directed that the orders of 1900 should be held in abeyance as far as the subdivision of Jamtara is concerned and that the arrangement under which the Ghat Chaukidars in this subdivision made voluntary payments

in lieu of personal service should continue. The rents paid by the Ghat Chaukidars are credited to the Ghat Chaukidari Fund for which a personal ledger account has been opened in the Treasury with the sanction of the Auditor-General and the amount at the credit of the Fund is spent on—

(1) Pay of Sardars, centre muharrirs, and Chaukidars appointed as substitutes of the Ghat Chaukidars for rendering police duties,

(2) Uniforms of Sardars,

(3) Construction of and repairs to Chaukidari Bungalows and centre houses and any other building necessary for the administration of the police system in force in the Jamtara subdivision,

(4) Supply of law books, stationery, seals, thumb impression apparatus, hand cuffs, rope and other articles necessary for the conduct of police duties of Sardars and Chaukidars, and

(5) Rewards to Chaukidars and Sardars for good work.

The Jagirs of Ghat Chaukidars being pure service tenures are inalienable and impartible. The holder is personally liable for service and although the right of the Jagir holder to commute such personal service for a money payment for his own life time is recognised, a service must be rendered for these service lands if Government calls upon the holder of the tenure to render service in lieu of payment of certain sum of money. The holder of the service tenure must then provide some one to render the service required, failing that he loses the tenure.

(*d*) *Village Headmen.*—The village headmen are known locally as "*Pradhan*" or "*Manjhi*". Their position is almost the same as that of the *mulraiyats* except that the rights of the headmen are not transferable. They are appointed by the Deputy Commissioner or the Settlement Officer and are required to execute a *kabuliyat* setting forth the conditions of their tenures. They are also granted *pattas* containing the same terms.

The position of the village headmen was for the first time definitely defined in the course of Mr. Browne Wood's settlement, which dealt with two main classes, viz., the Santal *Manjhi*, or representative of the village community, and the *mustajir*, or lessee who was often an outside speculator, to whom a zamindar leased a village for a term of years. The principle followed by Mr. Wood in making appointments of headmen in villages was to confirm existing lessee if there were really representative villagers, whose

selection as headman was acceptable alike to the ryots and the zamindars. Long continued possession as a mere farmer was held to confer no right of occupancy or title to settlement. When an existing lessee refused settlement and no suitable headmen could be found, the village was settled *khas* with the proprietor. The chief privileges of the headmen were (*i*) his commission levied at the rate of one anna per rupee of rent from the village raiyats (in addition to their rent) and of one anna per rupee to be deducted from the rent payable to the landlord; (2) his enjoyment of the official holding called the *manjhi man* (now called *pradhani* or *mustajiri jote*); (3) his right to hold rent free, during the currency of the settlement, land reclaimed by himself from the waste and (4) his right to receive rent at half the settlement rate for the same period for all land reclaimed by other ryots of the village. In 1891 the principles followed at this settlement in the appointment and dismissal of headmen were embodied in a set of rules issued by the Commissioner Mr. Quinn, and known as "Quinn's Rules", which prohibited the appointment of non-residents of all subdivisions and transfer of the office of headmen, and detailed the grounds on which headman might be dismissed. These rules have been followed ever since, and are part and parcel of the agrarian law of the district.

Briefly, the position of headman (*pradhan*) is as follows :—

He is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner after consulting the landlord and tenants and the man appointed must be generally acceptable to the latter. The nearest male heir, if fit is ordinarily appointed. If he is a minor, he may be appointed with a *sarbrakhar* (guardian) to manage for him till he attains his majority. The headman may be dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner for misconduct, e.g., for dishonesty and for oppressing the ryots. He is entitled to collect from the village ryots commission at the rate of one anna per rupee in excess of the settled rent and to receive from the proprietor at each *kist* commission at the rate of one anna per rupee of village rent collected from the ryots and paid to the proprietor provided he pays on or before the *kist* date the settled rent due for the *kist*. For all payments of rents to the proprietor he gets a rent receipt in form prescribed in Bengal Government notification no. 1339-L.R., dated the 1st March 1904, and at the end of the year an annual quittance receipt in the form prescribed in Bengal Government notification no. 5247-S-90-R., dated the 7th June 1926. In the Damin-i-koh the system of commission is different from that obtaining in the zamindari areas for the headman gets no

commission from the ryots but he gets commission from Government at the following rates if full payment is made :—

On or before the 15th March	..	8 per cent.
Between 16th and 20th March	..	7½ per cent.
Between 21st and 25th March	..	7 per cent
Between 26th and 31st March	..	6 per cent.

He, however, gets commission at six per cent on all payments made up to 31st March even if full village rent is not paid. For all payments made between 1st April and 30th September commission at the rate of 3 per cent is payable.

A village headman may also sue jointly in one suit all or any number of ryots of the village for rent due from them and he may file any such suit without payment of court-fees and in such case the proper court-fees is the first charge on the decree. When the decree is passed the court of its own motion and without any application from the headman starts execution proceedings against the defaulting ryots. The period of limitation of suits by *pradhan* against ryots is 3 years but the limitation of suits for arrears of rent by proprietors against village headman is only one year from the date on which the arrears become due. In respect of *pradhans'* invested estates, the period of limitation had been extended to 10 years but this concession expired on 31st March 1961. If the headman defaults in paying the village rent, he is liable to dismissal and eviction from the whole or part of his private holding in execution of rent decrees obtained by the proprietor. Dismissal always involves the loss of the official holding which attaches to the post of headman. Eviction is the last resort and is discretionary with the Deputy Commissioner. If no *jamabandi* ryot comes forward to take settlement of the evicted private *jote* of the *pradhan* on payment of all arrears, usufructuary possession of the evicted *jote* is given to the proprietor for a definite number of years to clear off his arrears and the village is kept temporarily *khas* till a suitable candidate for headmanship comes forward. All lands which a headman holds or in which he has a share under the same proprietor constitute the private *jote* which is security for the village rent. His co-sharers are equally liable with himself. The headman has also a right to enjoy rent free such of the village waste as he reclaims himself and to recover rents at half the settlement rates for so much of the waste as ryots reclaim. As regards holdings that have become vacant on account of the desertion of ryots or their death without heirs, it is provided that the headman shall settle the entire holding with one or other of the following, giving preference in the order mentioned :—(1) with

resident *jamabandi* ryots of the same community, (2) with himself if resident, or with a resident *jamabandi* ryot of a different community; (3) with himself if non-resident, or with a non-resident *jamabandi* ryot; and (4) with a non-*jamabandi* ryot. The term *jamabandi* ryot, it may be explained, includes the children and heirs of *jamabandi* ryots, and for the purpose of resettlement and reclamation does not include persons who have come into the village solely by purchase; the latter are called *kharidar* ryots. In the Damin-i-koh the preference is given to a non-resident *jamabandi* ryot of the same community over a resident *jamabandi* ryot of a different community. A settlement with any persons other than a resident *jamabandi* ryot of the same community requires the approval of the Subdivisional Officer. Under section 29 of the S.P. Tenancy (Supplementary Provisions) Act, the power of *pradhan* and *mulraiyat* to settle waste land or vacant holding with himself or any co-*mulraiyat* has been curtailed to the extent that he shall not do so without the previous sanction in writing of the Deputy Commissioner.

Abolition of the Pradhani System

The abolition of the *pradhani* system has been under consideration. As early as the 12th September 1952 the Additional Secretary, Revenue Department, Patna in his no. 7048-R., addressed to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division had mentioned regarding the proposed abolition of the *mankis* and *mundas* in the Kolhan Government estate in Singhbhum, and the *pradhans* in Santal Parganas and Dhalbhum. Since the policy of the Government is to come into direct contact with the cultivators the Government had taken up the abolition of all intermediary interests between the State and the actual tenant. In the opinion of Government, these functionaries are now past their usefulness and so they should be abolished. Since the headman system is an ancient institution among the aboriginal races, the Government wanted to have a considered opinion as to the desirability of such a course. The Government also intended to examine as to which of the functions of the headman can be taken away and allotted to Government agency.

The Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas in his no. 2238, dated the 31st July, 1953, to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division had discussed the subject. The Deputy Commissioner's opinion was that the *pradhani* is a live institution in the Damin area and the traditional *pradhans* were held in high respect by the aboriginals. He, however, held that in the non-Damin area it was lingering although it had outlived its utility. In the non-Damin area the institution was like an old relic, source of litiga-

tion, party politics and abuses. He suggested abolition of the *pradhani* system in the non-Damin tract. In the Damin area, however, this system should continue till a clear picture emerges justifying its abolition by the creation and development of the *Gram Panchayat*.

It may be mentioned that statutory law had already encroached on the *pradhani* system under section 29 of the Santal Parganas Tenancy (Supplementary Provisions) Act, 1949. Accordingly the power of the *pradhan* and *mulraiyat* to settle wasteland or vacant holding with himself or any co-*mulraiyat* had been curtailed to the extent that he shall not do so without the previous sanction in writing of the Deputy Commissioner.

The Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division in his no. 4946, dated the 29th August 1953 addressed to the Additional Secretary, Revenue Department, Patna practically agreed with the views of the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas expressed in his letter mentioned above. He made reference of the rights and duties of the village headman which had been conferred on him under the Regulation III of 1872.

The Commissioner had mentioned that most of the duties which previously devolved on the *pradhans* were being performed by other Government agencies. His main work, therefore, consist of collection of rent and settlement of the waste land. The Commissioner thought that the settlement of waste land could be entrusted to the Circle Officer and the rent collection to Karamcharis. The Commissioner's opinion was that the *pradhans* were also discharging the duties of the social headmen of the villages and these duties might be left to them to exercise so long as they can.

The Commissioner was doubtful if the rent collection work of the *pradhan* could be done as effectively by the Karamcharis at the initial stage. He was of the opinion that the *pradhani* system might be abolished in the non-Damin area and so far as the Damin area was concerned the abolition might first be extended to the Paharia villages and then to the entire Damin area.

I appears that no firm decision at Government level was taken regarding the abolition of the *pradhani* system. From a letter of the Deputy Commissioner no. 1756, dated the 26th July 1959, where he had reiterated the *pradhan's* role, it was mentioned that the Government in their no. 6599-L.R., dated the 11th August 1956 had approved of the continuance of the function of collection of rent by the *pradhan*.

Again the question of the abolition of the *pradhani* system was raised due to an Assembly Question no. H.-153 in 1959. It was replied in the Assembly that the subject was still under the consideration of the Government.

An attempt was made by the Gazetteers Revision Section to study the *pradhani* system in actual practice in the non-Damin area. The investigator visited 9 villages in the Palajori Block. The results of the investigation of these villages have been covered in the Chapter on 'Economic Trends'. Out of 9 villages the *pradhani* system was found to be functioning in 6 villages, viz., Bhounradih, Chalbuli, Baghmara, Chaudhury Nawadih, Benidih and Dubia; the first three are mainly aboriginal villages and the rest three have both aboriginal and non-aboriginal population. It was gathered that in the aboriginal villages the aboriginal *pradhans* are still held in high esteem. They not only realise the rent from the tenants but also act as arbiters in the judicial matters. The villages though covered by the *Gram Panchayat* are practically out of the orbit of the *Mukhiyas*. The *pradhans* of the rest three villages were found to be a high caste Hindus. Their work was confined to rent collection only. The change in the leadership was perceptible in these three villages and the aristocratic class who had the predominant position in the village politics had to give way to the *Mukhiyas* belonging to low castes.

No investigation was conducted in the Damin areas. There are 10 Community Development Blocks, viz., Katikund, Gopikandar, Boarijore, Amrapara, Litipara, Borio, Pathna, Taljhari, Barhait and Sundarpahari in the Damin Blocks which have been divided into 97 *halkas*, each is under the charge of a Karamchari. The Karamchari in the Damin areas does not appear to be fully occupied. Letter no. 4535-R., dated 15th/17th December 1959, from the Deputy Commissioner, to the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division had mentioned that the Revenue Minister expressed his concern on the 20th September 1959 of the desirability of posting Karamcharis in the Damin area where rent collection work is being done by the *pradhans*. In this letter the Deputy Commissioner recommended to reduce the number of Karamcharis from 107 (10 leave reserve) to 57. But no steps have been taken to implement this recommendation.

Regarding *Gram Panchayats* the Santal Parganas Tenancy (Supplementary) rules, 1950 in rule 6 had laid down that "where a *Gram Panchayat* has been established under the Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 1948, the headman shall give his full co-operation towards successful working of the *Panchayat*". The *Gram Panchayats* also like the Karamcharis have not been entrusted with the rent-

collection work in the *pradhani* villages. The aboriginals seldom take their cases to the *Gram Panchayats*. The headman still has the responsibility of constructing *dykes*, *bandhs*, village roads, etc. Here the duties of the *Gram Panchayat* and village headman appear to be overlapping. Rule 4(2) of the Santal Parganas Tenancy (Supplementary) Rules had mentioned that "It shall be his duty to act as true custodian of the common rights of the village community and he shall with reasonable promptness, report infringement of any such rights to the Deputy Commissioner".

Schedule V of the Santal Parganas Tenancy (Supplementary) Rules, 1950 has mentioned the rules for the appointment of headmen. The headman must be a resident of the village or his permanent home must be within one mile of the village. The appointments of headmen shall be made in accordance with village customs and before confirming the appointment the Deputy Commissioner shall satisfy himself that the candidate is generally acceptable to the raiyats.

H. McPherson in the *Settlement Report* at page 124 had mentioned the number of *pradhani* village 8,708, *mulraiyati* 540 and *khas* 1,753; thus bringing the total of 11,001 villages in the district. The corresponding figures in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) were 8,758 for *pradhani*, 488 for *mulraiyati* and 1,755 for *khas*. Thus though the number of villages remained 11,001 the number of *pradhani* and *khas* villages shot up at the expense of the *mulraiyati* villages. *The Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee Report*, 1938, has mentioned that there were 7,751 *pradhans* in the district. The current number of *pradhani* villages could not be ascertained from the papers available in the Collectorate Office, Dumka. From the *Land Revenue Administration Report*. 1961-62 it appears that there were 556 *pradhans* in the Sadar subdivision, 1,105 in Deoghar subdivision, 980 in Godda subdivision, 193 in Jamtara subdivision, 950 in Pakaur subdivision and 1,072 in Rajmahal subdivision, thus bringing the total at 4,856. But it has to be mentioned that these *pradhani* villages are of the vested estates only. The *pradhani* system may have declined to some extent but unless the actual number of the *pradhans* is known it would be hazardous to come to any conclusion. Gantzer in the *Revisional Settlement Report* in Appendix VI had given the statement of areas of land held by the *pradhan*. The number of private holdings of *pradhans* in this district was 11,257 covering 2,33,283.98 acres and of the official holdings 5,446 with 24,128.39 acres.

Other duties incumbent on the headman are to perform certain police functions, the Chaukidars being subordinate to him, to

collect Chaukidari and other dues, to see that village irrigation works are kept in repair, and to look after village roads, boundary marks, camping and grazing grounds.

As a result of operation of the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 the *ghatwali* tenures have ceased to exist. The other kinds of tenures, e.g. *mulraiyati, Ghat Chaukidari* and Headman system are still in existence because Bihar Land Reforms Act does not apply to them. The question of abolition of headman and *mulraiyati* systems has been taken up by the State Government but it has not yet been finalised. Some of the *ghatwali* tenure holders contested the right of State Government to take over their tenures under the Bihar Land Reforms Act and the matter has been decided in respect of the Handwe *ghatwali* estate by the Supreme Court declaring the right of the State Government to take over the *ghatwali* tenures.

Private Land of the Proprietors

The private land of the proprietors is known in this district as *khas kamat* land which is excluded from the village "*Jamabandi*". Most of the bigger landlords of this district being absentee, the area of *kamat* land is very limited. Excepting the *khas kamat* lands in direct possession of the proprietors all other lands of the proprietors belong to the village community. The proprietors do not possess unrestricted right to settle or dispose of the land of the village community. In a few villages, however, there are agricultural lands which formerly belonged to ryots, but have come into the hands of the proprietors which are known as "*bakast malik*". These lands are included in the village "*Jamabandi*" and must either be cultivated by the proprietor himself or be settled with village ryots. The landlords enjoyed *kamat* and *bakast* lands free of rent but after abolition of zamindaris fair rent is being assessed thereon.

Agrarian Measures

There is only one class of ryot in this district, i.e., the occupancy raiyat. The tenancy law of this district prohibits creation of under-ryots. The preamble of Act XXXVII of 1855 by which this district was created removed the entire district from operation of General Regulations and Acts of Government in force in the then Presidency of Bengal and authorised the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to administer it under his direction and control.

The first settlement of the district was carried out under the Santal Parganas Settlement Regulation III of 1872 which was

passed for the purpose of bringing in peace and good Government in the district of Santal Parganas. The Regulation provided that only certain specified laws, or such other laws as might from time to time be specially notified, should apply to the district, and that the Government might order a settlement for the purpose of ascertaining and recording all rights appertaining to land, whether belonging to the zamindars and other proprietors or to the tenants or headmen. It barred the action of the Civil Courts during the settlement except on special references and in suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 regarding the rights of the zamindars and other proprietors as between themselves; it provided for the reinstatement of headmen and ryots unjustly dispossessed since the 31st December 1858 and for readjusting, at "fair and equitable rates" the rents payable by headmen and ryots, it conferred on the ryots a right of occupancy after 12 years' possession; and it fixed the rents for at least 7 years until a fresh settlement or agreement was made. The work of effecting a settlement under this Regulation was entrusted to Mr. Browne Wood, then Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas.

In the zamindari estates (1) mere farmers of villages were held to have acquired no right of occupancy in lands cultivated by them during their leases and no title to settlement whatever might have been the length of their occupation. In Santal villages they had to make way for Santal headman; but those whose leases had still a term to run were allowed to receive from the headmen for that term the rental fixed by the Settlement Officer on the understanding that they paid to the zamindar the amount due under the terms of their agreement with him. (2) When no rival claimants appeared, the lease was granted to the headman or farmer in possession unless he was disqualified on account of previous mismanagement; but when there were claimants, a careful enquiry was held to determine who had the best right. (3) The Settlement Officer was authorised to use his own discretion in the selection of the headman in Santal villages, provided that due regard was paid to any local customs on the subject. (4) Before a lease was granted its terms were fully explained to all parties. The zamindar and the ryots were specially called upon to submit their objections, if any, and the objections were investigated and settled. (5) Besides classifying and assessing lands, the Settlement Officer made enquiries as to the local customs and rights in respect of land and the internal arrangement of the villages, and these were recorded and notified for the information of the zamindar and villagers. The record-of-rights gives fixity to rights and customs of each village, no amendment of it being permitted except under the hand of the Lieutenant Governor himself on proof of a material error. A resettlement of Damin-i-koh was also carried out.

Subsequently, doubts began to be entertained whether the Regulation of 1872 authorized settlement to be made from time to time and it was feared that complication would arise on the expiry of the leases granted by the Settlement Officer. Tenants might be induced or compelled to accept private engagements for higher rates; the rents might gradually become equalized at a higher figure; and this process of enhancement might bring about the unsatisfactory state of feeling which existed before 1872. It was, therefore, considered necessary, that Government should keep the process of rent enhancement under its own control. It was also felt that it was necessary to furnish the zamindars with means of obtaining at their own expenses, a resettlement of rent. Accordingly, the Santal Parganas Rent Regulation II of 1886, was enacted with four objects : (1) to make it clear that Government could at any time order a fresh settlement and revision of the records-of-rights; (2) to allow the zamindars reasonable facilities for obtaining at their own expense enhancement of rents after the expiry of the period of 7 years which had been fixed as the term of the settlement by Regulation III of 1872; (3) to permit of rents being determined, on the application of zamindars, in tracts which had not been settled under that Regulation; and (4) to prescribe that rents settled in future under Regulation III of 1872 or the new Regulation should hold good for 15 years or until they should be altered again under either Regulation. Provisions to the above effect were inserted in the Regulation; and another important clause was one prohibiting the eviction of ryots, whether possessing a right of occupancy or not, without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner.

Regulation II of 1886 enabled settlement of rents to be made on the application of landlords or ryots, and provided for the recovery by Government of the expenses incurred by it in connection with such proceedings. It did not, however, admit of the preparation of a record-of-rights at the same time as the settlement of rents, and its provisions could be conveniently applied only, when small areas were concerned. On the other hand, Regulation III of 1872 provided for the preparation of a record-of-rights, as well as for determination of rents, and had been found to be more suitable when considerable areas came under settlement. The latter Regulation, however, contained no provisions whereby costs could be recovered from the parties benefited by the proceeding initiated under it. Provisions to remedy these defects were embodied in Regulation II of 1904; and three years later Regulation II of 1886 was further amended by Regulation III of 1907, which provides for the enhancement of rent on account of improvements effected by, or at the expense of zamindars, and for the acquisition of lands required for the construction of works of improvements, buildings, etc.

In 1908, Regulation III of 1872 was further amended by Regulation III of 1908, the provisions of which embody several important principles. The chief provision among them is the principle emphasized by the settlement, and accepted by the ordinary courts of the Santal Parganas in the disposal of agrarian cases, that ryoti land cannot be made the subject of transfer. The rulings the local Civil Courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855, which like the Settlement Courts are subject to the control of the Commissioner and of Government, have been from time to time referred to Government and been embodied in Government orders, which have upheld the policy of non-alienation and have given the Deputy Commissioner and other local officers, as guardians of the settlement, full power to intervene and set aside whatever is subversive of settlement rights and to enforce the obligations imposed by the record-of-rights. There was, however, always a danger that suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 might be filed by illicit transferees in the courts established under Act XII of 1887, which are subject to the control of High Court and that the rulings of the local courts, the orders of Government and the provisions of the settlement records might not be regarded as binding on those courts. To obviate this danger, Regulation III of 1908 definitely declares the non-transferability of ryoti lands, and affirms the power of the Deputy Commissioner to interfere with illegal alienation and, generally, to enforce the provisions of the settlement records. Other provisions intended to remedy defects in the machinery of Regulation III of 1872 provide for the regulation of the transfer of suits to and from Civil and Settlement Courts, for the speedier disposal of objections to the published records, and for other miscellaneous matters. This Regulation also provides for the infliction of penalties on proprietors, headmen or ryots who commit certain specific breaches of the record-of-rights. These tenancy laws of this district have been further supplemented by Bihar Act 14 of 1949, the S.P.T. (Supplementary Provisions) Act, 1949 which have placed some of the customary laws of the district in the statute book, e.g., exchange of raiyati land, subletting of raiyati land under certain circumstances, rate of landlords fees on transfer, right of raiyats on trees grown by them, etc.

Rent Settlement

Rent is settled on the basis of the classification of the soils. It appears from the *McPherson's Settlement Report* (1898-1907) that the cultivable land was divided into five classes, viz., three kinds of *dhani* or rice land and two kinds of *bari* or high land. The first class of *dhani* land is that which is well protected or irrigated, second class *dhani* land is that which is partially protected and the third class *dhani*, which is unprotected. In *bari* land,

the first class is that which is near homestead, well manured and bears more than one crop in the year and the second class *bari*, including the remainder of the cultivation or dry up lands, which is not manured, bears only one crop in the year.

The rent rate of each class of land in the different estates settled by H. McPherson and Allanson are given in Appendix IV of their Final Report of Settlement Operations. The rates differ in localities ; the Damin rates being lower than the rates in the zamindari estates. The table below shows the incidence of rent settlement in these settlements*:—

	Zamindari estates acres.	Damin-i-koh acres.	Total acres.
Dhani	764,646	176,193	940,842
Bari	729,476	199,074	928,547
Total ..	1,494,122	375,267	1,869,389
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Rent at settlement rates	19,54,967	3,71,759	23,26,726
Settled rent for first five years of settlement.	16,12,719	2,48,858	18,61,577
Settled rent from the 6th year onward.	16,87,292	2,67,929	19,55,221
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Average rent per acre from the 6th year of settlement.	1 2 1	0 11 6	1 0 9

In the second revision settlement of 1922—35 revised rules for the settlement of rent were sanctioned by Government in letter no. 2347, dated the 26th March, 1934 in which it was decided

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 246.

that the old rates should be ordinarily maintained, that no rate should be altered without the previous sanction of the Commissioner and that all lands under cultivation should be assessed at the settlement rate and the full rents thus calculated should be settled for the whole term of the new settlement. But in order to modify excessive increases the so called Sambalpur rate was applied, under which if the new rent so obtained by the settlement rates exceeded the old rent by more than 25 per cent, then the mean between the rent at settlement rates, and the old rent increased by 25 per cent is settled as fair. The old rate rents fixed during the last settlement were maintained everywhere except in the non-Santali villages of Tappa Patsanda where the rents were raised.

The incidence of settled rent in the revision settlement (1922—35) has been Re. 1-3-6 per acre in the zamindari estates and Re.0-13-3 in the Damin-i-koh as detailed below* :—

	Zamindari estates acres.	Damin-i-koh acres.	Total acres.
Dhani	967,907	228,202	1,196,109
Bari including acres 11,482 of Kurwa.	799,208	232,964	1,032,172
Bari in Pakaur and Rajmahal Damins.	..	..	..
Total ..	1,767,115	461,166	2,228,281
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Rent at settlement rates ..	24,01,438	4,31,434	28,32,972
Settled rent	21,53,715	3,80,578	25,34,293
Settled rent at previous settlement.	16,75,733	2,71,880	19,47,613
Percentage of increase in the revision settlement.	28.5	28.6	30.12

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 247-48.

The large increase of rent in the revision settlement, especially after the depression set in, caused great resentment among the tenants. Regarding the increase in rent Mr. P.T. Mansfield, I.C.S., in paragaraph 26 of his note dated 14th July, 1933 on the results of different methods of rent settlement adopted in different districts of Bihar and Orissa writes as below :—

> "The system used in the Santal Parganas may be criticised on the ground that a man who improves his land in such a way that the classification is raised, is penalized by an increase of rent. The procedure adopted is practically automatic, and the first thing that the raiyat knows about his new rent is that it is read out to him at the moment that it is attested. In a district such as this where cultivation has largely increased and where rate rents are higher than they are for instance in parts of Chota Nagpur, the increase of rent would have been high if it had not been for the application of the Sambalpur rule. This rule operates in a large proportion of cases but in spite of its application the percentage of increase of rent has been more than in most other settlements"*.

The Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee (1938) in Chapter IX also discussed the subject. The Committee had taken into account the existing rent of the district *vis-a-vis* the prevailing rent in the districts of Chota Nagpur. They examined various rates of rent for different classes of land in the districts of Chota Nagpur and in Santal Parganas. For the sake of convenience to readers the figures showing the maximum and minimum rates are given at the end of this Chapter. The highest rate of rent per acre for *Dhani* land was Rs. 9 and the lowest Re. 0-10-0 and the mean of these was Rs. 4-13-0. The Committee found that a comparison of mean rates or of maximum and minimum rates was of no help.

The general impression which the Committee formed was that the rates of rent in Santal Parganas as compared with those of Chota Nagpur occupied a middle position, higher than those of Ranchi, very slightly higher than those of Manbhum, but less than Hazaribagh and very much less than Palamau rates.

The rate of rent was enhanced as stated before during the revision settlement in the *dikku* (non-tribal) villages of Patsanda estate and in 66 villages of the Manihari estate, both in Godda subdivision. The Committee seriously doubted the justification of these enhancements and suggested for further examination.

**Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), pp. 248-49.

The rates of rent in force in the rest of the district in the opinion of the Committee, were neither low nor high. But there was much complaint, because the sharp rise in rent which took place at the last settlement suddenly increased the burden on the raiyats at a time when depression was already setting in.

The first cause of the general increase in rent level was the fact that at the time of H. McPherson's settlement, reclamation had increased the area under cultivation and the Government decided not to assess the full rate rent leviable on the land. Accordingly a rule was devised by which a certain amount of the total rent was abated where the increase on the previous rent would have been too sharp. This abatement gave a total rental of Rs. 19,47,613 instead of the full assessable rent of Rs. 23,26,726. When the revision settlement of 1922—35 took place the land became liable to pay rents at an additional sum of about Rs. 3¾ lakhs.

Secondly, new reclamations since McPherson's settlement had brought about an increase of 17.1 per cent in the area under cultivation and this became liable to pay rent.

Thirdly, a considerable rise took place in the classification of land. This was partly due to improvement of the land by the efforts of the cultivators themselves in converting *bari* into *dhani* and second class *dhani* into first class *dhani* land and partly due to natural improvement owing to incessant cultivation. It was also due to automatic improvement which took place in the lower lands as reclamation gradually further extended up to the slopes of the village. As most of the area of the district consists of rolling or hilly country, this was a considerable factor. Lastly, changes were made by the Settlement Department where the old classifications appeared to be wrong. All these factors brought in a great change in the classification of the lands and consequently led to a great increase in the rental of the district.

The majority of the members of the Committee held the system of assessing rents according to the actual classification of lands, as found in the time of the Settlement Operations, unfair on the ground that this system infringes the general principle incorporated in other Tenancy Acts that a raiyat should not be made liable to enhancement of his rent for improvements carried out by his own labour or at his own expense. The majority of the Committee thought, therefore, that where classification of land was raised owing to the efforts of tenants the old rent should be restored and the benefits should be allowed to accrue to the tenants.

The Committee concluded that the question whether the improvement was due to tenants' own efforts or not was immaterial and

that the general principle to be applied was that the landlord was not entitled to any increase of rent except on the ground of an improvement made at his own cost. The Committee accordingly recommended that the classification of land made at the last revision settlement should be reviewed completely and that wherever this classification was higher than that entered in the record of H. McPherson's settlement it should be reduced to the former level, unless the landlord can show that the higher classification was due to some improvement made at his cost. The Chairman and Mr. Maheshwar Prasad Jha dissented from this recommendation for several reasons*.

The economic condition of the tenants of Santal Parganas during the decade 1931—40 as has been discussed elsewhere had deteriorated owing to several factors and the increase in the rate of rent was all the more alarming. In spite of large scale eviction arrears of rent became an usual feature. The first Congress Ministry in Bihar tried to give some relief to the tenants. The Santal Parganas Rent Regulation I of 1939 was passed according to which one-fourth of rent in general was reduced. The flat reduction of one-fourth of the rent practically brought the total rent of the district at par with the rent of McPherson's settlement.

The total rent demand in the district excluding cess and miscellaneous items in 1955-56 was Rs. 14,47,874 and in 1956-57 when the bulk of the zamindaris was taken over, was Rs. 18,90,206. In 1961-62 the annual demand of rent rose to Rs. 20,08,408 but in 1962-63 it came down to Rs. 19,68,489. This was due to abatement of rent consequent on the vast areas submerged by the Canada Dam at Massanjore in the Sadar subdivision and by the Damodar Valley works in the Jamtara subdivision. The table given at the end of this Chapter will show the total demand and collection of rent along with cess and miscellaneous from 1955-56 to 1962-63.

The annual demand of rent will increase as the three *Ghatwali* estates of Rohini, Pathrole and Handwe have not been taken over due to pendency of suits filed by them in 1960-61. The Government had taken over the charge of the Handwe estate in 1963 and the rest two will be taken over after the disposal of the suits.

Settlement Operations

The whole district was settled for the first time under the provisions of Regulation III of 1872 by Mr. Browne Wood between 1873 and 1879. In 1888 resettlement operations were

**Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee Report* (1938).

undertaken at the instance of proprietors entitled under Regulation II of 1886 to have the rents of their ryots revised after an interval of seven years. This settlement, which extended over an area of 1,577 square miles and was brought to a conclusion in 1894, was supervised by Mr. Craven and is, therefore, known as Craven's settlement. The next resettlement was that carried out by Mr. H. McPherson, I. C. S. who between 1898 and 1905 effected a settlement of 3,483 square miles, viz., 1,082 square miles in the Damin-i-koh and 2,401 square miles in Zamindari estates, thus practically completing the second settlement of the district. Mr. H.Ll.L. Allanson, I. C. S., succeeding Mr. McPherson in 1905 completed Mr. McPherson's settlement during the next 18 months, and in November, 1906 started the third settlement of the district, revising the settlement of 1,577 square miles made by Mr. Craven. The third Revision Settlement of the whole district, excludintg 212 square miles of the Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal settled by Mr. S. S. Day during the period December, 1912 to March, 1916 and the Ganga Diara tracts of Rajmahal and including the Paharia villages of Pakaur Damin last settled by Maulavi Ekram Hussain in 1895-96, was undertaken by Mr. A. C. Davies, I. C. S. on the 1st September, 1922. He remained settlement officer up to 22nd April, 1925 and was succeeded by Mr. J. W. Houlton, I. C. S. (from 18th August, 1925 to 20th June, 1927), Mr. B. G. Blunt, I. C. S. (from 21st June, 1927 to 20th March, 1930 and 24th October, 1930 to 15th February, 1932), Mr. P. J. Scotland, I. C. S. (from 16th February, 1932 to 8th July, 1934) and Mr. J. F. Gantzer who remained in charge of the operations from 21st March, 1930 to 23rd October, 1930 and from 9th July, 1934 to 18th February, 1935, when the operations were closed.

The table below shows the dates on which each tract in the district came under the third Revision Settlement and the dates on which the Settlement was concluded :—

Name of subdivision.	Tract settled.	Number and date of notification declaring the tract under settlement.	Number and date of notification declaring the conclusion of the settlement.
Dumka ..	Dumka Damin, circles Siltha, Ramgarh, Bhalsumar, Mahubona, Amrapahari, Danro, Dudhua, Bara.	1862-S.P./19-R-T, dated the 14th September, 1922.	2491-R/S67, dated the 16th March, 1925.
	Amarpur, Sukjora, Kendua, Kaswa, Basukinath, Sugnibad and Nonihat.	Ditto ..	6577-R/S-124, dated 20th May, 1925.
	Circles Dhanghara, Haripur, Benagaria, Banspahari Rajbandh, Jagatpur and Dhanbasa.	7260-R/S-195, dated the 14th August, 1926.	3484-R/S-85, dated the 9th April, 1930.

Name of subdivision.	Tract settled.	Number and date of notification declaring the tract under settlement.	Number and date of notification delcaring the conclusion of the settlement.
Dumka—*concld.*	Circles Patjore, Sukjora, Amjora, Kumirdaha, Massanjore, Banskuli, Goremala, Sapchala, Lakhanpur, Rangamasalia Tesaria, Gumro, Singro, Choto, Kumrabad, Phulghari and Pargadih.	8329-R/S-195, dated the 27th August, 1927.	7447-S/174-R, dated the 18th September, 1931 one Chit village of circle Sukjora declared out of settlement under notification no. 1188 S-95-RR., dated the 4th August, 1934.
	Circles Baramasia, Dighi Gando, Dhaka, Dhunria, Lakrapahari, Ghuhiajuri Jartal, Haripur.	8329-R/S-195, dated the 27th August, 1927.	7447-S/174-R, dated the 28th September, 1931.
	Circles Beldaha, Jarmundi, Jarmundi Bazar, Sahara Mahara, Kamardiha, Naudiha, Kakni, Jhopa Saraiya and Saraiya Bazar.	7492-R/S-172, dated the 19th August 1928.	1380-S/27R, dated the 28th February, 1933.
Godda ..	Godda, Damin Bungalows, Bokrabandh I & II, Chandana I & II, Dhamni and Karmatanr I & II.	2778-R-T/S-206, dated the 27th October, 1923.	1131-R.R/S-202, dated the 31st August, 1926.
	Godda, Damin Bungalows, Boarijore, Rajabhita Simara I & II and Telo.	8740-R.T/S-232, dated the 12th September, 1924.	11839-R/S-276, dated the 22nd December, 1927.
	Police-station Poraiyahat ..	2778-R.T./S-206, dated the 27th October, 1923.	12159-R/S-276, dated the 21st December, 1926.
	Police-station Godda ..	Ditto ..	Ditto.
	Police-station Mahagama ..	8740-R.T/S-232, dated the 12th September, 1924.	11839-R/S-276, dated the 22nd December, 1927.
Pakaur ..	Pakaur Damin and villages Kamalghati, Jobardaha and Hiranpur Bazar of police-station Hiranpur Bazar.	1267-R.T/S-131, dated the 14th Septemebr, 1925.	288-R.R./S-144, dated the 20th September, 1929.
	Police-station Pakaur, Maheshpur, Pakuria and Hiranpur Bazar.	7260-R/S-195, dated the 14th August, 1926.	941-R.R./S-185, dated the 20th September, 1930.
	4 Chit villages of Maheshpur Police-station and 4 Chit villages of Pakaur Police-station.	Ditto ..	1188-S/95-RR, dated the 4th August, 1934.
Rajmahal ..	Damin Bungalow Mandri I and II.	8740-R.T./S-232, dated the 12th September, 1924.	11839-R-S/276, dated the 22nd December, 1927.

Name of Subdivision.	Tract settled.	Number and date of notification declaring the tract under settlement.	Number and date of notification declaring the conclusion of the settlement.
Rajmahal—*contd.*	Damin Bungalows, Banjhi, Borio, Sakrugarh, Maharajpur, Taljhari, Raksi and Kusma.	8740-R.T./S-232, dated the 12th September, 1924.	11839-R-S/276, dated the 22nd December, 1927,
	Damin Bungalows, Barhait, Brindaban, Durgapur, Pathna and Ranga.	1267-R-T/S-131, dated the 14th September, 1925.	288-R.R./S-144, dated the 20th June, 1929.
	Police-station Barharwa ..	Ditto ..	Ditto
	Police-station Rajmahal ..	Ditto ..	Ditto.
	Villages Samdanalla, Sakribazar, Rampur, Satuaghori and Gopalpur.	8740-R.T/S-232, dated the 13th September, 1924.	3208/R/S-34, dated the 3rd April, 1928.
	Villages Bhowani Chouki and Pratapganj of touzi no. 117.	1646-R/S-72, dated the 13th February, 1926.	Ditto.
Deoghar ..	Police-stations Deoghar and Sarwan.	7492-R/S-172, dated the 19th August, 1928.	1380-S/27-R, dated the 18th February, 1933, 9091/S/110/33-R, dated the 23rd August 1933, 13763-S/140-R, dated the 7th December 1933, 3067-S/55-34-R. dated the 14th April 1934, 1189-S/95-RR., dated the 4th August 1934, 11785-S/140-34-R, dated the 16th November 1934.
	Police-stations Sarath and Madhupur.	847-R.R/S-177, dated the 10th August, 1929.	9090-S.110/33-R, dated the 23rd August, 1933. 13761-S/140-R, dated the 7th December 1933, 3068-S/55-34-RR, dated the 4th April 1934, 1190-S/95-RR., dated the 4th August 1934, 3-S/140-R. dated the 2nd January 1935, 1726/S/43-R, dated the 26th February 1935, 11786-S/140-34-R, dated the 16th November 1934, 594-S/98-R.R., dated the 19th July 1935.

Name of Subdivision.	Tract settled.	Number and date of notification declaring the tract under settlement.	Number and date of notification declaring the conclusion of the settlement.
Jamtara ..	Circles Ghati, Morrow, and Pindari.	847-R.R/S-147, dated the 10th August, 1929.	9090-S/110-33, dated the 23rd August, 1933. 3068-S-55/34-R, dated the 14th April, 1934 1190-S/95-R.R., dated the 4th August 1934, 11786-S/140-34-R, dated the 16th November, 1934, 594-S/98-R. R., dated the 19th July, 1935.
	Circles Afzalpur, Amba, Asna, Bagdohori, Bharchandi, Dakhinbahal Dhabna, Dadhkiya, Dhasuniya, Gaichhand, Geria, Jamtara, Kalajhari, Kareya, Kasta, Khajuri, Kundahit, Kundangal, Lodhna, Mihijam, Narayanpur, Pabia, Siarkatia and Tilaki.	7793-R/S-155, dated the 9th August, 1930 as amended by no. 950-S/155-R.R., dated the 22nd September 1930.	10162/S/140-R., dated the 1st November 1933, 13762-S/140-R., dated the 7th December, 1933, 3069-S/55-34-R, dated the 14th April, 1934, 1191--S-95/R-R., dated the 4th August. 1934, 4-S/140-R, dated, the 2nd January, 1935, 2398-S/56-R, dated the 16th March, 1935, 595-S/98-R. R. dated the 19th July, 1935.

Paharia Settlement.

In 1823 the Government defined its relations to the Paharias as follows:—"Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possession of the hill people in the mountains or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil". The effect of this declaration of policy was that Government realised no revenue from the Paharias in the hills ; and with a few exceptions they have never been assessed to rent. When the first settlement of the district was carried out, the Paharia villages in the hills were excluded from its scope ; but in *tappas* Marpal and Daurpal, Mr. Browne Wood found the plough cultivation of the Mal Paharias so indistinguishable from that of the Santals, that he included it in his assessment, while he left the hill side *jhums* unassessed and unrestricted. In 1881 Mr. W. B. Oldham, C. I. E., who was then Deputy Commissioner, after an exhaustive enquiry into the history of the Mal Paharias, showed that, they like their fellow tribesmen, outside the Damin-i-koh, had been subject to a zamindari

regime until Mr. Ward's demarcation of 1832. The local officers were at the same time unanimous in the opinion that the *jhum* cultivation in Marpal and Daurpal was insignificant and the plough cultivation of Mal Paharias ample for their wants. It was accordingly decided to stop *jhum* cultivation in those *tappas*. This policy was gradually given effect to, with the result that the Mal Paharias to the south of the Bansloi river are now restricted to plough cultivation. The lands held by the Paharias in parts of Ambar, Patsunda, and Barkope were also settled in the course of the settlement of the Damin-i-koh in 1867, the Settlement Officer offering the Paharias leases of their lands in exchange of a very low assessment ; and the villages held under such leases were duly settled in 1879 in the same way as the lands held by Santals. Besides this some Paharias, who had taken to plough cultivation, having asked for a settlement of the land which they had reclaimed as a protection against the encroachment of Santals, it was settled with them at low rates. In these ways, altogether 305 Paharia villages came under settlement in 1879.

On the conclusion of this settlement Mr. Browne Wood recommended that general settlement operations should be commenced at an early date in the Paharia country for their own protection and on the ground of expediency ; and in 1882 Mr. W. B. Oldham, as Deputy Commissioner, drew up an elaborate scheme for a survey and settlement, and for the commutation of the pensions paid to stipendiary chiefs within and without the Damin-i-koh. Government, holding that it was still bound by the promise made in 1823, required that their assent should be gained before settlement was made. Accordingly the proposal was laid before the Paharia chiefs at an assembly held at Dumka, at which they were informed that Government had no wish to force a settlement upon them in violation of its promise. The Paharias, however, were opposed to a settlement, and Government finding that the cost of a demarcation survey would be more than a lakh of rupees negatived the proposal.

Subsequently, in 1895 the headmen of 87 Paharia villages (33 held by Mal Paharias and 54 by the Malers) in the Pakaur Damin applied for a settlement of their villages, realizing that they were worse off than their neighbours in 92 other Paharia villages in the same tract which had been settled by Mr. Browne Wood in 1879. Their request was granted and the settlement carried out in 1895-96, the area dealt with being 43 square miles, of which 8,753 acres were under cultivation. The Paharias having stipulated that lands should be definitely set aside on which they could practise *jhum* or *kurao* cultivation without restriction, 6,589 acres of wasre and jungle lands were left for the extension of such cultivation, but two

conditions were imposed:—(1) that the holder should endeavour to terrace the land during the currency of the settlement, and (2) that he should take precautions when firing his *jhum* to save the Government forest from injury. The north and east slopes of the hills covering an area of 10,597 acres and clumps of forest outside that area covering 1,191 acres or 11,788 acres in all, were demarcated as protected forest. Rice lands were assessed at 4 annas per *bigha*, first class *bari* at 3 annas, second class *bari* at 1 anna and *kurao* land (cultivated and uncultivated) at 2 pice per *bigha*, the total land revenue assessed amounting to Rs. 1,502 which just covered the stipends payable in the tract.

When a resettlement of the Damin-i-koh was proposed in 1899, the Local Government was in favour of a survey and demarcation of the boundaries of the Paharia villages, in order to place the Paharias well defined limits, and to secure the proper administration of the protected forests ; but it held that in view of the declarations which had at various periods been made by Government, the lands held by Paharias could not be assessed to rent without their consent. Such a demarcation would, it was thought, be of use in dealing with any applications for settlement of their lands made by the Paharias of the individual villages. Subsequently, however, in 1901, the Lieutenant Governor ordered that the work in previously unsettled block should be confined to the outer demarcation of those areas, and further stated that it was not the intention of Government to exclude from the enjoyment of the Paharias and to take over, for purposes of forest conservancy, any portion of the unsettled area ; nor did Government desire to interfere in any way with the management by the hill people of the waste lands and forests lying outside the boundaries of the settled area, provided the exercise of their rights was confined to their own requirements. Regarding this decision Mr. (now Sir) McPherson writes :—"It has always been a matter of extreme regret to me that Government decided to refrain from *mauzawar* boundary survey. The local officers have to this day no maps which show the relative position of hundreds of hill villages for which stipends are drawn by their *manjhis*. The disadvantage is great from many points of view. The absence of maps renders great the difficulties of police, forest and excise administration. The puzzling results of the enumeration of Paharias in the last census are no doubt due largely to the want of maps.

"The moral effect on the Paharias could not fail to be mischievous. The more foolish said in the ignorance of their hearts ; 'This is our unconquered country our *bilat*. The Shaibs are afraid of us. They pay us tribute."

In 1901-02 and 1902-03, however, 162 Paharia villages came under settlement on the villagers' own application. All Paharia

ryots in these villages had their rents settled at half-rates, but in many there were Santal *ryots* who had been introduced by the Paharia headmen and were allowed to retain their holdings as they had been in possession, with consent, for a long time. In their case rents were settled according to the ordinary rules. The Paharia headmen who applied for settlement did so under no misapprehension and showed no signs later of having regretted the step taken by them. On the contrary, they were pleased with the leniency of the assessment, with the exemption from rent of *kurao* lands, with the subsequent allotment of areas for the practice of *kurao*, and they expressed the greatest satisfaction when their leases and a copy of the village *jamabandi* were made over to them. They regarded these as a sort of charter of their rights which would protect them from *encroachment* and dispossession.

This left 701 Sauria Paharia hills scattered over the two subdivisions of Godda and Rajmahal unsettled. *Sabai* is grown in 167 of these hills. The commercial importance of "*Sabai*" in the paper making industry and some years before 1901 brought the Mahajans of Sahibganj into direct relations with the Paharias. The practice was for a Mahajan to take over the *sabai* fields of Paharia by means of *chukti* (promissory) bond and in return for advances under the bonds the Mahajan arranged for weeding, reaping and transport of the *sabai* grass. The Paharias were swindled and became the bond slaves of the Mahajans. In 1907, certain Paharia headmen submitted a memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. A. W. Stark was placed on special duty to investigate matters. He found after an examination of the Mahajans' accounts that they systematically under-estimated the areas and the value of the produce in the *chukti* bonds and that the Paharias far from owing the Mahajans anything had supplied them with *sabai* in much larger quantities than was necessary for the liquidation of the Mahajans' advances, and that in reality the Mahajans were the debtors and not the creditors of the Paharias. In 1909, Government stepped in to save the Paharias, turned out the Mahajans and ran the *sabai* grass cultivation under the Government control. They sold the crop for the Paharias to the paper mills and advanced money to Paharias for weeding. The experiment failed and the Government lost money. Government management was, therefore, abandoned after 3 years' trial and the Mahajans were re-admitted with certain restrictions. The areas of the *sabai* field of each Paharia being not known, difficulty was experienced in fairly estimating the amount of crop in the annual *chukti* contracts made by the Paharias with the local *sabai* dealers for its sale and the average outturn of each Paharia during the 3 years under Government control was taken for the purpose, a mere guess work. Therefore, in 1912 Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, I.C.S.,

who was the Deputy Commissioner at that time submitted proposals for the fourth time for settlement of these hills under Regulation III of 1872 pointing out on amongst other grounds that it was necessary in the interest of the Paharias themselves. This time the proposal met with the approval of Government and the Lieutenant Governor in Council was pleased to declare that a settlement should be made of the Sauria Paharia hills situated in the Rajmahal and Godda subdivisions (Declaration no. 6389-R, dated the 18th December, 1912) Mr. S. S. Day was appointed Settlement Officer and carried on the operation from 1912 to 1916 when the settlement of all the 701 Sauria Paharia hills was concluded. The settlement resulted in a new and practically unexpected revenue to Government of Rs. 6,624.1. The rates of rent fixed for each class of land were as below :—

Class of land.	Rent fixed per *bigha*.		
	Rs.	a.	p.
Dhani	0	2	0
Bari 1st class.	0	1	0
Sabai bari	0	1	0
Second class bari	0	0	6
Kuaro area	0	0	3

The position of the Paharias is as follows :—

They have been declared the tenants of Government with the occupancy rights and with no power to dispose of their lands to others or settle tenants on them. The rights and duties of the Sardars, Naibs, Manjhis and the tenants have been fully detailed in the record-of-rights prepared under Regulation III of 1872.

Under the system inaugurated by Mr. Cleveland in 1780 certain Sardars, Naibs, Manjhis continue at the present day to receive stipends from Government. They are pensioners of Government receiving monthly stipends of Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 which formerly aggregated to about Rs. 13,000 per annum in return for which they attend the Magistrate's Court periodically and reported crime, birth and deaths. At present there are 18 Sardars, 29 Naibs, and 348 Manjhis in receipt of stipends from Government as noted below and the total cost is Rs. 11,436 per annum.

	Sardars receiving Rs. 10 per month.	Sardars receiving Rs. 5 per month.	Sardars receiving Rs. 3 per month.	Sardars receiving Rs. 2 per month.
1	2	3	4	5
Dumka Damin	1	..	2	7
Godda Damin	3	..	5	164
Pakur Damin	4	2	4	29
Rajmahal Damin	8	..	18	148
Total	16	2	29	348

As village chiefs they are looked up to by members of their own community. The rules regulating payment of, and succession to the pensions of these officials were framed by Mr. Sutherland and sanctioned by the Government of Bengal in 1823. Some of them have fallen into disuse in the course of time, but the following are still observed as applicable to existing conditions in the Damin-i-koh :—"That the Magistrate alone in cases of demise decides on the succession to the police allowances, preference being given (if no special objection exists) to the eldest son or other relative of the deceased in whom, according to the usage, he may continue the situation of *manjhi* of the hill on account of which the allowance may be paid.

That the Magistrate alone be authorised to decide on the propriety of discontinuing the pay to the *manjhi* of one hill and bestowing it on the *manjhi* of another, and generally to dismiss and appoint successors in the room of any *manjhi* guilty of misconduct.

That in case of minority of the proper successor to a deceased *sardar, naib* or inferior *manjhi* (where the Magistrate may not think proper to suspend the particular allowance or disburse the same on account of another hill) he be authorised to make such arrangements for the provisional receipts of the allowance and care of the minor as he may judge proper.

That for the purpose of identifying the persons entitled to the police allowance, an accurate list be regularly kept, and corrected by a native officer on the Magistrate's establishment, to be specially entrusted with this duty, the same to exhibit the following particulars :—

"First, the hills for which the allowance is paid arranged numerically under the head of the different divisions in which included.

Second, the number of inhabited houses on such hills.

Third, the names of the *manjhis* receiving the allowances, with specification of the name of their fathers and their age.

Fourth, the date of appointment.

That the Magistrate, after deciding on the succession, shall be careful at the first distribution to cause the identity of the person newly-appointed to be *certified* by some of the neighbouring *manjhis*, whose names should be recorded.

That three distributions of the allowances to the different *manjhis* be made by the Magistrate in the course of the year, the same to commence on the 1st day of February, June and October".

The powers delegated under the above rules to Magistrates are in practice exercised by the Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas.

Where a vacancy occurs in the post of stipendiary *sardar*, *naib* or *manjhi*, the stipend is resumed if upon enquiry it is found that the number of houses of which the appointment involves charge is less than four.

Occupancy ryots:—The occupancy ryots are subdivided into 3 classes as laid down in section 12 of the Santal Parganas Tenancy (Supplementary Provisions) Act, 1949 :—

(*a*) Resident Jamabandi ryots.

(*b*) Non-resident Jamabandi ryots.

(*c*) New ryots.

There are besides official holdings known as *Pradhani jote*, *Chaukidari Jagirs*, *Goranti Jagirs*, *Chakrani Jagirs*, *Mukrari Jagirs*, *Sibottar ryots*, *Brahmottar ryots* and *Lakhraj ryots* (rent free). But all these ryots are included within the classification of occupancy ryots.

Ryoti rights:—The rent of village remains unaltered till a fresh rent-roll is prepared under Regulation III of 1872 or Regulation II of 1886. The rent of ryot's holding is similarly fixed, but a ryot taking up new land is liable to pay rent to the headman for it at half the prevailing rates. Except in a few areas, the interest of an occupancy ryot in his holding is non-transferable. If a holding is abandoned, the village ryots have a preferential claim to settlement ; and the district authorities take active steps to evict from the land any person who obtains possession of a ryot's holding to the prejudice of the rights of the villagers. It is provided : (1) that *jamabandi ryots* have a preferential right to settlement of waste land for reclamation but not the right to reclaim without the permission of the headman in some shape or other ; (2) that no waste land may be settled with an outsider without the consent of the Subdivisional Officer and proprietor ; (3) that no *sal* or reserved trees may be cut down in order to reclaim without the consent of the proprietor; (4) that the ryots, if dissatisfied with the action of the headman in settling waste lands, or of the proprietor in unreasonably refusing to permit the cutting of *sal* or reserved trees for reclamation, may appeal to the Subdivisional Officer who has the necessary powers of intervention.

As regards inheritance, the person or persons who have been resident in the village and have taken their part in the management of the family *jote* are the only persons entitled to succeed to it as heirs on the death of the head of the family.

Ryoti rights are transferable only in a small portion of the district (about 250 square miles) along the borders of Birbhum, Malda and Murshidabad districts in the *khas* villages of Ambar, Rajmahal, Muhammadabad and Sultanabad. In this area, which is inhabited mastly by non-aboriginals, transfers have been so frequent as to constitute a custom or have been recognised by Government and the Settlement Officers. Elsewhere transfer has been prohibited owing to the abuses which it caused. The practice of transfer sprung up soon after the conclusion of Mr. Wood's settlement, which gave the ryots stability of tenure and fixity of rents. The result was that occupancy rights became valuable, and the village userer was not slow to see that here lay a ready means of circumventing the usury laws. In a very short time court and private sales of ryoti holdings became so numerous as to attract the attention of the local officers and of Government, and within 10 years of settlement it was estimated that there had been about 10,000 cases of the former and 40,000 of the latter. The evil became so great that first the local courts and then Government found it necessary to declare that all transfers not clearly covered by the settlement record were illegal. The orders of Government to this effect were passed in 1887, and the

practice of open transfer was immediately checked ; but transfers in a disguised form continued, and for the following ten years the local officers had to be constantly on the watch to check the village lands passing into the hands of persons whose intrusion within the village community would have been harmful. When Mr. McPherson's settlement took place the orders, which had gradually been embodied in the agrarian case law of the district, were gathered together in the settlement rules and were sanctioned by Government in 1900. Subsequently the prohibition of transfer contained in those rules was embodied in the substantive law of the district by the enactment of Regulation III of 1908, by which a new section (27) to that effect was added to Regulation III of 1872. The above section has now been substituted by section 20 of the S. P. T. (Supplementary Provisions) Act, 1949.

In the revision settlement (1922—35) rights of transfer of ryoti holdings have been recorded in :—

47 Bengali Khas villages of *pargana* Muhammadabad.
3 Bengali Khas villages of *pargana* Darimaureswar.
57 Khas villages of *pargana* Bahadurpur.
5 Khas villages of *pargana* Makrain.
44 Khas villages of *pargana* Jamni.
3 Khas villages of *pargana* Akbarnagar.
7 Khas villages of *pargana* Chitolia.
1 Khas village of *pargana* Rukanpur.
9 Khas villages of *pargana* Enaitnagar.
227 Khas villages of *pargana* Kankjole.
2 Khas villages of *pargana* Dashazari.
95 Bengali Khas villages of *pargana* Ambar.
92 Bengali Khas villages of *pargana* Sultanabad.

A list of these villages has been given in the last *District Gazetteer* and need not be reproduced. In *pargana* Sultanabad, the purchaser must be a cultivating ryot of the *pargana*. This restriction does not apply to transfer in other *parganas*.

Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950.

The Indian National Congress as a political body for many years before 1937 had been agitating against the zamindari system and had been preaching that there should be no unnecessary intermediary between the State and the tenants. The zamindari system as is well known has been discussed in some of the other revised

District Gazetteers and there is a mass of literature around it. The Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis (1793) went to create a class of privileged feudal chiefs who reaped various types of unearned advantages within the limits of law. Reaping of advantages by abusing their privileged position and going beyond the law had become almost anomalous with the zamindars of Bihar. The excesses of the landlords had almost come to be recognised as a part of the zamindari system. There were quite a few very large zamindaris in Bihar and particularly in North Bihar where practically three houses had under their sway lakhs of tenants. In South Bihar also there were a few big zamindars like the houses of Amawan, Tekari, etc. In Chotanagpur the family of Chotanagpur *maharaja* was practically the overlord, whole of Ranchi district being one *tauzi*.

The history of Santal Parganas as described elsewhere will, however, show that the conditions were somewhat different. The tribal system of the *Pradhans* and the State through Damini-i-koh were insurance against much of the evils of the zamindari system as rampant in North and South Bihar. We do not know of any case in Santal Parganas of substantial houses of tenants being demolished overnight and the site ploughed up if the tenants were thought to be recalcitrant which was not uncommon in North Bihar.

It is true that prior to the Congress party taking up the administration as a result of the election of 1937, the British Government had taken various steps to give relief to the tenants. Various tenancy reforms had been put in the statute book and there were also such measures taken for Santal Parganas which had its peculiar tenancy laws and regulations. But the sum total of all the measures were merely palliative and could not root out the evils.

The zamindari system had also a very bad effect on the society by raising barriers between man and man or class and class. As most of the zamindaris were in the hands of the so-called higher castes, there was an encouragement to the peculiar kind of arrogant aristocracy based on casteism. There was also another peculiarity and that was an affinity among the zamindars of different castes. The Land-holders' Association was a binding factor. The existing franchise system also encouraged the zamindar to move together and it was a common complaint that the zamindars had much more access to the local authorities. The majority of the people who formed the society in a village or town did not belong to the zamindar class and they resented through ages against the arrogant leadership of the zamindars even in social and religious matter. All this had created a dead weight against the creation of the

socialistic pattern of society that was the aim of the Congress as a political party.

The century old resentment had found concrete shapes in explosions from time to time in agitations and agrarian riots. The agitation launched by the Kisan Sabha with the active co-operation of the Congress during the twenties and thirties of the present century had lent acuteness to the problem. The agitation clearly exposed the evils of the zamindari system which had outlived its utility if there was any. The Congress had adopted the abolition of the zamindari system as one of their aims and naturally after assuming the office in Bihar in 1937 the Congress Government took up the question of abolition of the system. The Congress Government had to move with wide sweep to bring about the abolition for the entire State without looking into the fact whether the system had worked very adversely in some parts or not.

So far as Santal Parganas is concerned it has to be mentioned that a very wise move had been taken to compile the Santal Parganas Manual in 1911 which is still recognised as the Bible of the district. In this book various Regulations and Acts for the amelioration of the Santals and other Adibasis were put in. Mr. Oldham's preface to the first edition of the Manual dated 31st August, 1897 brings to light the history of Santal Parganas administration and special Regulations enacted down to the year 1897. The preface of the second edition by E. H. Walsh dated the 10th May, 1911 gives the later history of Santal Regulations. The second edition of the book was printed in 1925 and published by the Government with suitable notes. From time to time correction slips have been issued by the Government. This book and the later Settlement Report will give the story till 1935. Almost immediately after this other attempts of the Government to give relief to the tenants through rent reduction, commutation of produce rent, restoration of Bakast lands, etc., were made. The importance of these tenancy measures should not be minimised as it created an essential background for the abolition of the zamindari system.

There was no precedent to go by and decision had to be taken to decide the conditions under which the various interests of the landlords in their estates and tenures would vest in the State. On the basis of the decision so reached, the Bihar State Acquisition of Zamindaris Bill, 1947 was drafted and introduced in the Legislature. The nomenclature of the Bill was subsequently changed to the Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Bill and was passed by the Legislature in 1948. The Bill was reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General of India under the provisions of Government of India Act, 1935. After a series of discussions between the Bihar Ministry and the Central Cabinet,

the Bill was referred back for amending certain provisions dealing with mineral rights and the amending Bill was accordingly introduced and was passed by the Bihar Legislature in 1949 and thereafter the Bill was again reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General which was obtained in due course and the Bill was published as an Act.

The validity of the Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Act was challenged by certain landlords and the courts began granting injunctions. Meanwhile, it was felt that the Act did not have sufficient provisions for land reforms and hence it was decided to repeal this legislation and to introduce a more comprehensive one and the Bihar Land Reforms Bill was accordingly introduced in which provision was made for making over management of estates to Gram Panchayats, if the State Government so decided, and for formation of a Land Commission, consisting of both officials and non-officials to advise Government regarding the agrarian policy to be followed. After the Bill was passed by both Houses of Legislature, it was reserved for the assent of the President of India under Article 31 (4) of the Constitution. It received duly the assent of the President and was published as an Act.

The validity of the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 was also challenged in the Patna High Court, which declared that the Act contravened Article 14 of the Constitution and was, therefore, invalid. The State Government considered the matter afresh in consultation with the Government of India and it was decided that land reform, being such an important social measure, could not be further delayed on account of fruitless legislations and that the Constitution should make a more specific provision so that such legislations could not be challenged. The Bill called the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951 was accordingly introduced in Parliament by the Prime Minister of India, which *inter alia* provided for certain amendments to Article 31 of the Constitution. The Bill was ultimately passed by Parliament and was enacted with the assent of the President. The Act provided *inter alia* that neither the Bihar Land Reforms Act nor any of the provisions thereof would be deemed or even to have become void on the ground that it took away or abridged any of the rights conferred by any provision of Part III, and notwithstanding any judgement, decree or order of any Court or tribunal contrary, the Act would continue enforced.

Some of the landlords challenged the competence of Parliament to amend the Constitution and the Supreme Court issued injunction against taking over the estates under the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 till the validity of the constitutional amendment had not been decided. The Supreme Court ultimately rejected the

application of the landlords and unanimously held that the consti tutional amendment was valid.

Some of the landlords took the matter again to the Supreme Court but subsequently the Supreme Court upheld the provision of the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950.

The Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 came into force on the 25th September, 1950. Steps for taking over the zamindaris started from November, 1951, and proceeded according to phased programme. In the first phase large intermediary interests with a gross annual income exceeding Rs. 50,000 each vested in the State by the issue of individual notification. Accordingly the following 14 big zamindary estates of this district each having an annual income of Rs. 50,000 or above were notified in the year 1952-53, u/s 3 (*i*) of the Bihar Land Reforms Act, 1950 and vested in the State of Bihar with effect from the date of notification :—

(1) Maheshpur Raj Estate (Pargana Sultanabad).
(2) Pakaur Raj Estate (Pargana Ambar)
(3) Hetampur Raj Estate (Parganas Muhammadabad and Kundahit Kareya).
(4) Jamtara Estate (Pargana Pabia, etc.).
(5) Grant Estate (Pargana Belpatta, etc.).
(6) Belpatta Estate (Pargana Belpatta).
(7) Handwe Estate (Pargana Handwe).
(8) Lachimpur Estate (Pargana Barcope).
(9) Barcope Estate (Pargana Barcope).
(10) Belbadda Estate (Tappa Manihari).
(11) Raj Banaili Estate (Parganas Godda and Amlomotia, etc.)
(12) Pathrole Estate (Parganas Pathrole and Taluk Sarath).
(13) Rohini Estate (Tappa Sarath, Deoghar).
(14) Colgong Estate (concerns Sahibganj).

During the years 1953-54 and 1954-55 zamindaris having an annual income of Rs. 10,000 and below Rs. 50,000 and tenures which existed within the vested estates were notified under section 3 (*i*) of the B. L. R. Act with effect from 1st January, 1956 and all intermediary interests were abolished under section 3 (B) of the B. L. R. Act.

The three *ghatwali* estates, viz. Handwe, Rohini, and Pathrole as stated elsewhere challenged the validity of the Act. After the decision by the Supreme Court the Handwe estate was taken over by the State Government in 1963. The cases of the rest two estates are still pending in the Supreme Court.

The Land Reforms Act is the forerunner of other reforms which are on the anvil in connection with the problem of land distribution, regulation of rent, co-operative farming, etc. Personal cultivation has also to be regulated. A ceiling on agricultural holdings

is likely to be fixed sometimes or other as a necessary corollary to the land reforms movement. The movement of co-operative farming has to be popularised.

Agency and Mode of Management.

For the purpose of revenue administration the district has been divided into 41 *anchals*. The names of the *anchals* have been covered in the chapter on 'People'. Each *anchal* has 10 *halkas*. There are thus 410 *halkas* in the district. A Karmachari has been placed in charge of a *halka*. *Halka* is a unit of ten villages or more. The main duties of the Karmacharies are rent collection in the non-*pradhani* villages, maintenance of registers and accounts, submission of reports and returns, maintenance of agricultural statistics, execution of improvement works of vested estates and to make enquiries relating to mutations, *ad-interim* payment and allied work. Several *halkas* make a circle or an *anchal*. Above the Karmachari is the Circle Inspector, one for each circle or *anchal*. Both Karmacharies and Circle Inspectors are non-gazetted staff. Next in the rank is the Block Development Officers or Anchal Adhikaris, one for each block or *anchal*. They are of gazetted rank. They are entrusted with the revenue work. In each of the six subdivisions of the district there is a Deputy Collector Incharge Land Reforms and Development. He is under the supervision and control of the Subdivisional Officer. An Additional Collector with his headquarters at Dumka exercises an overall supervision over the detailed work of revenue administration in the district, subject to the general control of the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of the district and the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division.

The annual demand on account of rent, cess and *sairat* of this district in 1960-61, excluding the three *Ghatwali* Estates, of Rohni, Pathrole and Handwe, possession of which had not been taken over due to suits filed by them is indicated below:—

	Rs.
Rent	2,016,361.56
Cess	106,376.63
Miscellaneous	613,662.20

Compensation.

Under the Bihar Land Reforms Act, each ex-intermediary whose estate has been taken over is entitled to compensation. So far *ad-interim* payments have been made to 5,734 intermediaries, the number of whom is likely to increase after Khewat Bujharat is completed. Approximately 50% of the final compensation is being paid in Zamindari Abolition Bonds. As soon as field and Khewat Bujharat is completed, final compensation will be paid to all the intermediaries for which a special staff has been sanctioned by Government

APPENDIX I.

STATEMENT OF YEARWISE DEMAND AND COLLECTION

	Demand							
	Rent.		Cess.		Education Cess.		Miscellaneous.	
	Arrear.	Current.	Arrear.	Current.	Arrear.	Current.	Arrear.	Current.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1955-56 ..	4,53,722.25	14,4 ,874.19	38,966.94	85,719.19	..	..	52,375.75	4,29,473.44
1956-57 ..	4,09,608.94	18,90,206.62	32,474.19	99,855.44	..	..	56,039.81	5,31,377.37
1957-58 ..	5,52,166.64	19,70,482.16	42,320.18	1,05,372.66	..	..	1,01,487.59	5,85,793.76
1958-59 ..	9,90,447.38	19,79,686.56	71,563.13	1,05,924.70	..	..	1,22,284.60	5,58,099.89
1959-60 ..	9,06,149.52	19,91,056.13	66,623.58	1,06,837.03	..	1,23,465.67	1,14,897.53	5,92,972.04
1960-61 ..	10,32,682.85	20,16,361.56	67,332.64	1,06,376.63	80,919.93	1,25,292.35	1,07,281.09	6,13,662.20
1961-62 ..	9,93,739.36	20,08,408.46	53,224.08	1,05,852.40	44,042.64	1,24,828.46	1,87,730.37	6,96,321.29
1962-63 ..	6,86,186.24	19,68,489.59	4,79,444.57	1,03,913.20	38,523.60	1,22,565.62	1,16,293.65	6,92,142.16

APPENDIX I—*concld.*

STATEMENT OF YEARWISE DEMAND AND COLLECTION—*concld.*

	Collection.							
	Rent.		Cess.		Education Cess.		Miscellaneous.	
	Arrear.	Current.	Arrear.	Current.	Arrear.	Current.	Arrear.	Current.
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1955-56 ..	2,64,345.25	12,42,597.81	21,157.15	70,049.90	..	..	17,287.81	4,03,742.18
1956-57 ..	17,05,089.44	15,82,287.59	11,813.94	79,251.09	..	..	13,310.88	4,86,181.12
1957-58 ..	1,65,885.40	13,91,902.96	10,382.00	67,241.29	..	..	19,744.40	5,43,940.76
1958-59 ..	4,96,993.00	15,72,719.50	32,880.20	78,392.40	..	..	24,939.00	5,35,820.78
1959-60 ..	3,86,281.74	16,03,102.64	25,262.90	80,856.99	..	43,808.20	20,166.33	5,78,514.03
1960-61 ..	4,02,957.73	16,05,704.38	25,294.13	80.483.72	64,161.62	97,676.18	17,025.01	5,15,150.24
1961-62 ..	4,78,108.61	1,65,022.48	29,219.76	82,978.29	23,183.50	99,717.30	13,446.62	6,62,919.70
1962-63 ..	6,15,012.46	18,54,230.59	41,521.81	93,407.19	32,588.74	1,11,687.49	59,008.16	6,80,068.94

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APPENDIX II.

STATEMENT SHOWING RENT RATES PER ACRE IN CHOTA NAGPUR AND SANTAL PARGANAS.

District.		Riceland I.	Riceland II.	Riceland III.	Upland I.	Upland. II.	Upland. III.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Hazaribagh ..	Maximum ..	5 5 6	3 7 0	2 1 3	4 4 6	1 15 0	0 5 6
	Minimum ..	2 0 0	1 4 0	1 0 0	1 4 0	0 4 0	0 1 0
Ranchi ..	Maximum ..	2 11 4	2 2 8	1 5 9	1 1 4	0 8 8	0 2 2
	Minimum ..	0 11 6	0 9 4	0 5 10	0 4 8	0 2 4	0 0 7
Palamau ..	Maximum ..	10 8 0	7 0 0	4 3 0	6 4 0	2 0 0	0 8 0
	Minimum ..	6 4 0	4 3 0	1 11 0	3 2 0	1 0 0	0 4 0
Manbhum ..	Maximum ..	5 4 0	3 4 6	1 12 0	2 10 0	1 14 0	0 3 6
	Minimum ..	4 2 0	2 9 3	1 6 0	2 1 0	0 11 0	0 2 9
Singhbhum ..	Maximum ..	3 8 8	2 9 4	1 12 3	0 10 8	0 5 4	0 1 4
	Minimum ..	1 4 0	1 0 0	0 10 0	0 3 8	0 1 10	0 0 5½
Santal Parganas	Maximum ..	9 0 0	7 8 0	5 4 0	3 12 0	2 4 0	0 14 0
	Minimum ..	2 4 0	1 2 6	0 10 0	0 4 6	0 2 0	0 4 3

CHAPTER XII

LAW, ORDER AND JUSTICE

Administrative Units and Their Origin

The history of the district of Santal Parganas as an administrative unit began in the year 1855 when by Act XXXVII it was carved out of portions of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts and constituted into a separate district. The creation of the district was a direct sequel to the Santal Rebellion of 1854-55. Prior to this the tract now comprising this district together with certain adjoining areas now included in the districts of Hazaribagh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur was loosely known as "Jungleterry district", which came under British Rule on assumption of the Dewani by the East India Company in 1765. This tract was administered by Captains Brooke and Browne between the years 1772 and 1779. A copy of Colonel Rennel's Map published in 1779 (and printed after page 8 of Mcpherson's Settlement Report) shows the position of this district during the early days of British administration. Earlier history leading to the formation of the Santal Parganas as a separate district in 1855 has been given in the text on History. A certain amount of repetition here is inevitable.

In 1855 the Santal Rebellion was put down after a considerable loss of life and destruction of property. The Commissioner appointed to suppress the rising was Mr. Bidwell and his Deputy was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ashley Eden. After its suppression Mr. Bidwell submitted a report enumerating the legitimate grievances of the Santals. Realising that the system under which the Santals had been ruled was mainly responsible for the rebellion, the Government resolved to change it and thus to remove the abuses. The main principle of the new system was a Local Self-Government under strong and trustworthy supervision. At first the Damin and neighbouring areas inhabited by the Santals were separated from Birbhum and Bhagalpur and formed by Act XXXVII of 1855 into the present district of Santal Parganas composed of four administrative units. The four sub-districts of Dumka, Deoghar (including Jamtara), Godda and Rajmahal (including Pakaur) were placed under the control of a Deputy Commissioner and four Assistant Commissioners each of whom had a Sub-Assistant at a central point of his charge. These ten officers were employed for the purpose of administering justice to the common people. They tried civil and criminal cases. They

had no revenue work and the trial of suits over Rs. 1,000 in value was carried on by the district staff of Birbhum and Bhagalpur. In those days civil suits were very few in number and were easily disposed of. The main business of these ten officers was maintenance of law and order. They were also available for undertaking enquiries into police cases.

Act XXXVII of 1855 exempted this district from the operation of general Regulations and Acts as well as of any laws subsequently passed in which this district was not specially mentioned, except in regard to civil suits above Rs. 1,000 in value, the collection of revenue in the permanently settled estates, the sale of lands for arrears of revenue, etc. In 1856 a few simple rules for civil and criminal administration were laid down for guidance of officers and for some years Santal Parganas was administered strictly on non-Regulation system. The chief principles of this system were that (1) no advocates, pleaders or mukhtears and no middle-men between the Government officers and the people were permitted, (2) the contact between the Administration and the people was direct, (3) there was no regular police and (4) the spirit of the local laws was recognised but no technical forms were allowed. These rules in regard to administration of criminal justice remained in operation till 1862 when the Indian Penal Code was introduced. In 1863 Sir Cecil Beadon, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, expressed his opinion that Santal Parganas should, as soon as practicable be administered on the system in force in the rest of Bengal. In the same year the Advocate General held section 1, clause 1 of Act XXXVII of 1855 ("no law which shall hereafter be passed by the Governor-General of India in Council shall be deemed to extend to any part of the said district, unless the same shall be specially named therein") to be *ultra vires*. The Government accepted this view and directed the local officers to enforce the provisions of all general Acts passed after 1855 unless the Santal Parganas was specially exempted from their operation. Amongst others Act X of 1859 was also enforced in this district. The result was that the Rent Law, the Civil Procedure Code, the Stamp Act and other Acts were considered to be in force here which caused great hardship to the simple inhabitants of this district. Their rents were enhanced, their head men were evicted from office and turned out of their lands in favour of more advanced races and they were crushed by extortionate interest allowed on debts under the provisions of Civil Procedure Code (Act VIII of 1859).

The dissatisfaction caused by this change of system culminated in the disturbances of 1871. An enquiry was held which showed that the Santals had genuine grievances. The Government of India came

to the conclusion that the indiscriminate extension of some of the Acts of Legislature to the Santal Parganas had worked mischief and the district required a simpler form of administration than the rest of Bengal and therefore it should be again removed from the operation of General Laws. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal accordingly recommended that the best mode of effecting this object would be to bring it within the scope of Act 33 passed in British Parliament in March 1870 which would enable the Government to make regulations for the peace and good government of territories to which the said Act might be applied by the Secretary of State for India. This measure followed by a suitable regulation would, it was believed, place the action of the Government on a legal basis, which would be wholly unassailable and which would best enable the Government to apply from time to time the exact remedies required for evils which had been or might be shown to exist without violently or unnecessarily disturbing the law or general administration of the district. The Government of India accepted this view and the Secretary of State for India issued a Notification announcing the extension of the provision of section 1 of Act 33 Vic. Cape. 3 to the Santal Parganas*.

This enabled the Government of India to issue Regulation III of 1872 empowering the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to appoint officers to make a settlement of landed rights, to restore dispossessed *manjhis* and others, to settle rents, and to record the customs and usages of the people. It also introduced a usuary law limiting the accumulation of interest on debts and it laid down the list of laws in force in the Santal Parganas and gave powers to the local Government to introduce or withdraw the operation of any law as might be found desirable in this district from time to time. In 1872 the Santal Parganas was formed into a Revenue non-regulation district with headquarters at Dumka.

The three sub-districts of Godda, Deoghar and Rajmahal were reduced to subdivisions. The Deputy Commissioner was removed from Bhagalpur and posted at Dumka in the heart of his district, so that he might be able to control his affairs adequately. Courts were established at Dumka, Godda, Rajmahal, Deoghar and Nala. The court at Nala was subsequently transferred to Jamtara in 1879. Separate subdivisions of Jamtara and Pakaur were constituted in 1881 by the Government Notification of 31st January, 1881 published at page 176, Part 1 of *Calcutta Gazette* on 2nd February, 1881. Hence six subdivisions with headquarters at Dumka, Deoghar,

*This matter has been elaborately dealt with in the text on History (P. C. R. C.).

Rajmahal, Jamtara, Godda and Pakaur emerged which now constitute this district.

Four administrative sub-charges were created in 1945 and 1948 with the establishment of Courts of four Damin Magistrates at Hiranpur, Katikund, Sundarpahari and Rakshi in Pakaur, Dumka, Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions respectively. These Damin Magistrates are expected to maintain to some extent the original spirit of the administration of this district by establishing direct contact with the aborigines of the Damin-i-Koh which wholly lie within the aforesaid subdivisions and to carry "justice at the door".

The headquarters station of the Rajmahal subdivision was shifted from Rajmahal to Sahibganj, a flourishing town on the Loop Line of the Eastern Railway, with effect from 1st January, 1945. The ancient town of Rajmahal was once the Viceregal seat of the Eastern Province of the Great Moghuls but had lost its importance.

The Government of Bihar in the Political Department communicated their decision (letter no. 7718-P. G., dated the 27th December, 1948) "that the headquarters of Rajmahal subdivision should remain at Sahibganj for the present. However, this decision is not final and will be reviewed when the condition might be favourable. In order that this issue may not be prejudiced Government desire that all the building programmes may be suspended and the offices may be continued to be held in the present buildings at Sahibganj". At present the sub-jail and the courts of the subdivision are located in rented houses at Sahebganj. Industrially Rajmahal was once a distributing centre of importance on the Ganga and was the original terminus of the Eastern Railway. The railway was afterwards diverted leaving Rajmahal at the end of a small branch, Rajmahal-Tinpahar section and a new terminus was made at Sahibganj. The question of shifting the subdivisional headquarters to Sahibganj had engaged the attention of the Government even before 1886.

In 1866 the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division, Mr. Money proposed the transfer of the administrative headquarters from Rajmahal to Sahibganj on account of the unhealthiness of Rajmahal. In 1881 Commissioner Barlow revived this proposal which, however, was withdrawn on the recommendation of Mr. Oldham, the Deputy Commissioner of this district who held that Rajmahal was more centrally placed and suitable from administrative point of view, although he frankly admitted in his report to Mr. Barlow: "I distinctly affirm as District Officer that I get the worst class of work from Rajmahal and that the invariable excuse, and which I believe, is sickness. I have always the utmost difficulty in getting

on ministerial officers to go there. Every officer who has been there speaks of the place with horror—Wilmot, Smith, Cossret, Henry, James himself has repeatedly called it pestilential." The question of the transfer again came up for consideration in 1886 on the representation submitted by the Municipal Commissioners of the town of Sahibganj which was supported by Mr. R. Carstairs, the Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas. The proposal was, however, dropped by the Government in 1887 on the recommendation of the Commissioner, Mr. Alexander, the Subdivisional Officer of Rajmahal was, however, directed to hold courts at Sahibganj at least twice a month. After about fifteen years the proposal was renewed by the Deputy Commissioner (Mr. C. H. Bompas) in 1901 which was strongly supported by Mr. H. C. Williams, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur. But it was again turned down by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on financial grounds. Mr. Bompas, however, again pressed his proposal in 1906 which was supported by Mr. D. J. Macpherson, commissioner of Bhagalpur Division. The cost of transfer was estimated at Rs. 44,000 and the site selected by Mr. Bompas was the top of the mound over the ruins of the Sakrugarh fort. On a portion of it stands the present Damin Bungalow of Sakrugarh. This time the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal visited Rajmahal to see things for himself and once again he turned down the proposal in July, 1907. In 1914 the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal again wanted to discuss this question but as the local officers were not anxious for the matter, it was dropped. In 1922 Mr. A. C. Davies, the Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas again reopened the question. But his proposals were not forwarded to Government by the Commissioner Mr. B. C. Sen on grounds of financial stringency. Afterwards Mr. J. R. Dain, Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division revived the proposal in 1936 which was supported by the local officers but it was again turned down by the Government in March, 1938 on financial grounds. In January, 1944 the Subdivisional Officer of Rajmahal again pressed for reconsideration of the proposal as the circumstances had further changed due to the removal of Tinpahar-Rajmahal line during World War II and prevalence of exceptionally severe epidemic of malaria making the place entirely unsuitable for intellectual work. This time the proposal was supported with immediate suitable arrangement for accommodating the courts and the sub-jail at Sahibganj where two rich merchants offered two big houses free of rent for the purpose for a period of one year in case the proposal of transfer was accepted. A big *sabai* godown of Shri Durgadas Chokhani and a new Dharamsala of Shri Jamuna Das Chaudhury were offered for sub-jail and courts respectively. The proposal received strong support from Mr. W. G. Archer, Deputy Commissioner and Mr. E. O. Lee, Commissioner Sir Thomas George Rutherford, Governor of Bihar visited Rajmahal on the 10th November, 1944 and after considering all the points in favour

and against the proposal, sanctioned the transfer of the subdivisional headquarters from Rajmahal to Sahibganj with effect from 1st January, 1945; which was published in the Bihar Government notification no. 4717-P., dated the 23rd December, 1944 of the Political Department. The Court and office of a Sub-Deputy Collector and Sub-Deputy Magistrate, commonly known as Third Officer was at first maintained at Rajmahal temporarily after the transfer of Subdivisional Headquarters on the 1st January, 1945. But that, too, was shifted to Sahibganj on the 1st April, 1945 under Bihar Government notification no. 1923-P., dated the 24th March, 1945 of the Political Department. All Courts and Sub-Jail of Rajmahal Subdivision are still located at Sahebganj in the aforesaid buildings for which the Government now pay rent in pursuance of the aforesaid orders of the Government of the 27th December, 1948.

Magistracy—Criminal Justice

The evolution in the method of administering justice in this district is an interesting study. It has undergone radical changes in course of time and reflects various phases of administration.

In 1856 a few simple rules for Civil and Criminal Administration were laid down for the guidance of local officers dispensing justice ; they were not bound by any elaborate laws or procedure. Under paragraph 10 of Government letter no. 117 of the 7th January, 1856, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division exercised general control over the Criminal courts of this district. The Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas, then posted at Bhagalpur also exercised the powers of a Sessions Judge.

In 1872 when the Santal Parganas was created a non-regulation revenue district with a Deputy Commissioner at Dumka, the powers of a Sessions Judge were taken away from the Deputy Commissioner and assigned to the Sessions Courts of Birbhum and Bhagalpur.

The first attempt to clearly define the powers and procedure of a criminal court in this district was made in 1893 by passing Regulation V of 1893. The system laid down therein differed materially from that in force elsewhere in Bengal. This district was included in Bengal at that time.

The position did not change even after the creation of Bihar into a separate province in 1912 which eventually led to the establishment of the High Court of Judicature at Patna.

Under the aforesaid Regulation there was a division of jurisdiction over criminal courts of this district between the High Court and the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division, who was the High Court for Santal Parganas subject to certain limitations laid down in section 4 of Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893. The jurisdiction of the High Court under the said Regulation extended only to Sessions cases, cases involving Europeans, and appeals by local Government against acquittals. The Commissioner of Bhagalpur was the High Court for all other purposes. He could, however, transfer any criminal case pending before him to the High Court of Judicature which should in his opinion be disposed of by that Court. Santal Parganas was constituted into a separate Sessions Division and the Deputy Commissioner again presided over its court of Sessions. As the Court of Sessions, the Deputy Commissioner was also empowered to exercise the original jurisdiction of taking cognizance of any offence without the case being committed to him by a Magistrate and try such offences according to the procedure prescribed for trial of warrant cases. He could on appeal preferred before him against the orders of conviction of any Magistrate enhance the punishment subject to the maximum sentence awardable by a Magistrate of the first class for such offence. The Code of Criminal Procedure was not enforced in its entirety in this district for the trial of criminal cases was regulated mainly by special provisions of Regulation V of 1893, the basic principle of which was justice according to equity and good conscience. A saving clause in the said Regulation laid down that a "finding, sentence or order shall not be reversed or altered on account of any irregularity of procedure unless the irregularity has occasioned or is likely to occasion a failure of justice".*

"This special criminal jurisdiction was established for various reasons partly as an element in the scheme of co-ordinating all the branches of administration under one head ; partly because in the early days it was necessary to simplify the course of justice and to do away as far as possible with technicalities ; partly because the investigation of crime over a large area of the district was performed by an untrained indigenous police agency ; partly to safeguard the integrity of the special laws of this district and to prevent differences of interpretation between Santal courts on the one hand and the High Court on theother."† This unification of control of all courts under one head had been an important factor in securing stability of local laws and continuity of their interpretation. These special laws were and still are far from fully

*Section 4(*v*) of Reg. V of 1893.

†Report of the Santal Parganas Enquiry Commi tee, 1938, p. 9.

codified, and even where they have been reduced to statute forms, they are often imperfectly drafted. These Civil and Revenue laws are still contained in the rulings of the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner which, however, have never been collected and published and have undergone developments as times and circumstances changed. Many criminal cases, particularly those which arise out of agricultural disputes, contained elements which concerned the Civil and Revenue Laws and the Criminal courts trying such cases had to decide points which require special local knowledge not contained in the general laws of the land and to much of these local laws the judge at Bhagalpur and the High Court had no easy access. The criminal courts were, therefore, kept away from their jurisdiction and were placed under the Deputy Commissioner and the Commissioner who were supposed to acquire intimate knowledge of local laws in course of their day-to-day duties. This also ensured a direct contact of the Magistrates with the people in all matters. Section 4 of Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893 was amended by Regulation III of 1899 by which the Commissioner's power to transfer any criminal case to the High Court was abolished. This Regulation constituted the Court of the Sessions Judge of Birbhum to be the Court of Sessions for the Santal Parganas Sessions Division, the powers of a Sessions Judge exercised by the Deputy Commissioner being again withdrawn. It further provided that the High Court at Calcutta in addition to its jurisdiction under Regulation V of 1893 should exercise appellate and revisional jurisdiction in respect of all cases tried by the Sessions Judge of Birbhum ; that the Deputy Commissioner should have appellate jurisdiction over the subordinate courts of the district and that the Commissioner of Bhagalpur should have appellate jurisdiction over the Deputy Commissioner and revisional jurisdiction over all the courts of the district as High Court.

Regulation V of 1893 was further amended by Regulation IV of 1912. By Notification no. IIA, dated the 1st April, 1912, published at page 15 of the *Bihar and Orissa Gazette*, Part I, dated the 3rd April, 1912, issued in pursuance of that Regulation the Sessions Judge of Bhagalpur was directed to preside over the Sessions Court at the headquarters station of the district of Santal Parganas also in respect of all cases arising in this district. Regulation V of 1893 was further amended by Regulation IV of 1933 which empowered the local Government to confer powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code in this district on any Magistrate. It further provided (*a*) that when in any case a Magistrate specially empowered under section 30 of Criminal Procedure Code passed a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding four years or of transportation, the appeal of all or

any of the accused convicted at such trial should lie to the Commissioner, and (*b*) that the Deputy Commissioner might direct that any appeal by any person convicted or sentenced under section 349 of Criminal Procedure Code by any Magistrate other than the Deputy Commissioner or any class of such appeals should be heard by any Magistrate of the First Class subordinate to him and specially empowered by the local Government to hear such appeals. Accordingly the Deputy Commissioner exercised powers under section 30 of Criminal Procedure Code and tried all cases not punishable with death. He, however, also heard appeals from all Magistrates as before. One of the Senior Deputy Magistrates stationed at the district headquarters was also vested with powers under section 30 of Criminal Procedure Code. This was subsequently further extended to mofussil subdivisions where the Subdivisional Officers were also vested with powers under section 30 of Criminal Procedure Code. Regulation V of 1893 was, however, further amended by Regulation III of 1940 [Santal Parganas Justice (Amendment) Regulation, 1940] and it was brought into force on the 1st January, 1943 under Bihar Government (Judicial Department) Notification no. 2257-J-A-23/41, dated the 30th October 1943, issued under sections 7 (2) and 9(2) of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, directing that (*i*) the district of Santal Parganas shall be included within the limits of the Bhagalpur Sessions division, and (*ii*) the Court of Sessions of the Bhagalpur Sessions division shall hold its sitting at Bhagalpur and Dumka provided that the Court of Sessions shall not dispose of any business except (*a*) such business as has arisen within the district of Bhagalpur, and (*b*) urgent applications and jail appeals. This enabled the litigants of this district to move the Sessions Judge at Bhagalpur forthwith for the latter category of cases instead of waiting till his next Circuit Court at Dumka. Regulation III of 1940 also introduced other substantial changes in the administration of criminal justice of this district. A person convicted on trial held by the District Magistrate or the Additional District Magistrate or sentenced by any of them under section 349 or 380 of the Criminal Procedure Code was permitted to appeal against their orders to the Court of Sessions. In case of sentence of imprisonment exceeding four years or transportation by Magistrates vested with powers under section 30 of Criminal Procedure Code, the first appeal now lay before the High Court of Judicature at Patna and in other cases before the District Magistrate as before.

In 1938 the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee reviewed the problems connected with the administration in this district and made a number of recommendations most of which have by now been accepted by the State Government. This Committee was presided

over by Mr. (later on Sir) R. E. Russel and was composed of members having intimate knowledge of this district including Pandit Binodanand Jha, ex-Chief Minister of the State of Bihar and Shri Krishna Ballabh Sahay, now the Chief Minister in the State. In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, two regular Subordinate Judges were posted—one at Dumka and another at Deoghar in 1944. The Subordinate Judge at Deoghar joined on 16th May, 1944, and another at Dumka on 11th April, 1944. They were also subsequently vested with powers under section 30 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Regulation V of 1893 was subsequently amended by Regulation I of 1947 [Santal Parganas Justice (Amendment and Miscellaneous Provisions) Regulation, 1947] by which criminal justice of this district was virtually placed under the superintendence of the High Court and the judicial control of the Divisional Commissioner over criminal courts was ended. Under this Regulation a separate judgeship was created for this district and Shri Ram Anugrah Narain was the first District and Sessions Judge posted at Dumka on 16th April, 1947 to hold charge of it. It was laid down in this Regulation that all appeals against the orders of conviction passed by the District Magistrate, Additional District Magistrate and any other Magistrates of the First Class, shall lie before the Court of Sessions. It was, however, provided by a notification of the local Government under section 406 of the Criminal Procedure Code that all appeals from orders under section 118 of the Criminal Procedure Code made by a Magistrate (other than a Deputy Commissioner) shall lie before the Deputy Commissioner. This notification was issued as far back as 1924 and remained in force till the 4th May, 1951 when it was withdrawn and the course of appeal under this section was also channelled through the Court of Sessions at Dumka. It may, therefore, be said that criminal justice in the district of Santal Parganas was brought completely at par with other places in the State with effect from the 5th May, 1951. Appeals against the orders of conviction passed by Magistrates with second and third class powers, are heard usually by the Additional Deputy Commissioner acting as the Additional District Magistrate. This post was created temporarily under Government Order no. 143-A.R., dated th 26th October, 1938 and extension of this post is being sanctioned from time to time.

The crime figures have been given in the Appendix.

Civil Justice

So far as Civil Justice is concerned it may be mentioned that hitherto suits over one thousand rupees in value of this district were tried by the Civil Courts of Bhagalpur and Birbhum. Courts

established under Act XXXVII of 1855 within this district, however, dealt with civil suits of lower value only.

Regulation V of 1893 defined the jurisdiction of all grades of civil courts of this district. It laid down that there should be two classes of civil courts in Santal Parganas, namely (*i*) Courts established under Bengal, Agra* and Assam Civil Courts Act (Act XII of 1887), and (*ii*) Courts of officers appointed by Lieutenant Governor of Bengal under section 2 of Act XXXVII of 1855.

Regular Civil Courts

There were two grades of courts having jurisdiction in this district under Act XII of 1887, viz., (*i*) Court of the District Judge and (*ii*) Courts of Subordinate Judges. It was, however, provided in that Regulation that the Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas shall also be the District Judge and the local Government may appoint any Subdivisional Officer to be a Subordinate Judge. These courts were, and still are, under the jurisdiction of the High Court of Judicature and governed by Civil Procedure Code. They had jurisdiction over suits valued above one thousand rupees. Regulation V of 1893 was amended by Regulation IV of 1933 which empowered the local Government to appoint any officer as Subordinate Judge and on the 17th August 1935 one of the Deputy Collectors stationed at Deoghar was appointed as the Second Subordinate Judge within the local limits of that subdivision. Subsequently two regular Subordinate Judges of the Provincial Judicial Service were appointed as Subordinate Judges at Dumka and Deoghar in 1944 with jurisdiction to try all civil suits over Rs. 1,000 in value under Act XII of 1887. The Subordinate Judge at Dumka was given jurisdiction over regular civil suits arising within Dumka, Pakaur, Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions and the subdivisions of Deoghar and Jamtara were placed under the Subordinate Judge posted at Deoghar. Under Government Notification no. 209-J.R., dated the 24th August 1949, the Subordinate Judge at Dumka has been directed to hold courts at Dumka, Godda, Pakaur and Sahibganj to hear and dispose of civil suits arising within the respective subdivisions. One Additional Subordinate Judge has been temporarily posted at Dumka since 1st June, 1948 and he disposes of such suits which are specifically made over to him by the District Judge. The Subdivisional Officers of Pakaur, Godda, Jamtara and Rajmahal are, however, regularly vested by name with the powers of a Subordinate Judge to entertain plaints of Sub-Judge suits in their subdivisions. They make over such

*Word "Agra" was substituted for "North-Western Provinces" by Act XVI of 1911.

suits to the regular Subordinate Judges of the area after preliminary stages. This arrangement has been devised to suit the convenience of the litigants of outlying places in view of the vast area and difficult communications of this district. Regulation V of 1893 was further amended by Regulation I of 1947 which extended the jurisdiction of these courts to suits valued above five hundred rupees. It was, however, provided under this Regulation (Regulation I of 1947) that the Deputy Commissioner shall continue to be the District Judge for the limited purpose of hearing and disposing of appeals passed in suits for recovery of rents and Subdivisional Officers shall be deemed to be Subordinate Judges for disposing of the said class of suits of any value instituted in their respective area. The latter provisions were retained under the recommendations of the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee* as it was felt that the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer were primarily concerned with questions of tenancy and revenue law. Rent suits should, therefore, remain under their particular care to safeguard the special laws prohibiting transfer of holding and to protect the institution of *pradhani*. As stated elsewhere, the court of a regular District and Sessions Judge was established at Dumka in 1947. With the establishment of courts of regular District Judge and Subordinate Judges all suits of over five hundred rupees in value, subject to the aforesaid exceptions, have now been taken over by them.

Santal Civil Courts

Regulation V of 1893 also defined the respective jurisdiction of four grades of courts of officers appointed under section 2 of Act XXXVII of 1855 over suits valued up to one thousand rupees. These were (*i*) Court of Commissioner, (*ii*) Court of Deputy Commissioner, (*iii*) Courts of Subdivisional Officers and (*iv*) Courts of Deputy Collectors not in charge of subdivisions and Sub-Deputy Collectors. By Regulation 1 of 1947 jurisdiction of these courts was limited to suits valued up to five hundred rupees only. This Regulation (Regulation 1 of 1947) also made certain consequential changes in matters of appeals and revision. The arrangement of jurisdiction before the adoption of the proposals of Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee, 1938, was affected by Regulation 1 of 1947. These courts are not governed by the Civil Procedure Code but by a special set of rules—the Santal Civil Rules—framed under section 1 (2) of Act XXXVII of 1855. By virtue of orders issued under section 14 of Regulation V of 1893, Civil Suits of all descriptions up to a value of Rs. 200

*Page 11, para. 33.

are triable by Sub-Deputy Collectors and suits of all kinds up to a value of Rs. 500 by Deputy Collectors. Appeals from suits tried by Deputy Collectors not in charge of subdivisions and Sub-Deputy Collectors lie in the first instance to the Subdivisional Officer. The next course of appeal and revision is to the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner, the former being deemed to be the High Court.

There is no second appeal where the first appellate court has upheld the original decree. But if the decree has been reversed or modified a second appeal lies to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division. The Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner have original powers of revision under section 19(1) of Regulation V of 1893 and all the Subdivisional Officers have also been vested with powers of revision under section 19(2) of the said Regulation by a statutory order of the Deputy Commissioner, dated the 19th December 1893. The High Court at Patna has no jurisdiction over these courts. These courts commonly known as Santal Civil Courts follow the simple procedure of 74 rules of Santal Civil Rules in place of the Code of Civil Procedure followed by courts established under Act XII of 1887. These rules have been framed under section 1(2) of Santal Parganas Act, 1855 (Act XXXVII of 1855) and section 27 of Santal Parganas Justice Regulation, 1893 (Regulation V of 1893) and were revised with effect from 1st January 1946. The revised rules replaced the still simpler rules of 63 clauses which were in force since 14th October 1924. These rules are in no way exhaustive and Santal Civil Courts are supposed to decide points not covered by these rules according to equity and good conscience and on the basis of statutory and appellate orders of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner.

Under the original Regulation V of 1893, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division was the District Judge of this district for the purposes of Indian Divorce Act. Appeals against his orders under the Indian Divorce Act lay before the High Court. This jurisdiction of the Commissioner was terminated on the 7th April, 1948 by Regulation I of 1948 which amended Regulation V of 1893 and transferred all pending proceedings to the court of the regular District Judge established at Dumka in 1947.

Regulation V of 1893 was again amended by Regulation I of 1949. This created five instead of four grades of Santal Civil Courts adding in the aforesaid list the court of Additional Deputy Commissioner who is the Additional Judge with powers to hear appeals against the orders of the Subdivisional Officers, if transferred to him by the Deputy Commissioner. He also hears

revisions against orders of Subdivisional Officers, other Deputy Collectors and Sub-Deputy Collectors being empowered to do so under this Regulation by the Deputy Commissioner.

Effect of Settlement Operations on Civil Suits

When any area is brought under settlement, the jurisdiction of the regular courts under Act XII of 1887 and also of those under Act XXXVII of 1855 is ousted in regard to suits connected with land or *Pradhani* and such suits are tried by Settlement Officers and their Assistants. The findings of a settlement court have the force of a decree and the entries of the Record-of-Rights are conclusive proof of the facts stated therein at that time.

Lawyers

Describing the constitution of the district of Santal Parganas in 1855, Mr. (later on Sir) H. McPherson wrote that "The principle of the new administration was to be direct communication between the people and their rulers, the village headmen were to be their own Police, professional lawyers were to be excluded from the courts and the procedure of the courts was to be of the simplest possible nature."*

While this principle has always been upheld as an ideal to be achieved, circumstances have modified its application. In 1863 the Government directed the local officers to enforce the provisions of all general Acts and the result of it was :—"The professional lawyer class had been readmitted into the courts and woe betide the unfortunate aborigines who fell into their clutches".† The Government revised their policy quickly and the appearance of lawyers was severely restricted. But the situation materially changed by the passing of Regulation V of 1893 which enabled lawyers to appear as a matter of right before Civil Courts established under Act XII of 1887. The Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas subject to the control of the Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division and the local Government, however, regulated their appearance in all courts subordinate to the Commissioner including the criminal courts. The principle of their admission was laid down by the Bengal Government in 1893 on the recommendation of Mr. Carstairs, the then Deputy Commissioner of this district, to the effect that "the number to be appointed for each

*McPherson's *Settlement Report* (1898—1907), para. 30, p. 39.

†McPherson's *Settlement Report*, para. 31, pages 39-40.

subdivision will be fixed according to the work that has to be done. Regard should be had on the one hand to the prospect of employment so that all those admitted may have a fair chance of making a living and on the other to the wants of the public, so that there shall not be as few as to create a monopoly. The number will be fixed for each subdivision by the Deputy Commissioner after taking the opinion of the Subdivisional Officers and be revised by him from time to time, as may be thought expedient." In accordance with these orders the Deputy Commissioner kept a list of approved lawyers practising in various courts of this district. In his letter no. 181-P. R. of the 30th June, 1923, the Chief Secretary to the Bihar and Orissa Government directed "that pleaders whose names are on the approved list of the Deputy Commissioner should be allowed to appear as a matter of right in all criminal courts of the district."

The position further changed by the adoption of Santal Civil Rules under Government letter no. 1629-JT., dated the 17th August 1924 which enabled the lawyers to appear in all civil suits including those before the courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855 as a matter of right where both the parties were *Dikkus* (non-aboriginals). No pleader's or Mukhtear's fees were, however, to be allowed by Santal Civil Courts as costs.

In Revenue courts permission was usually given, as a matter of course, except in original Revenue proceedings under Regulation III of 1872 and Regulation II of 1886 in which the Presiding Officers were required to deal direct with the people.

The Legal Practitioners Act, 1879, did not apply to this district. In 1938 the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee recommended further liberalisation of the rules relating to their admission and appearance. Hitherto the practice was that the High Court admitted legal practitioners to practise in courts under its jurisdiction and the Deputy Commissioner by executive order restricted their appearance in other courts. In theory the High Court could admit an unrestricted number of legal practitioners but in practice it consented not to admit lawyers in excess of the number fixed by the Deputy Commissioner and gave preference to the native and domiciled residents of the district in admission. The Santal Civil Rules were revised on 1st January 1946, which replaced the earlier Rules of 1924. The rules gave further scope to lawyers. These rules are still in force. It is further provided therein that a pleader or a Mukhtear may also be employed before a Santal Civil Court in suits between non-*Dikkus* with the consent of the court which is to be given only for special reasons. In suits

between *Dikkus* and non-*Dikkus* a Santal Civil Court may, if the non-*Dikku* party wishes to employ a pleader or Mukhtear, permit the parties to employ lawyers unless the court thinks their employment unnecessary or undesirable. No pleader's or Mukhtear's fees are, however, allowed as cost by a Santal Civil court except where a lawyer is entitled to appear as of right in accordance with the rules stated above.

Sections 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 and 40 of the Legal Practitioners Act, 1879, with certain modifications, have been extended to the district of Santal Parganas by Bihar Government (Judicial Department) Notification no. 592-J, dated the 24th January 1950, by which the lawyers in this district have been practically placed on the same footing as in other parts subject, however, to the limitation mentioned above in respect of civil suits before courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855. In respect of courts established under Bengal, Agra and Assam Civil Courts Act. 1887 and Criminal Procedure Code, there is no restriction on their practice now. In 1950 the Government in consultation with the High Court at Patna, however, passed orders restricting admission of lawyers in the district only to native and domiciled residents of Santal Parganas. In 1912 their sanctioned strength in the district was only 57 which, however, rose to 136 in 1943. During 1950-51 there were 137 lawyers in all—49 Mukhtears and 88 pleaders and advocates. All of them have reasonable employment in various courts of this district.

With the passing of the Santal Parganas Tenancy Supplementary Provisions Act, 1949, most of the revenue proceedings are now regular judicial proceedings under the said Act; and the rules framed thereunder which came into force on the 3rd January 1951 permitted appearance of lawyers in the hearing of such proceedings on the same lines as under the Santal Civil Rules described above. This has further widened the scope of their employment.

The lawyers, at first had very small scope for their professional activities as the then administrators of the district, particularly Mr. Robert Carstairs, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner and Mr. Oldham, I.C.S., Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division, were strict adherents of the Santal System. The first pleader allowed to practise in the district perhaps was one Digambar Chakravarty, a relation of the Pakaur Raj family at Pakaur in 1875 and he died in 1913. Then came other pleaders in the other subdivisional headquarters including Sadar. So far as Dumka is concerned the first pleader was

Beni Madhav Chakravarty who came from Krishnanagar in 1896. He was followed by Abinash Chandra Bakshi in 1897. Harendra Chandra Dey, Radhakinkar Ray, Surendra Nath Ghoshal, Nabin Madhav Chakravarty and another came in 1905. At Godda the first pleader was Hira Lal Jha (1902), at Jamtara Bankim Chandra Bose (1911), at Rajmahal Panchanan Ghosh (year not known) and at Deoghar Akhoy Kumar (1901) followed by Hari Lal Ghosh in the same year. In all the subdivisions the Mukhtears had preceded the pleaders but the names of the first set of Mukhteais could not be ascertained.

The story of the appointment of the first Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor of the district is rather interesting. The Deputy Commissioner was (*a*) the Sessions Judge, (*b*) the Magistrate, (*c*) the Collector, etc., all in one, a "*malik*" of the district. Prosecutions in Sessions trial cases used to be conducted by one or other of the Deputy Magistrate posted at Dumka as selected by the Deputy Commissioner and defence was conducted by prominent lawyers of the neighbouring districts as there were no pleaders at Dumka then (Sessions cases being within the jurisdiction of the High Courts and not of the Santal Courts) the parties could ill-afford the lawyers from outside. This resulted in acquittals mostly. As Mr. Carstairs was averse to a lawyer's intervention in all matters in this district, on principle perhaps, Mr. Beni Madhav Chakravarty, Pleader, who had come to Dumka during his incumbency as Deputy Commissioner, would not see his way to start practice. But during the absence of Mr. Carstairs on furlough, his successor Mr. Fisher, I.C.S., saw through the dificulties of trying cases without lawyers, particularly the Sessions cases, and on coming to know of the presence of Mr. Beni Madhav at Dumka, sent for him and got him appointed as the Government Pleader and Public Prosecutor of the district in 1897. Mr. Abinash Chandra Bakshi was also allowed to practise at Dumka in the same year. Mr. Carstairs was awfully upset at the introduction of not one, but as many as two pleaders, at the headquarters of "his" district, so much so that one one occasion, annoyed at Mr. Bakshi's argument, he flung the records on his face in rage. Mr. Bakshi rose to be the foremost lawyer of his time and was the second President of the Dumka Bar Association, the first one being Mr. Beni Madhav Chakravarty. On the death of Mr. Bakshi, Navin Chandra Chakravarty succeeded as the President; and on his retirement in 1956, he was succeeded by Satish Chandra Ghosh who was then 76 years old and was in the 47th year of his practice.*

*The Editor is grateful to the late Sri Satish Chandra Ghosh for useful discussions and for his help for the write-up on the system of Justice and the Bar (P. C. R. C.)

The present strength of the Bar in the district has risen to about 150 from one only, viz., Digambar Chakravarty at Pakaur in 1875, of course barring Mukhtears who were only a handful then. The majority of them are pleaders numbering more than a hundred, 48 of whom including two Advocates have been practising at Dumka, the headquarters of the district.

Relations between the Bench and the Bar have been cordial and the Bar has maintained dignity and rendered great help to the Bench.

The Bar has offered leadership in various phases of the development of the district. Members of the Bar have been closely associated with public matters and public institutions like the District Board and Municipal affairs, agricultural exhibitions, co-operative banks, hospitals, schools, colleges and various religious institutions.

Petition-Writers

As the admission of lawyers was strictly restricted in the beginning and the work of the courts increased it was gradually recognised that it was to the mutual advantage of the officers and the people that another agency for their assistance was necessary to act as intermediaries between them so that the substance of the prayer of any individual before an officer may be available to the latter intelligibly at the outset without too prolonged an enquiry. This was all the more necessary as the uncivilised people of this district with peculiar dialects could hardly make themselves understood at the outset unless the officer chose to examine them at length which entailed waste of time. This gave rise to a class of people known as "Petition-writers". The Government directed their enrolment, too, on a restricted basis with due care and control so that they might not exploit the people. Their knowledge of law had to be tested before enrolment unless they were passed pleaders or Mukhtears. But the privilege of petition-writers for parties did not entitle them to plead in courts even if they had passed the pleader's or Mukhtear's examination. This was their position in 1893 according to rules governing their admission and discipline as approved by the Bengal Government in their letter no. 1372-J., of the 20th March 1893 on the recommendation of Mr. Carstairs, the then Deputy Commissioner of this district.

These rules were revised in Government Order in their letter no. 131-J., dated the 14th January, 1902, which are still in force (1961). These rules lay down that a certain number of vacancies among the Petition-Writers shall be reserved for aborigines over which they will have preferential claim. Their appointments require sanction of the Deputy Commissioner. They can be removed from the approved list for incompetence or misconduct by a Subdivisional Officer subject to the confirmation by the Deputy Commissioner. An order of suspension for a period of more than three months and a second order of suspension on the same petition-writer for any period passed by a Subdivisional Officer are appealable to the Deputy Commissioner. Punishments imposed by the Deputy Commissioner are appealable to the Commissioner at Bhagalpur. They can be forced to retire after the age of 55 years by the Deputy Commissioner. Each Subdivisional Officer maintains a book for the approved Petition-Writers which serves as their Character Roll. A Petition-Writer is entitled to charge fees for his work from the litigants according to prescribed scale. He is also tested in one of the court languages of which he must have sufficient knowledge to be able to record faithfully and correctly the facts stated by a petitioner to him, knowledge of ordinary laws being an essential requirement. Their admission is regulated according to the amount of litigation in each subdivision. They are still debarred from appearing before courts for pleading, their function being limited to drawing up of petitions and of affixing proper court-fee stamp. They are also supposed to advise as to where these petitions should be filed and "they must refuse to write hopeless petitions". Their strength in 1950 was 103 and now it has gone up. They are considered to be of great help to the poor litigants of this district in so far as they would have had to pay much more to pleaders and Mukhtears even for simple petitions in the absence of Petition-Writers. Of late, there has been a move on the part of various Bar Association of this district to do away with this institution of Petition-Writers and the matter is under consideration of the High Court and the Government. Lawyers are not allowed to have licensed clerks in this district.

Applicability of laws to this district under various Constitutions and Acts.

Under Act XXXVII of 1855 this district was removed from the operation of the general laws with certain exceptions and it was laid down that no law shall extend to this district

unless the same was expressly named therein. The legal validity of these provisions was doubted in 1863 and to place the matter above doubt, certain provisions of Act 33 of 1870 of the British Parliament were extended to this area under the protection of which Regulation III of 1872 was enacted with a schedule of Acts applicable to this district. This Regulation sought to clarify the position beyond all reasonable doubts and contained elaborate provisions in this behalf. It laid down that besides the laws scheduled in it no law "heretofore or hereafter passed unless the Santal Parganas was expressly named therein, shall be deemed to apply to this district", and enabled the Government to extend or withdraw the applicability of any law.

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, this district was declared to be a "partially excluded area" and section 92 of the said Act laid down that no Act of any Legislature shall apply to it unless the Governor by public notification so directs and the Governor may make such notifications or exceptions while extending any Act as he may deem fit. These provisions virtually repealed section 3(2) of the Regulation III of 1872 and gave further constitutional guarantee to keep this area as a non-regulated district.

The position was, however, substantially modified when this district excluding Godda and Deoghar Subdivisions was declared to be a scheduled area under the present Constitution of 1950 by President's notification published in *Bihar Gazette*, Extraordinary, dated the 11th February 1950. The order is called "The Scheduled Areas (Part A States) Order, 1950". It has been laid down in clause 5(1) of the fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution that the Governor may by public notification direct that any particular Act of any Legislature shall not apply to a scheduled area or part thereof. The Governor has been further empowered to apply any Act to a scheduled area or part thereof with such modifications and exceptions as he may specify in the notification with retrospective effect, if necessary.

The position has, therefore, been reversed. Now all the Acts of the Legislature passed after the 26th January 1950, when the Constitution came into force, are applicable to this district unless its applicability has been barred or modified by the Governor by a public notification under clause 5 (1) of fifth Schedule of the Constitution. Sub-section (3) of section 3 of Regulation III of 1872

was repealed by Adaptation of Laws Order, 1950, with effect from 26th January, 1950.

The position of Godda and Deoghar is, however, different from the 11th February 1950 when they were removed from the scheduled area by the President's Notification of that date. These two subdivisions are now subject to general laws of the land, the scheduled area being limited to Rajmahal, Dumka, Jamtara and Pakaur Subdivisions of this district. A doubt arose on the point whether the general laws passed prior to the 26th January 1950 but not specially extended to these areas under the Government of India Act, 1935, would automatically apply to Godda and Deoghar Subdivisions, when they were removed from the scheduled area to which the Legal Remembrancer of the State Government answered in the negative. The local Government accordingly passed Bihar Act XXIV of 1951 which came into force on 18th July, 1951. Under this Act the following Acts passed before the 26th January, 1950 and not previously extended to these two subdivisions specially were made applicable to them:—

(1) *Central Acts*	..	1. The Societies Registration Act, 1860.
		2. The Dramatic Performance Act, 1876.
(2) *Bihar Acts*	..	1. The Bihar Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Act, 1948.
		2. The Bihar Co-operative Societies (Amendment) Act, 1948, excluding Chapter VII-A.
		3. The Bihar Bakasht Dispute Settlement (Amendment) Act, 1948.
		4. The Bihar Private Forest (Amendment) Act, 1950.
		5. The Bihar Premises Requisition (Temporary Provision) Act, 1949.

Court Language.

In letter no. 683-T, dated the 28th September, 1880, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in General and Revenue Department wrote to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division to the effect "that the Lieutenant Governor approves of your proposal that Nagri (or *Kaithi*) should be the exclusive court language of Godda; that both Nagri and Bengali should be used at Deoghar, Dumka and Rajmahal according to the class of people dealt with, or the part of the country in which processes are served; and that the use of Urdu as a court language, and of the Persian character shall be stopped throughout the Santal Parganas from the 1st January next". When Pakaur and Jamtara were constituted in 1881 as separate subdivisions the same orders applied *mutatis mutandis* to them also.

By notification no. 1276-J, dated the 1st June, 1937, the Government of Bihar in the Judicial Department in supersession of the previous orders on the subject directed that "Hindustani to be written in Nagri or *Kaithi* script in Godda, and in other subdivisons both Hindustani to be written in Nagri and *Kaithi* script and Bengali should be the court language of this district." In 1944, "Santali written in the Roman script as an optional court language in the Sadar subdivision of Dumka" was also recognised under Judicial Department Notification no. 2174, dated the 18th May 1944, of the Government of Bihar.

In October, 1948 the Provincial Government of Bihar superseded all previous orders and directed Hindi written in Devanagri character to be the court language of the province provided that "in the Sadar, Pakaur, Rajmahal and Jamtara Subdivisions of the district of Santal Parganas, Bengali to be written in Bengali character shall be optional language of the Court". These orders hold the field at present. The Government of Bihar has enacted the Official Language Act (Act XXXIX of 1950) which enables it to declare by public notification Hindi in Devanagri script to be the official language of the State for different official purposes and for different parts of the State on different dates within 7 years of the passing of the said Act subject to the provisions of Articles 346, 347 and 348 of the Constitution of India. This Act was assented to by the Governor on the 29th November, 1950, and further orders will follow in due course. Meanwhile non-Hindi-knowing clerks and officers are being trained in Hindi language under Government orders.

The statistics relating to civil suits have been given in the Appendix.

Police Administration

Till 1938 there were only 15 police-stations in this district as noted below:—

Subdivisions.	Police-stations.
Dumka ..	.. Dumka.
Deoghar	.. Deoghar, Madhupur, Sarath and Sarwan.
Godda ..	.. Godda, Mahagama and Poreyahat.
Pakaur ..	.. Pakaur, Maheshpur, Pakuria and Hiranpur.
Rajmahal	.. Rajmahal, Sahibganj and Barharwa.

When the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee surveyed the Police Administration of this district in 1938 it found that there were as many as three systems of Police Administration :—

(*a*) In the Deoghar subdivision and in the zamindari tracts of Pakaur, Rajmahal and Godda subdivisions, regular Police Administration was in operation with the usual thana organisation.

(*b*) In the Damin-i-Koh Government Estates there was no regular Police and Police functions were exercised entirely by the Parganaits under the direct supervision of the Subdivisional Officers. The Superintendent of Police had no jurisdiction.

(*c*) In the Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions Police functions were exercised by the elected Sardars under the supervision of Subdivisional Officers except in Dumka Town where a thana existed. A subsidiary Police agency called the "Intelligence Department" consisting of 4 Inspectors of Police with a small number of Assistant Sub-Inspectors and constables advised the Sardars in their Police duties and supervised their investigation. This Police staff was under the direct surpervision of the Subdivisional Officers and the Superintendent of Police had no official jurisdiction.

The latter two areas were known as "no-Police tracts" and the Police Administration in these areas was regulated solely in accordance with rules framed under section 25 of Santal Parganas Rural Police Regulation IV of 1910 for "no-Police tracts".

In respect of Damin-i-Koh the Committee recommended continuance of the Parganait system and suggested certain improve-

ments, including elementary Police training of Parganaits and a combined process of selection and election of Parganaits in place of their hereditary appointment. The Committee, however, recommended introduction of the Intelligence Department system of Police in Damin areas on the lines of the system in force in Dumka and Jamtara "no-Police tracts" to train and supervise the work of Parganaits in Police work under the direct control of Subdivisional Officers.

In respect of "no-Police tracts" of Jamtara and Dumka subdivisions outside Damin, the Committee recommended that the time had come to introduce the regular Police system completely in this area as the Sardars were found unsuited for dealing with professional crimes which had increased with the advancement of civilisation and the consequent complexities of life. The Intelligence Department which was functioning in this area in aid of the Sardars was not found to be efficient enough as the Subdivisional Officers could not spare sufficient time to supervise their work. They further recommended that the number of Sardars should be reduced and they might be employed to carry out duties under Santal Parganas Police Regulation in connection with the supervision of chaukidars and collection of chaukidari tax.

In accordance with these recommendations two police-stations were established, viz., (1) Dumka Mufassil Police-Station in Dumka Subdivision and (2) Jamtara Police-Station in Jamtara subdivision by Government Notification nos. 3630-P. and 3629-P., respectively, of 10th November, 1939, published in the *Bihar Gazette*, dated the 22nd November, 1939.

In the year 1943, by Government Notification no. 1420-P., dated 5th April, 1943, published in the *Bihar Gazette*, dated 7th April, 1943, Nala in the Jamtara Subdivision, and by Notification nos. 1421-P, 1422-P, 1423-P, 1424-P, and 1425-P, of the 7th April, 1943 Asanbani, Masalia, Sareyahat, Jarmundi and Ramgarh in the Dumka Subdivision were respectively declared to be police-stations with specified jurisdictions.

Subsequently by Government Notification no. 1132-P, dated 22nd February, 1945, published in the *Bihar Gazette*, dated the 7th March, 1945, Asanbani Police-Station was abolished and it was split up into two Police-Stations of Ranishwar and Shikaripara by Notification no. 1133-P., dated 22nd February, 1945. Kundahit in the Nala Police-Station was declared to be a separate Police-Station and in consequence of this the jurisdiction of the Nala Police-Station was reconstituted by Notification no. 1135-P, dated 22nd February, 1945, Narayanpur, in Jamtara P.-S. was also

declared to be a separate Police-Station and in consequence of the creaton of the Police-Station at Narayanpur jurisdiction of the Police-Station at Jamtara was revised by Notification no. 1136, dated 22nd February, 1945.

The Deoghar Police-Station was also split up into three police-stations, *viz.*, Deoghar Town Police-Station, Mohanpur and Jasidih by notification no. 4351-P, dated 24th November, 1945. Thus by the end of 1945 all Sardari Circles (which were no-Police tracts) were converted into regular Police tracts and the following police-stations came into existence :—

Subdivisions.	Name of police-stations.
Deoghar ..	Deoghar, Mohanpur, Jasidih, Madhupur, Sarath and Sarwan.
Godda	Godda, Poreyahat and Mahagama.
Jamtara ..	Jamtara, Narayanpur, Nala and Kundahit.
Pakaur	Pakaur, Hiranpur, Pakuria and Maheshpur.
Rajmahal ..	Rajmahal, Sahibganj, Barharwa.
Dumka	Dumka Town, Dumka Mufassil, Raniswar, Shikaripara, Masalia, Sareyahat, Jarmundi and Ramgarh.

Thus the whole of the district excluding only the Damin-i-Koh Government Estate which includes portions of the subdivisions of Dumka, Godda, Pakaur and Rajmahal, was by the end of 1945, under Regular Police.

The whole of the Damin-i-Koh Government Estate extending over the subdivisions of Dumka, Godda, Pakaur and Rajmahal which is inhabited, for the most part, by the Santals and Paharias was till May, 1950, a no-Police tract. The Subdivisional Officers who are in charge of Damin-i-Koh Government Estates in these subdivisions acted as *Ex-officio* Superintendent of Police so far as Police functions were concerned. The Parganaits exercised the powers of a Sub-Inspector of Police and they controlled and supervised the work of Chaukidars and Manjhis. Accepting the recommendation of the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee of 1938, Government in their letter no. 1303-P, dated 31st March, 1939, sanctioned the introduction of the Intelligence Department system in the Damin with two centres, one at Barhait in the Rajmahal Subdivision and the other at Kuschira in the Dumka Subdivision. The staff at Barhait consisted of one Inspector, one Sub-Inspector, one Assistant Sub-Inspector and five constables and at Kuschira one Inspector, two Sub-Inspectors, one Assistant

Sub-Inspector and five constables. Their duties were to train the Parganaits in Police work, supervise their Police duties and to investigate or assist in the investigation of serious crimes. They also assisted them in measures for dealing with absconders and border crimes. Under Government orders conveyed in their letter no. 1078-P, dated 20th February, 1945, the Barhait centre was split up into two centres one at Barhait in Rajmahal subdivision and the other at Simra in Godda subdivision. The staff at Simra consisted of one Inspector, one Sub-Inspector, one Assistant Sub-Inspector and five constables.

Following the partition of India there was communal tension all over the country. In this district some reactionary Santal leaders of Adibasi Mahasabha created some excitement among Santals by claiming a separate State of Jharkhand along with certain areas of Chotanagpur, and started a virulent propaganda against the new Congress regime. That made the question of maintenance of peace in the inaccessible areas of Damin more difficult. As a result of it, armed force and magistrates were temporarily deputed at various points in Damin to maintain order and to restore confidence among *Dikku* population as they feared to be the first victims of the wrath of an excited Santal mob. Subsequently, these intelligence department centres were split up into eight centres and a section of armed force was posted at each of these centres. This scheme was sanctioned for a period of three years from June, 1948.

In May, 1950 all these intelligence department centres were converted into regular police-stations at first temporarily with specified areas under section 4(1) of Criminal Procedure Code, 1898, under Government Notification (Political Department, Police Branch), nos. 3620-P to 3627 P, dated 29th May, 1950. These police-stations, namely, Boarijore, Chandna (Meharma), Borio, Barhait, Katikund, Gopikandar, Litipara and Amrapara were put on a permanent basis from 9th November, 1953.

In 1963 the police stations are as follows:—

Subdivision.	Police-station.
Dumka ..	Dumka Town.
	Dumka Mufassil.
	Shikaripara.
	Ranishwar.
	Masalia.
	Sareyahat.
	Ramgarh.
	Jarmundi.
	Katikund.
	Gopikandar.
	Jama.

Subdivision.	Police-station.
Deoghar ..	.. Deoghar. Madhupur. Sarwan. Palajari. Karon. Sarath. Jasidih. Mohanpur.
Godda ...	.. Godda. Mahagama. Poreyahat. Meharma. Pathargama. Boarijore. Sundar Pahari.
Jamtara ..	.. Jamtara. Narainpur. Nala. Kundahit.
Pakaur ...	.. Pakaur. Pakuria. Maheshpur. Hiranpur. Litipara. Amrapara.
Rajmahal	.. Rajmahal. Sahibganj. Barharwa. Barhait. Borio. Rango. Taljhari.

Rural Police.

Rural Police Organisation of this district had been firmly rooted in the local customs, usages and system of land tenure prevailing in each locality. It was an integral part of village autonomy and adjustable co-ordination between the village community and the Deputy Commissioner. Though it might be said to have originated from Santal Parganas Police Rules, 1856, it was first given a legal shape by Santal Parganas Rural Police Regulation III of 1900 promulgated on the 19th June, 1900. Rules were

framed under section 24 of the said Regulation which were approved by the Government of Bengal in their letter no. 2751-J of the 16th July, 1904 of the Judicial Department. These rules provided for appointment and dismissal of Sardars and Chaudkidars by Subdivisional Officers, method of assessment, realisation of Chaukidari tax, payment of allowances and remunerations to Sardars and Chaukidars and other allied matters including the duties of Sardars.

Regulation III of 1900 was repealed by Regulation IV of 1910 and rules were framed under section 25 of this Regulation which were approved by the local Government in their letter no. 2545-P, dated the 10th April, 1924. This Regulation did not affect the Police duties of the village headman but it provided for appointment of Sardars and Deputy Sardars to perform the duties of control which were formerly carried out by the Parganaits, Ghatwals and others and it gave the Deputy Commissioner powers to fix their remuneration and that of the Chaukidars who were selected by the villagers. The assessment to be paid by each village having been fixed by the Deputy Commissioner, was distributed among the villagers and was collected from them by their village headman or where there was no headman, by the Adhikari appointed for the purpose. Under Law Order and Justice this system, the "no-Police tract" outside the ordinary Police jurisdiction was served by the Sardars outside the Damin and Parganaits inside the Damin in respect of Police duties. They were directly under the control of the Subdivisional Officers.

A Sardari circle headed by a Sardar and consisting of a group of villages for the jurisdiction of each Sardar formed the administrative unit except in Damin-i-Koh where the unit was the Bungalow under the jurisdiction of Parganait. Each Sardar or Parganait had the powers of an officer in charge of a police-station. The Sardar was appointed by the Deputy Commissioner on the recommendation of the headman of the villages comprising the Sardari circle concerned. The posts of Damin Parganaits were and still are more or less hereditary and succession ceases only on gross misconduct. Crime was ordinarily reported by the Sardars and Parganaits direct to the Subdivisional Officers who occasionally found it necessary to employ an officer of the Regular Police on cases of serious and intricate nature. In the "no-Police tract" of Dumka and Jamtara, the Sardars sent their reports to the Intelligence Police. A Sardar in the Police tract had no power like the Sardar in the "no-Police tract". There he was subordinate to the officer in charge of the police-station, supervised the work of Chaukidars, checked the report of births and deaths and looked after the collection of Chaukidari tax by headmen or Adhikaries and

submitted a weekly diary to the Subdivisional Officer showing his movements. Under rule 2 of the rules framed under section 25 of RegulationI V of 1910 applicable to Police tracts,the power to appoint, dismiss, fine, suspend or otherwise punish Sardars and Chaukidars was vested in the Subdivisional Officer. But by an amendment to this rule in 1927 the Subdivisional Officers were authorised to delegate these powers to the Superintendent of Police which they actually did. As a result of this, both the Subdivisional Officers and the Superintendent of Police exercised concurrent jurisdiction over rural Police. This raised some administrative difficulties requiring adjustment and Mr. Hoernle resolved these difficulties by an executive order, dated 22nd February, 1932. These orders are reproduced below:—

"As certain difficulties have arisen from this concurrent jurisdiction the following instructions are issued after consultation with the Superintendent of Police and Subdivisional Officers :—

A. *Fines*

These will be imposed independently. But ordinarily, in order to prevent overlapping, they will be imposed—

(*a*) By the Superintendent of Police in connection with failures of Police duty.

(*b*) By the Subdivisional Officers for other failures of duty as village official.

"Fines inflicted by the Superintendent of Police will be communicated to the Subdivisional Officers concerned for recovery by deduction from the Chaukidar's pay or otherwise.

B. *Reward*

"*Mutatis mutandis* the above will apply to rewards.

C. *Suspension*

"(*i*) Either the Superintendent of Police or the Subdivisional Officer may suspend a Chaukidar without consulting the other but shall inform the other that he has done so.

In similar fashion, either may make an acting arrangement for the discharge of the duties of the suspended Chaukidar.

(*ii*) Sardars will only be suspended with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner :

Provided that in case of emergency a Sardar may be suspended and an acting arrangement made in anticipation of sanction and the Deputy Commissioner informed as soon as possible.

D. *Dismissal*

"(1) Sardars will only be dismissed with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner who will consult both the officers concerned.

(2) Chaukidars who hold Jagirs will also be dismissed only with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner, as dismissal involves eviction which under section 25 of Regulation II of 1886 requires the Deputy Commissioner's order. The Deputy Commissioner will in this case also consult both the officers concerned.

(3) Stipendiary Chaukidars may be dismissed by either the Subdivisional Officer or Superintendent of Police independently but the principles governing the imposition of fines will apply to dismissal also. Whichever officer dismisses a Chaukidar will communicate the order to the other.

E. *Appointment*

"(1) Whichever officer dismisses a stipendiary Chaukidar, will be responsible for drawing up proceedings for the appointment of a successor and submit them to the Deputy Commissioner for approval. The Subdivisional Officer should consult the Police and conversely the Police should ordinarily consult the Subdivisional Officer before submitting the proceedings.

If the Police and the Subdivisional Officer concur, the Deputy Commissioner will confirm the joint recommendation. In any case of disagreement, the Deputy Commissioner will decide after consulting both the departments.

(2) When the Deputy Commissioner dismisses a Sardar or Jagirdar Chaukidar he will pass orders for the drawing up of proceedings for new appointment.

A minor point has arisen about.

F. *Leave*

"This is not provided for by the rules, but as Police duties are more important and immediate the power of granting leave (as agreed at the Subdivisional Officers' conference) will be vested in the Superintendent of Police; provided that, if it is proposed to give a Sardar more than a week's leave, the Subdivisional Officer should be consulted and leave exceeding a month will not be granted to a Sardar without the Deputy Commissioner's sanction.

"The Superintendent of Police may delegate to the Subdivisional Inspector or Deputy Superintendent in the case of Deoghar, the power to grant leave to Chaukidars up to such limits as the Superintendent may think fit."

Regulation IV of 1910 and rules framed thereunder have not yet been repealed, but the position of Parganaits and Sardars has substantially changed consequent on gradual introduction of regular Police system in the district and the subject of their status and function is still a matter of controversy and is being shaped to suit the changed conditions.

When Jamtara Subdivision and non-Damin areas of Dumka Subdivision came under regular Police, the whole question of Sardari system in this district came under the active consideration of the Government in 1939. Mr. Davies, then Deputy Commissioner, was anxious that a place should be found for the Sardars in the new system and in his letter no. 3366, dated 19th March, 1939 he wrote to the Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division, as follows:—

> "These Sardars play a most useful part in the life of the district, and can never be properly replaced by even the most efficient regular Police system. The duties of a Sardar comprehend the following amongst others.
>
> "Investigating of crime including the writing of reports, arresting accused, searching houses, arranging for witnesses, holding inquests and enquiries into unnatural deaths, taking charge of inter-State and unclaimed properties and selling such after taking permission of the Magistrate, and depositing any realisations in court. These are the duties which are carried out by the regular Police in an ordinary/Civil district with the aid of President Punch and Daffadars. The Sardar has also to help with the sale of properties attached in execution of money and rent decrees, he is empowered to settle minor criminal disputes *suo moto*, and he is employed by the Subdivisional Officers to enquire into, and, if possible, to settle more serious complaints such as do not have to be dealt with as Police cases. He is responsible for boundary marks and tri-junction stones and is supposed to see that the village headmen carry out the duty imposed upon them by the Record-of-Rights. The Sardar is expected to see that cases of illegal alienation, cutting of reserved species of trees, encroachment of *gochar*, etc., are brought to the notice of the authorities. He is supposed to visit the *hats* in his locality and to

collect information which he places before the Subdivisional Officer. He is expected to help the Excise Department both in control of shops and also as regards the realisation of dues. Finally he has his duties as Supervisor of Chaukidari system. This means that he has to check the rounds done by Chaukidars, to attend parades weekly at the centre headquarters and to hold weekly parades of Chaukidars in his own circle.

"It is true that the Police duties can be taken over by the Police Department, although supervision and control will be difficult in the district owing to the fact that Daffadars are not employed, and because in the past a great responsibility has been imposed on the village headman who certainly cannot be expected to co-operate in the same way with the regular Police. The Superintendent of Police is strongly of opinion that even if all the Sardars cannot be retained to help the regular Police with their duties, some will be absolutely essential, particularly for the first few years until the regular Police have their records complete and a more intimate knowledge of the villages and bad characters. As regards miscellaneous duties it is difficult to see how the Sardar can be replaced. In other more advanced districts there are a sufficient number of responsible gentlemen living in the mufassil who can be entrusted with enquiries and settlement of minor disputes. In this district there are practically no such men. At the same time the Subdivisional Officers can fairly claim that they should be provided with an alternative machinery since the regular Police are neither particularly fitted for settlement of such disputes or making of these enquiries, nor are they generally willing to undertake such work. In my opinion, the retention of a number of Sardars, as things are at present, absolutely essential, quite apart from the need of employing a certain number in connection with the duties imposed by the Santal Parganas Police Regulation as regards Chaukidari and collection of Chaukidari tax. I am, moreover, supported in this opinion by the Superintendent of Police, all Subdivisional Officers and I believe, by a fairly strong public opinion What I and my officers want that they should be recognised as holding a position in some respects akin to that of a President Punch in ordinary civil districts and in some respects akin to the community head which was for so long one of the most valuable features in aboriginal districts."

On the 8th April, 1940, Mr. Menon, the then Deputy Commissioner, wrote in his letter no. 3096 of the date to Commissioner while submitting his proposals for reduction in number of Sardars, to the following effect. "My considered view is that the Sardars should not be treated as subordinate to the Thana Officers and I agree fully with the views of my predecessor who has given good reasons for his opinion. Unfortunately the rules framed under section 25 of the Santal Parganas Rural Police Regulation IV of 1910 relating to Sardars in the Police tracts seem to show that the Sardars shall be subordinate to the officer in charge of the police-station in which his circle lies. The rules are reproduced at page 137 of the Santal Parganas Manual. These rules also prescribe the exact duties of the Sardars. The duties include some which are certainly Police duties but the major part of their work relate to non-Police duties. I do not want that the Sardars should discontinue to do their Police duties but would press that this can be done without treating them as regular subordinates to the officers in charge of the police-station. They should continue to be subordinate to the Subdivisional Officer only as is actually the case in Godda Subdivision. I do not agree that this would be detrimental to their performance of the few Police duties that they have, as the Subdivisional Officer can be trusted to take suitable action against the Sardars if they are reported for neglect of duty by the Superintendent of Police. If it is found after sometime that the system does not work it will be necessary to consider appointing Deputy Sardars of the rank of Daffadars in regulation districts and put them in charge of the Police duties. For the present it is essential to see that there is no abrupt change in the position of Sardars so far as their various miscellaneous duties are concerned and some of which are of quite responsible nature. The only way to ensure a continuity being preserved will be by treating the Sardars with the same consideration and giving them the same status as they have enjoyed hitherto except that their duties as investigating Police officers will necessarily be taken away from them."

In August, 1942, Mr. Bishundeo Narain Singh, the then Deputy Commissioner, wanted to introduce Unit Tahsildars for collection of Chaukidari tax and submitted proposals accordingly with his letter no. 9271, dated 21st August, 1942, to the Commissioner. Mr. W. G. Archer, who succeeded him, while supporting the introduction of Unit Tahsildars for collection of Chaukidari tax, was equally anxious to retain the Sardars and on the 5th May, 1943, he wrote to the Commissioner in his letter no. 4998 "with the establishment of six new police-stations, five in the Dumka Subdivision, *viz.*, Saraiyahat, Jarmundi, Ramgarh, Asanbani and Masalia, and one in the Jamtara Subdivision, *viz.*, Nala P.-S.,

this question of Sardars has again become urgent and all the Subdivisional Officers considered that the system of Unit Tahsildars would be far preferable. If Unit Tahsildars were introduced, therefore, the Sardars would be relieved of the duty of supervising the collection of Chaukidari tax. The establishment of the new police stations would also relieve them of their primary duties of investigating Police cases and arresting criminals. At the same time, all the Subdivisional Officers considered that the Sardars could not be treated as Daffadars and fitted into the Police system on that basis. As pointed out by Mr. Davies in his earlier letter, the nearest analogy to a Sardar is a Chaukidari . President Punch in a non-Regulation district. As such it was obviously out of the question to degrade them to the comparatively menial tasks of Daffadars. Mr. Menon was also of the same view that if Daffadars were necessary, Deputy Sardars should be appointed for the purpose. The matter was discussed at a conference of the Subdivisional Officers held on 11th March, 1943. The conference was unanimously of the view that the best way of organising the new police-stations would be as follows :—

There should be three officers—

(1) The S.-I. of Police who will be responsible for crime as in other police-stations;

(2) The Chaukidari Tahsildar who will be responsible for collection of Chaukidari tax and will work under the supervision of the Chaukidari Officer;

(3) The Sardar, whose functions would be—

(*a*) miscellaneous enquiries;

(*b*) settling minor disputes;

(*c*) supervising the general life of the village;

(*d*) maintaining the Record-of-Rights;

(*e*) ventilating the public opinion in the area;

(*f*) supervising Chaukidars.

It was considered that this last function was essential since Chaukidars are the hands and the feet of the Sardars and the position and influence of the Sardar depend on their power to call and depute Chaukidars. It was considered, therefore, that the Sardars should have the following three powers:—

(1) To report to the Subdivisional Officer for punishment and reward of Chaukidars.

(2) To hold a weekly *hazri* of Chaukidars for the purpose of collecting information.

(3) To depute and use Chaukidars while making enquiries and settling disputes.

Since these functions would be of the very greatest value to the administration, the monthly *hazri* of Sardars before the Subdivisional Officers should continue. It was considered that the performance of these duties would more than justify the allowance which are at present paid to the Sardars."

He then submitted draft amendments to rules framed under Santal Parganas Regulation IV of 1910 to reorganise the rural Police organisation on the lines indicated above. In the light of various points raised, Mr. Archer submitted several amendments. The Government accepted most of the recommendations of Mr. Archer outlined above and wrote as follows in their letter no. 999-P., dated the 19th February, 1945 (Political Department). "Government accept the recommendations of the local officers that the Tahsildari system should be introduced in the following subdivisions of the district of Santal Parganas:—

"Dumka, Godda, Jamtara, Pakaur, and Rajmahal. A reduced number of Sardars as indicated below should be retained in the Dumka, Jamtara, Godda and Rajmahal Subdivisions, where the Sardars already exist:—

Dumka Subdivision 41, Jamtara Subdivision 22, Godda Subdivision 16, Rajmahal Subdivision 13.

There should be no Sardars in the Pakaur and Deoghar Subdivisions. The Tahsildars when appointed should draw pay at Rs. 25 plus a fixed travelling allowance of Rs. 15 per month.

"The organisation should be generally on the lines indicated in paragraph 5 of Mr. Archer's letter no. 4998, dated the 5th May, 1943,* and the Sardars should continue to draw pay at the existing rates and perform the functions set out in sub-paragraph (3) of paragraph 5 of that letter with one exception. He should not report to the Subdivisional Officer for punishment and reward of Chaukidars. In the Police tracts the disciplinary powers over Chaukidars are now exercised by the Police and the Sardars should not interfere. But he should hold a weekly *hazri* of Chaukidars to collect information and he should have a right to depute and use Chaukidars while making enquiries and settling disputes.

*Quoted above.

"In the Godda and Rajmahal Subdivisions, the Sardars are appointed under different rules from those in Dumka and Jamtara. They are in fact entirely under the Police. Government consider that all Sardars should be brought on to a common basis on the model of the Dumka and Jamtara Sardars, i.e., a new set of rules under Regulation IV of 1910 will be necessary which will be based on the rules for no-Police tract rather than the rules for the Police tracts. These rules will govern all the Sardars. I am to request that the Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas may be asked to submit proposals for such amendments as are necessary in Regulation IV of 1910 and in the rules under that Regulation."

Mr. Archer accordingly submitted in his letter no. 472-C., dated 24th February, 1945 :—

(1) A final draft regulation to replace Regulation IV of 1910 embodying the changes approved by Government and applying to the whole of the district other than the Damin.

(2) Draft rules to be framed under the Regulation and to be applicable to Police tracts other than the Deoghar Subdivision.

(3) Draft rules applicable to Deoghar Subdivision only.

He proposed to submit a new regulation with a new set of rules applicable to Damin-i-Koh.

The posts of 41 temporary Sardars in Dumka Subdivision and 22 Sardars in Jamtara Subdivision were renewed from time to time pending final reorganisation of the whole scheme.

The question of reorganisation of Damin Chaukidars was taken up by Mr. Archer separately and on the 16th April, 1945 he recommended that the approved strength of Chaukidars in Damin be fixed at 360 in Rajmahal Damin, 154 in Pakaur Damin, 169 in Godda Damin and 81 in Dumka Damin and wrote as follows to the Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division:—"In making these proposals, I have not attempted to apply any fixed ratio based on houses or villages as any such ratio would have little relation to local conditions which vary greatly from Bungalow to Bungalow. I have based my recommendations on my own knowledge of local conditions, the extent to which the existing staff has proved adequate or inadequate in practice, the incidence of crime in

different bungalows and the general nature of the terrain. The recommendations have been made after fully consulting the Subdivisional Officers and they represent our joint and considered opinion. I recommend, therefore, that the total number of Chaukidars approved for the Damin may now be fixed at 764 and that they may be distributed as suggested above.

"So far as the present emoluments of the Chaukidars are concerned there are wide differences caused partly by the varying local conventions, disparities in the number of houses and villages covered by each Chaukidar and also by the varying abilities of the Chaukidars to collect their own allowances. Moreover almost every Chaukidar at present receives a substantial portion of his dues in kind and the cash value of such dues varies from year to year according to the prevailing price levels. I do not think, therefore, that any attempt should be made to assess a cash equivalent of the Chaukidars' existing income. It is desirable rather that a flat rate of pay per month should now be fixed and that each Chaukidar in the Damin should draw the same monthly pay. My Subdivisional Officers are fully agreed that bearing in mind the Damin conditions and the customary dues which many Chaukidars are receiving Rs. 5 per month would be too little and our joint recommendation is that the pay for a Chaukidar in the Damin should be fixed at Rs. 6 per month. This will be exclusive of any cost of living allowance which may from time to time be approved. It will be seen that on a basis of 764 Chaukidars, a total sum of Rs. 55,008 per year on account of Chaukidars' pay will, therefore, be required.

"As desired in paragraph 3 of the Government letter, I have had sample enquiries made in 10 villages in each of the Damins with a view to ascertaining the exact amount levied on a household by way of Chaukidari tax. The enquiries disclose considerable difference and after discussing the matter with my Subdivisional Officers I consider that no attempt should be made to commute the tax on a house basis. In the Rajmahal Damin, the standard dues payable by a raiyat to a Chaukidar are 12 seers of paddy, 4 annas in cash, a winnowing fan of maize and one pice for his *pugree*. In practice, the amounts paid include such varying sums as 8 annas per house, 4 annas and 12 seers of paddy per house, 4 annas in cash and 2 annas in lieu of 12 seers of paddy per house. In the Godda Damin the dues range from 4 annas and 6 seers of paddy per house to 2 annas and 12 seers of paddy and one winnowing fan of maize per house to 12 annas and 12 seers of paddy per house. There is a similar range of difference in the Pakaur Damin although the average rate appears to be 12 seers of paddy, 5 maize cobs and 4½ annas per house. In the Dumka

Damin, the prevailing dues appear to range between one anna and 2½ annas per house with 5 cobs of maize and 2 seers paddy in addition. If any attempt is made to convert these dues on a house basis it is evident that different standards will have to be applied to each of the four Damins and there may also have to be different standards within each Damin bungalow also. This is likely to lead to much misunderstanding and possibly to discontent and agitation and it will also involve the maintenance of annual assessment lists. Such a procedure will be cumbrous and expensive and my Subdivisional Officers are in complete agreement with me in thinking that such a commutation would be inexpedient. It is desirable that whatever new system is adopted should be essentially simple and should be capable of easy explanation to the Santals in the Damin. Moreover, a single principle should be applied throughout so that there may not be cause for local agitation. Bearing all these factors in mind our considered view is that the customary dues should be abolished and a Chaukidari tax should be fixed at so many annas to every rupee of land revenue. It will then be possible to collect the tax side by side with the collection of land revenue, no annual assessment list will be necessary and the same collecting staff of Manjhis, Deshmanjhis and Parganaits will be available for employment. Such a system will be easily understood by the Santals and no difficulty is anticipated in giving effect to it.

"I have discussed with the Subdivisional Officers what proportion of land revenue should be payable as Chaukidari tax and our considered view is that it should be 2 annas in the rupee. It is felt that this is a sufficient contribution for a Damin villager to make and while resulting in a substantial portion of the total demand being met by the villagers themselves it will not be too severe a burden. It is thought that the change over from customary dues to fixed tax will require a good deal of careful local explanation but that, provided that the tax is not pitched any higher, there will not be any serious discontent or agitation. It is recommended, therefore, that the Chaukidari tax in the Damin should be fixed at 2 annas in the rupee on the classes of land revenue mentioned above* excluding revenue from Paharia villages in the hill tracts.

"If these proposals are accepted, the whole of the Chaukidari tax will become due along with land revenue in a single *kist* in March each year. It is desirable, however, that the Chaukidars should be paid regularly every quarter and it seems necessary, therefore, that Government should make a grant each year of the full amount necessary for paying the Chaukidars, supplying them

*Land Revenue payable by Pradhans, Basori rent payable by Bazar Chaukidars, Basawari rent payable by Parganaits.

with uniforms and paying the commission on collection. The amount actually raised by taxation would then be shown as income to Government as against this grant."

On further discussion with Mr. Russell, Adviser to Governor of Bihar, Mr. Archer revised the figure of total strength of Chaukidars in the whole of the Damin-i-Koh to 699 on an average of one Chaukidar for every two square miles and reported the fact to Mr. Bowstead, then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, on the 28th October, 1945. In letter no. 473-P., dated the 16th February, 1948, Government turned down the proposals of Mr. Archer regarding reorganisation of the Damin Chaukidars and referred his proposals regarding reorganisation of rural Police in non-Damin areas to the Rural Police Reorganisation Committee appointed by them for the whole province of Bihar by their resolution, dated the 15th March, 1948, of the Political Department.

A note submitted by Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, Deputy Commissioner, on the Chaukidari system in the district of Santal Parganas to the said Committee in 1948 explained the various systems of Chaukidari prevailing in this district and their position as it obtained at that time. It is reproduced below* :—

"In this district the system of (*i*) assessing the Chaukidari tax, (*ii*) realising the same, (*iii*) making payments to the Chaukidars differs in different parts.

"There is one system of realising Chaukidari tax and making payments to Chaukidars in Damin-i-Koh and quite a different in the non-Damin villages. Even in the non-Damin areas there are differences in the different subdivisions. Each tract has its own peculiar problems calling for different solutions. Similarly the system is not uniform even within the Damin-i-Koh itself.

I. Damin-i-Koh

"There are no Damin-i-Koh villages in the subdivisions of Jamtara and Deoghar. In the remaining four subdivisions of (1) Pakaur, (2) Godda, (3) Rajmahal and (4) Dumka Sadar, the number of Damin-i-Koh villages is considerable and they cover quite a large area.

"No assessment for Chaukidari purposes has ever been made in any of the Damin-i-Koh villages of any of the four

*Rural Police Reorganisation Committee Report, 1949, p. 56.

subdivisions, and there is, therefore, no record to show either (*i*) the demand from each village, (*ii*) the State of collection or (*iii*) of the arrears.

"It is reported from Godda and Pakaur that according to certain entries in the Record-of-Rights of Damin villages, each family has to pay annas 4 per year in cash besides 12 seers of paddy and 5 *jhunties* of *makai* towards the remuneration of the Village Chaukidar. They have also to pay annas 8 towards the Chaukidari uniforms. The system prevails in Rajmahal also.

"In Dumka Subdivision each Chaukidar, who is in charge of 6 to 10 Damin villages gets 4 seers of paddy and 5 *jhunties* of maize from each raiyat. Besides this, each village has to pay Rs. 3 or Re. 1-8-0 according as the total rent demand of the village exceeds Rs. 50 or falls below it, towards the pay of the Chaukidars and annas 10 towards the cost of uniform.

"In Rajmahal Subdivision each Chaukidar gets annas 4 in cash and 12 seers of paddy annually from each house.

"The Pradhan of each Damin village is supposed to realise the amount payable in cash by the raiyats at the time of rent collection in March or April. The dues in kind, viz., paddy or maize are collected by the Chaukidars themselves at the harvesting time of the different crops. No receipts are granted by the Chaukidars for the grain collected by them and it is reported that the Pradhans also do not grant receipts for the amounts collected by them in cash. No cash book or acquittance of the Chaukidars is maintained and so it is difficult to say with any precision as to the number of Chaukidars who have been paid their dues fully and who have not.

"The number of Chaukidars in Damin villages is not small. In an investigation made sometime back it was found to be 165 in Godda subdivision, 145 in Pakaur, 352 in Rajmahal and 52 in Dumka Sadar, making a total of 714.

"The absence of any systematic record of demand, collection and arrears of this tax from the various raiyats in Damin villages makes it difficult for the authorities either to issue distress warrants or to take any other strong measures. When any complaints are made by any Chaukidar, the Pradhan and the Parganaits are instructed to exert their influence and to get the Chaukidars paid their dues by the villagers. This is only a make-shift arrangement."

In recent times there have been some further complications. In Damin, as elsewhere, families are being divided. What formed one single family during settlement has been split into several families who cook their meals separately and are separate to all intents and purposes, excepting that they have got a joint Jamabandi. The Chaukidars demand that each unit that has a separate *'Chulha'* should pay the Chaukidari tax as prescribed in the Settlement record. This is resented by the raiyats. They adhere to the Jamabandi as the unit for such purposes and do not want to pay anything more than what their forefathers paid in settlement times.

II. Non-Damin.

The number of Chaukidars outside the Damin was found sometime back to be 3,323 of whom 1,760 are paid wholly in cash at Rs. 5 a month, 722 are paid partly in cash and partly by Jagir lands and 841 are paid by Jagir lands only.

In Deoghar no Chaukidari assessment has been made ; it is the Ghatwals who are responsible for the payment to the Chaukidars, and payments are made each quarter in presence of some Gazetted Officer, vide rules 2 and 3 at page 140 of the S. P. Manual. When they make default in making payments, recourse is had to the certificate procedure.

"*Jamtara.*—The Chaukidars in Ghatwali areas in this subdivision also are paid like those in Deoghar by Ghatwals. No assessment has been made in these areas. Some Chaukidars in Nala area are paid by the Jagir holders who pay a fixed sum quarterly to Chaukidars on the pay parade day.

In the other areas assessment has been made and the Chaukidari taxes are realised through Adhikaries and are paid to the Chaukidars on pay parade days each quarter.

"*Godda.*—In Godda Non-Damin the bulk of the Chaukidars is paid wholly in cash and some partly in cash and partly by Jagir lands, and very few wholly by Jagir lands.

"*Pakaur.*—In Pakaur Non-Damin the bulk of the Chaukidars is paid partly in cash and partly by Jagir land and a big percentage wholly by Jagir lands and some in cash. Only one Chaukidar is paid partly in cash and partly in kind.

"*Rajmahal.*—In Rajmahal the bulk of the Chaukidars is paid in cash, one partly in cash and partly by Jagir and two wholly by Jagir lands.

"*Dumka.*—In Dumka Sadar, the bulk of the Chaukidars is paid in cash, some partly by Jagir lands and partly in cash and a few wholly by Jagir lands.

In Godda, Jamtara, Pakaur and Rajmahal Non-Damin, regular assessment is made for Chaukidari taxes according to pecuniary condition of the assessees. Regular registers are kept. In these areas collection is made through local people or village Pradhans who are called Adhikaries under the supervision of the Sardars. They get a commission of annas 2 per rupee of collection. The number of such Adhikaries is very large. Roughly speaking there is one Adhikari for almost each village. The result is that the amount of commission which an Adhikari earns even when cent per cent collection is made is not commensurate with the time and energy that he (the Adhikari) has to put in to make the collection. Distress warrants are issued though not regularly against the defaulters as prescribed by the rules but this only adds to the troubles of the Adhikaries without producing the desired results, viz., prompt payment. In several cases no moveable properties are found and warrants remain unexecuted. The Sardars who are placed above the Adhikaries and are entrusted with the execution of such warrants against the Adhikaries themselves show no more interest than the Adhikaries themselves. They do not act promptly. They keep the warrants long pending with them and the Chaukidars suffer. In the areas where the Police system has been introduced, the Sardars have lost most of their influence along with their Police powers, and are not enthusiastic about their duties."

A report of Shri Shambhu Nath Ojha, Additional Deputy Commissioner, on the 20th May, 1948, gives a good picture of the Chaukidari system and is quoted below :—

> "The rural Police force of this district is governed not by the Village Chaukidari Act (Act VI of 1910) but by the Santal Parganas Rural Police Regulation, 1910 (Regulation IV of 1910). Those (Chaukidars) who hold sufficient Jagir lands have distinct advantage over those who get Rs. 6 per month in these hard days. A Chaukidar is not supposed to be a whole-time servant. But the duties which he is asked to perform in actual practice takes a considerable portion of their time. At the present scanty rate of pay nothing better than a poor standard of efficiency can be expected from the Chaukidars. Having regard to the present cost of living, the minimum pay which a Chaukidar should get should be at least Rs. 15 per month. In this connection I would invite

attention to section 7 of the S. P. Rural Police Regulation, 1910. Proviso (*c*) of this section lays down that maximum pay of a Chaukidar shall be Rs. 6 per month. This will have to be amended before the salary of the Chaukidars is increased. Those Chaukidars who own Jagir lands should be given the difference between their income from the lands and the pay of Rs. 15 per month.

"In this district there are no Daffadars but according to section 4 of the said Regulation groups of villages (except in the Damin-i-Koh) have been formed into circles and each circle placed under Sardar. Sardars get the maximum salary of Rs. 12 per month as laid down in section 7, proviso (*a*). Before the thanas in the rural areas were set up, the Sardars used to perform most of the functions of a Sub-Inspector of Police. At present they do not do enough work. It is necessary to bring them on the same footing as the Daffadars of non-Regulation districts. Their salary should be increased to Rs. 20 per month. This will also require amendment in section 7 of Reg. IV of 1910. At present almost all the Chaukidars are illiterate."

As a result, however, of the general recommendations of the Rural Police Reorganisation Committee, the pay of the Chaukidars was raised to Rs. 10 per month, the additional amount being met from the provincial revenues and not by increased Chaukidari tax*. The number of Chaukidars was reduced to the extent of 30 per cent of their strength. These orders could not, however, be given effect to in the Damin-i-Koh and in Deoghar Subdivision because in the former the Chaukidars receive customary dues according to the record-of-rights from the people instead of regular pay in cash and in the latter case their pay and cost of equipments are met by the Ghatwals according to the terms of Ghatwali tenure. After the vesting of the Ghatwali tenure in the State, the pay, etc., are met by the State Government.

The dual control of the Subdivisional Officers and the Superintendent of Police over Chaukidars of this district is still continuing legally by virtue of the rules under Regulation IV of 1910 detailed above. But the Government accepting the recommendations of the Rural Reorganisation Committee, directed in their letter no. C. H. 30/49-P.P.-63, dated the 5th January, 1951, that "the dual control by the Panchayat and the magistracy-*cum*-police should be abolished and appointment, discipline and control should

*Rural Police Reorganisation Committee, p. 530 of Proof Report, 1949.

remain exclusively with the Superintendent of Police." This, however, was a general order applicable to all districts. This matter became a controversial issue.

The position of the rural Police in Damin-i-Koh became further anomalous when notifications establishing regular police in this area were issued in 1950. The then Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, strongly objected to this and opposed converting the Damin-i-Koh area into a regular Police tract and the Parganaits were completely divested of their Police power and their influence very considerably weakened. He pointed out in his letter to the Commissioner on the 17th August 1950 that this may also lead to an Adibasi movement and will create administrative difficulties. The Commissioner, Mr. K. Raman, however, did not agree with this view in his letter to the Chief Secretary dated 30th August, 1950*.

After mutual consultation the Commissioner, Mr. Raman, modified his views and wrote to the Deputy Commissioner on the 30th November, 1950, asking him to scrutinise the rules framed under section 25 for the Police tracts as well as no-Police tracts and recast them in such a manner as to regularise the present position. He observed—

"As the Parganaits and the Chaukidars have also revenue duties to perform they will continue to be controlled by the Subdivisional Officer. They can be used to a limited extent in the matter of serious offences which the regular Police will investigate. The arrangement cannot be satisfactory from the Police point of view. But there is perhaps no other alternative."

Accordingly, Mr. Prasad urged the acceptance of the following principles of amendments to the existing rules under Regulation IV of 1910 :—

"(*i*) Since there will be no-Police tract in this district now, it is no longer necessary to have a separate set of rules for (*a*) Police tracts and (*b*) no-Police tracts.

(*ii*) The existing rules under A and B printed at pages 137 to 140 of the Santal Parganas Manual, 1911, should continue as far as practicable.

(*iii*) The Dumka and Jamtara subdivisions had been no-Police tracts before the Santal Parganas Rural Police Regulation, 1910,

*Quoted before.

came into force. They have since become Police tracts although they still retain some of the Sardars, but without any Police Powers. It is, therefore, necessary to have a separate set of rules for these two subdivisions.

(*iv*) The Damin-i-Koh has its own system of rural Police who are also entrusted with important revenue duties. Notwithstanding the fact that this tract is now a Police tract after the conversion of the I. D. centres into police-stations it is desirable that the existing system of Police and Revenue administration be not disturbed by any sweeping changes. There should, therefore, be a separate set of rules for the Damin-i-Koh (excluding Borio, Barhait, Katikund, Amrapara and other bazars to be notified as such) incorporating the existing rules for no-Police tracts as far as the present circumstances may justify. The intentions to be achieved in this connection are—

(*a*) The main bazar areas like Borio, Barhait, Katikund and Amrapara should be regular police-stations, where full responsibility should be placed on Police officers ;

(*b*) In all other places investigation of all offences of serious nature, which are specially reported, should be entrusted to the Police officers from a certain stage. This is necessitated by the fact that Police officers may remain at considerable distance from scenes of occurrence, and unless recording of F.I.R. and making preliminary investigation is entrusted to Parganaits, much available evidence may be lost. As regards less serious offences, the Parganaits should continue to exercise the powers which they exercise at present."

He accordingly submitted on 20th January, 1951 in his letter no. 227/C of that date four sets of new Police rules to replace the existing ones, viz., (1) Rules applicable to the district of Santal Parganas excluding Deoghar, Dumka and Jamtara Subdivisions and also excluding the Damin-i-Koh except Borio, Barhait, Katikund and other bazars, (2) Rules for the Deoghar Subdivision, (3) Rules for the Dumka and Jamtara Subdivisions, (4) Rules for the Damin-i-Koh excluding Borio, Barhait and other bazars. His proposals were intended to remove all the anomalies consequent on the introduction of regular Police system in the whole of the district and were designed to define beyond doubt the relation between rural Police and regular Police while maintaining the ancient institution of Parganaits and Sardars with suitable adjustments.

Under his proposal the system of Adhikaries was to be maintained, the Parganaits were to exercise Police powers outside bazar areas in Damin-i-Koh subject to the supervision and control of Thana Officers ; the dual control of the Superintendent of Police and Subdivisional Officer over rural Police was to continue on the lines of Mr. Hoernle's order of 1932 and Sardars were to be subordinate to the Thana Officers and to supervise the work of Chaukidars and Adhikaries. Duties of Chaukidars were to be made more comprehensive. The Chaukidars were to carry out the orders of Sardars, Parganaits and Thana Officers.

These proposals and draft amendments of Mr. Prasad were forwarded by Mr. Raman to the Government with his letter no. 2291-J., dated 18th March, 1951, with the modification that the Parganaits be given specific powers of investigation outside the bazar area in the Damin in the cases under sections 143, 157, 158, 269, 277, 289, 291, 341, 342, 343, 344, 379, 380, 381, 411, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 447 and 448 of the Indian Penal Code and cases under sections 109, 110, 113, 114, 116 or 120 of the Indian Penal Code read with any of the above sections. He, however, suggested some other minor amendments to the draft rules of Mr. Prasad.

The Government after consideration of the proposal issued orders in their letter no. IIC-3-1029/53-P.P4661, dated 9th November, 1953, establishing on permanent basis all the eight police-stations opened at Katikund, Gopikandar, Amrapara, Litipara, Borio, Barhait, Boarijor and Chandna in the main Damin area of the district. The orders made clear demarcation of the Police powers between the Parganaits and the officer-in-charge of the police-stations. The following standing instructions were issued by Government in the abovementioned letter :—

(*a*) The F.I.R. and the station diary will be maintained by the Police at each police-station and the Parganaits will have nothing to do with them. The Parganaits have, however, been allowed to retain the limited powers of an officer-in-charge of a police-station in respect of offences pertaining to sections of I.P.C. mentioned in the list (all the sections of I.P.C. have been mentioned above) for the purpose of investigation only. The Parganait shall maintain a *Fard Bayan* Book by carbon process. A Parganait will send a copy of the *Fard Bayan* in respect of an offence which he is competent to investigate to the officer-in-charge of the police-station in whose jurisdiction Bungalow lies on the same date on which the *Fard Bayan* is prepared through the agency of the Village Chaukidar concerned and await orders of the officer-in-charge for starting investigation in the case. The officer-in-charge shall on receipt of the *Fard Bayan* draw up a F.I.R. and endorse it to the Parganait concerned for investigation

immediately. The Parganait shall not investigate any offence falling outside the said list. On the other hand, the officer-in-charge of the police-station shall not have the power to assume direct control of investigation of any offences falling within the said list except under the specific orders of the Superintendent of Police. The Superintendent of Police should authorise the officer-in-charge to assume the charge of investigation only in very exceptional cases in which he may consider the Parganait personally interested.

(*b*) The Inspector of Police and officer-in-charge of police-station in the Damin area shall not exercise any administrative or disciplinary control over the Parganaits. The Parganait will abide by the direction of the Deputy Superintendent of Police or other higher Police Officers and obey all orders relating thereto. He will also obey all orders concerning Police duties in his Bungalow passed on him by the Subdivisional Police Officers or Police Officers of higher rank.

(*c*) The officer-in-charge of each police-station shall supply to each Parganait in his area sufficient number of books for recording *Fard Bayan* and case diaries, handcuffs, ropes, stationery articles, etc.

(*d*) The disciplinary control of Parganaits shall remain with the Deputy Commissioner but the Superintendent of Police shall have power to award censures to Parganaits for misconduct or breach of discipline subject to an appeal to the Deputy Commissioner. In no case shall, however, fine be imposed on the Parganaits.*

(*e*) In such places within the Damin area, where no Gram Panchayats have so far been set up, and even where such Panchayats have already been set up the Parganait should continue to have the powers of officer-in-charge of police-stations regarding investigation of cases mentioned in the list.

The Parganaits and Sardars are not actually exercising Police powers at present as there is no "no-Police tract".

JAIL.

The Dumka District Jail is situated in the south-eastern corner of the town within two furlongs of the court compound. The Jail has an area of about five acres including two gardens. The capacity of the Jail is 416 prisoners. There is a hospital in the Jail in charge of a Sub-Assistant Surgeon. There is a ward with 12 beds.

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*Standing Orders No. 14 of 1953-54 (D. C's. Office, Dumka).

Organisational set-up.—Previously the District Jail had been functioning under the charge of the Civil Surgeon of the district. With the creation of the Bihar Jail Service in 1952, the Jail has been functioning under the administrative control of a whole-time Superintendent. The staff of the District Jail at Dumka consists of one Superintendent, one Jailor, two Assistant Jailors, one Sub-Assistant Surgeon, one Compounder, one Clerk, five head warders and fifty warders including two female warders.

Besides the District Jail at Dumka, there are six sub-jails situated at Deoghar, Godda, Jamtara, Pakaur, Sahibganj and Rajmahal. The sub-jails are under the charge of the Civil Assistant Surgeon of the respective subdivision who acts as part-time Superintendent of Jail. Two sub-jails, situated at Jamtara and Pakaur, are affiliated to the District Jail, Dumka and the remaining sub-jails are affiliated to Bhagalpur Central Jail.

Welfare of prisoners.—The welfare of the prisoners is given due importance within the prescribed rules and care is taken so that the prisoners may return as suitable members of the society.

Board of Visitors.—There is a Board of non-official visitors in every jail including the District Jail whose members are appointed by the Government. There is also a Board of Purchase Committee in every jail to look after the purchase of the articles (miscellaneous and dietary) to be supplied to the prisoners.

Jail Industry.—The principal industries carried on in the District Jail at Dumka are oil-pressing, *Daree*-making, *Newar* and *Asni*-making and prisoners' garments manufacturing. The details about Jail industries have been given in the Chapter 'Industries'.

Jail population

The average population of the District Jail, Dumka, as supplied by the District Jail Office, Dumka, for seven years is given below :—

Year.	Convicts.		Under trials.		Civil.		Total.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1955 ..	137.03	2.03	168.67	4.73	0.5	..	251.51
1956 ..	158.78	3.38	118.18	1.49	..	..	274.83
1957 ..	156.47	2.12	151.33	3.74	..	..	313.66
1958 ..	179.47	4.18	298.83	3.77	0.47	..	486.72
1959 ..	153.63	5.37	240.06	7.39	0.32	..	406.77
1960 ..	131.05	2.88	214.90	3.00	0.09	..	351.92
1961 ..	190.84	6.44	155.75	2.96	..	..	355.99

The average population of Deoghar, Jamtara, Sahibganj and Pakaur sub-jails is about 181, 39, 171, 46 and 75 respectively. The District Jail at Dumka receives both males and females. Male convicts over a term of imprisonment of three years are transferred either to Bhagalpur Central Jail or Buxar Central Jail. Female prisoners over three months are sent to Female Jail, Bhagalpur and the juvenile prisoners irrespective of sentences are sent to Special Central Jail, Bhagalpur, where the Juvenile Jail is located.

In the sub-jails generally undertrials and sessions prisoners remain till they are transferred to Bhagalpur Jail, if convicted. Only very short-term convicts are lodged in the sub-jails.

A few words about the Deoghar Sub-Jail deserve mention. Inside the Deoghar Sub-Jail, there is a "Jail Rest House" which was built by the contribution of the Jail employees of the Bihar Jails. Here all the year round the staff of different jails come and stay.

Probation System

On the 15th June, 1959, Bihar was the first State in India to bring into force the Central legislation on probation, namely, the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958 (Act XX of 1958) and as such the probation system came into force in the district of Santal Parganas with effect from the same date, i.e., 15th June, 1959.

The Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, introduces many basic changes in the criminal law of the land. The salient features are as follows :—

(1) (*a*) Courts have been given the power to place any offender on probation who is found guilty of having committed any offence not punishable with death or imprisonment for life, provided in the circumstances of the case, including the nature of the offence and the character of the offender such course is considered expedient by the court.

(*b*) Restrictions on the use of probation based on age, sex and previous conviction as contained in section 562, Cr. P. C. have been placed.

(2) The Act provides a regular machinery for enquiry into the personality, character and home surroundings of the offender, which is to assist the court in determining the most suitable method of dealing with him.

(3) It also contains provision for special machinery to supervise probationers as well as to advise and assist them while on probation and also after discharge.

(4) It also allows the release of an offender on various types of conditions including residential requirement and payment of compensation, etc.

(5) It makes probation enquiry mandatory in cases of offenders below 21 years of age, where the provisions of the Act are applicable.

The object of the legislation is to provide courts with the powers of keeping away the first offenders of certain standard of life or status from being contaminated by the atmosphere in the jail. It lays stress on the reformation and rehabilitation of the offenders as useful and self reliant members of society without subjecting them to the evil effects of the jail life.

Organisational set-up

The District Probation Office at Dumka has been functioning since 15th June, 1959. The staff consists of one part-time Principal Probation Officer, who is the Superintendent of District Jail, Dumka, one Probation Officer and one Assistant Probation Officer. There is also provision for one Female Assistant Probation Officer. The Probation Officer and the Assistant Probation Officer work under the supervision and control of the Principal Probation Officer, Dumka.

Two more Probation Offices, one at Sahibganj and the other at Deoghar have started functioning since 1961 each under a Senior Probation Officer. The Principal Probation Officer, Dumka, has also administrative control over them.

The jurisdiction of the Probation Officer posted at Dumka extends over four subdivisions, namely, Sadar, Pakaur, Godda and Jamtara while Deoghar and Sahibganj subdivisions are under the jurisdiction of the Senior Probation Officers posted at Sahibganj and Deoghar respectively.

There is one camp, namely, Probation Camp located at Bilasi area in Deoghar town for pre-release training and post-release social and vocational rehabilitation of prisoners. This camp started functioning with effect from 1st August, 1959 under the control and supervision of a Probation Officer, designated as Superintendent of the Camp. The Controlling Officer, who is responsible for proper implementation of the Act, in the State is the Director of Probation Services with his headquarters at Patna.

Functions of Probation Officer.—A Probation Officer has to perform the following duties as defined in section 14 of the Act :—

(*a*) to enquire, in accordance with any direction of a court, into the circumstances or home surroundings of any person accused of an offence, with a view to assisting the court in determining the most suitable method of dealing with him and to submit reports to the court ;

(*b*) to supervise probationers and other persons placed under his supervision and where necessary, to endeavour to find out suitable employment for them ;

(*c*) to advise and assist offenders in the payment of compensation or costs ordered by the court ;

(*d*) to advise and assist, in such cases and in such manner as may be prescribed, persons who have been released under section 4 of the Act ; and

(*e*) to perform such other duties as may be prescribed.

The probation system has made very little headway so far in the district. It seems that some Magistrates do not favour the idea and do not refer the cases to the Probation Officer. This system has been operating for three years only in this district.

APPENDIX I

CRIME FIGURES FROM 1953 to 1962.*

Year.	Crimes.					
	Murder.	Dacoity.	Robbery.	Burglary.	Theft.	Riot.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1953 ..	46	149	63	1,081	657	114
1954 ..	54	159	51	1,056	621	137
1955 ..	59	136	50	1,219	766	151
1956 ..	51	189	83	1,529	811	147
1957 ..	56	247	89	1,737	912	152
1958 ..	76	274	80	1,422	970	155
1959 ..	52	121	56	1,213	911	181
1960 ..	66	73	33	1,204	903	153
1961 ..	63	90	48	1,199	766	158
1962 ..	67	63	35	1,227	751	124

*SOURCE.—Office of the Inspector-General of Police, Bihar, Patna.

APPENDIX II

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Statement showing number of cases reported, persons tried, convicted and acquitted from 1954 to 1957*.

Year.	Number of cases.			Number of persons.		Number of witnesses examined.	
	Reported.	Returned as true.	Brought to trial.	Acquitted or discharged.	Convicted.	At Sessions Court.	At Magistrates' Courts.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1954 ..	8,581	7,508	7,508	9,640	4,746	703	19,298
1955 ..	10,039	8,566	8,566	11,847	4,372	432	20,501
1956 ..	8,250	7,030	7,030	10,788	6,591	1,372	20,612
1957 ..	9,128	7,822	7,822	7,650	6,094	1,976	14,796

*SOURCE.—Bihar Statistical Handbooks published by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Bihar.

APPENDIX III

CIVIL JUSTICE

Statement showing number and value of suits instituted and applications filed for execution of decrees and amount realised by decrees from 1954 to 1957*.

Year.	Total number of suits instituted.	Total value of suits.	Total number of applications filed for execution of decrees.	Amount realised by decrees.
1	2	3	4	5
		Rs.		Rs.
1954	271	5,52,009	208	4,69,466
1955	335	35,80,723	298	1,70,622
1956	335	9,69,423	235	47,173
1957	339	11,70,124	227	1,25,259

*SOURCE.—Bihar Statistical Handbooks published by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Bihar.

CHAPTER XIII

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

History of Local Self-Government

The history of the Local Self-Government in the district starts with the functioning of the District Road Committee which has been described as follows in the last District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas:—

> "The Local Self-Government Act is not in force in this district and the Bengal Cess Act IV of 1880 having not been extended till the year 1901 the work of construction and repairs of roads and buildings were being carried out under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner through his Road Funds Accounts Department. The income of this fund only consisted of annual and specific grants from Government. This Department was also administering the Government estates improvement grant. In 1878-79, the annual Government grant amounted to Rs. 25,000. From 1884-85 to 1890-91, it amounted to Rs. 34,000 a year. In 1899-1900 the receipts of District Road Fund on account of Government grant amounted to Rs. 74,453 as below:—

	Rs.
(1) Annual grants for road works during 1899-1900	50,000
(2) Grant for repairs in connection with Government buildings ..	6,461
(3) Special grant to meet the pay and allowance of a sub-overseer to look after Public Works Department works for the year 1899-1900.	600
(4) Grants for miscellaneous public improvements in Government estates.	17,392
Total ..	74,453

In 1899, the Government of Bengal in their letter no. 4805-R.P., dated the 22nd August 1899 approved the proposal made by the Board of Revenue that the provisions of the Bengal Cess Act IX of 1880 should be gradually introduced in the district excluding the Damin-i-Koh Government estates as portions of the district

came under settlement, and requested the Board to arrange for the submission to Government, lists of estates, as they came under settlement so that necessary notifications might be published extending the provisions of the Act to those estates, with effect from the date of resettlement. The first notification issued was notification no. 4489-R. P., dated the 20th August 1901 subsequently superseded by notification no. 4782-R.P., dated the 21st November 1903 and 82 revenue paying estates including 37 separate accounts and 7 revenue free properties were assessed to cesses, with effect from 1st April 1902. A District Committee was formed under Chapter IX of the Cess Act consisting of 12 members (3 *ex-officio* and 9 non-official members) with the Deputy Commissioner as the Chairman and this body took charge of the Deputy Commissioner's Road Fund Account Department. Subsequently under notification no.548-T.F., dated the 19th May 1904 the Cess Act was extended to mauza, Palasbona, subdivision Rajmahal appertaining to tauzi no.178 of the Murshidabad Collectorate and under notification no.998-R.P., dated the 14th February 1905 the Act was extended to mauza Kadamsair, subdivision Pakaur appertaining to tauzi no. 367 of the Murshidabad Collectorate. Then under notification no. 480-R.P., dated the 25th October 1905, the provisions of the Cess Act were extended, with effect from the 1st November 1905 to all parts of the district (excluding the Damin-i-Koh Government estates) to which they had not already been extended by the notifications referred to above.

The valuation of all the estates in the district (excluding the Damin-i-Koh Government estates) was completed in March, 1910 with a resultant demand of cess of land amounting to Rs. 87,863. The revaluation operation was postponed till the last revision settlement operations of 1922—35 and was taken up in 1927-28. The revaluation of whole of the district with the exception of only 18 estates was completed during the years 1927-28 to 1935-36 and the resultant demand on account of cess at the maximum rate of 1 anna on each rupee of annual value of lands amounted to Rs. 1,15,842-2-6 on the 1st April 1936. It will increase still further on the completion of the revaluation of the remaining 18 estates. Cess is also assessed under Chapter V on the annual net profits of mines and quarries, etc. and the demand on this account in 1935-36 was Rs. 9,470. The collection of Cess is made through the Tauzi and Certificate Departments of the Deputy Commissioner's office. Deducting Rs. 146 a month on account of collection charges and Rs. 20 a year for contingencies the whole of Cess collections goes to the District Committee. The total amount placed at the disposal of the District Committee on account of Cess receipts during the year 1935-36 was Rs. 1,55,232. The following Government grants for improvement and education in

the Government estates are also placed at the disposal of the Committee:—

(1) Annual grant for the improvement of Government estates calculated at 5 per cent on the receipt of all Government estates based on the actual receipts of the penultimate year;

(2) A grant representing the surplus profits of the Hiranpur and Sahibgunj cattle markets based on the actual receipts and expenditure of the penultimate year for expenditure on the construction and up keep of the roads, bridges and such other projects within and for the benefit of the markets and the surrounding Government estates according to the discretion of the Commissioner (Bengal Government Order nos. 3713-L.R., dated the 2nd December 1909 and 4030, dated the 18th December 1909);

(3) 1½ per cent grant on communication sanctioned in paragraph 4 of Bihar and Orissa Government Resolution no. 7315-IG-84, dated the 26th October 1915 as amended by notification no. 436-IG-10-R., dated the 19th January 1918;

(4) Grant of Rs. 18,000 a year sanctioned in Government letter no. 233-E., dated the 7th November 1919 for primary education in the Damin-i-Koh Government estates for disbursement under orders of the Deputy Commissioner; and

(5) 1 per cent grant for primary education in the Damin-i-Koh Government estates sanctioned in Government letter no. 149-E., dated the 13th January 1921. This grant is contributed by Government in its capacity as zamindar and is required to be spent under the personal orders of the Deputy Commissioner.

'Besides the District Committee gets the following annual recurring grants:—

(1) Rs. 50,000 from the Commissioner for augmenting the resources of the District Fund for the improvement and development of communications ;

(2) Rs. 21,600 from the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals for medical relief in rural areas and for maintenance of several dispensaries constructed during the years 1924—26 out of the Government grant of Rs. 1,06,742 ;

(3) Rs. 18,600 for middle schools in the district.

(4) Government grant for expansion and improvement of primary education in the district, representing an allotment roughly based on 1½ anna per head of population or Re. 1 per ten persons, the District Committee contributing ¼ anna per head of population or 5 per cent of the Cess. The grant annually received on this account including the grant of Rs. 18,000 for Damin-i-Koh Government estates is Rs. 2,22,000 ;

(5) Receipts from public ferries—

(Under letter no. 3679-L.S.-G., dated the 26th March 1924, from Government in the Ministry of Local Self-Government these receipts are transferred to the District Committee, with effect from the 1st April 1924 but the management of the ferries vests in the Deputy Commissioner who conducts the settlement of the ferries and makes over the proceeds to the District Committee) and

(6) Government Road maintenance grant out of the net proceeds of the taxes on motor vehicles.

The total receipt of the District Committee from all sources during the year 1935-36 was Rs. 5,62,615 and the expenditure Rs. 5,43,871.'*

The Local Self-Government Act came into force in the district in the year 1940. The S. P. Enquiry Committee recommended that the District Road Committee should be transformed into District Board. The preliminary action began with notification no. 1858-L.S.-G., dated the 6th April 1939 while the final publication of the names of elected and nominated members was made in notification no. 2397-L.S.-G., dated the 11th May 1940 and notification no. 860, dated the 24th July 1940 respectively. The District Board of Santal Parganas was constituted on the 28th August 1940. The District Board has been separately described.

Municipalities.

The four urban areas of Deoghar, Dumka, Madhupur and Sahibganj have got municipalities.

Among the more important functions of the municipalities under the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, 1922, are maintenance of public streets, providing lights, regulating offensive or dangerous trades, looking after the sanitary arrangements, vaccination, medical relief, maintenance of vital statistics, primary education, and furthering other educational objects, etc. Broadly speaking a

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) by S. C. Mukherji, pp. 349—352.

municipality has to look after the safety, health, convenience and education of the people residing within the municipal limits. The Act provides for the imposition of taxes by the municipality on holdings, latrines, water, etc. There are a number of committees through which municipal functions are carried out. The organisation of the municipality consists of a number of staff for different works. The Executive consists of a Chairman and a Vice-Chairman, who are elected. A President is also elected to preside over the deliberations. Periodical elections are held.

Deoghar Municipality.

This municipality was constitued on the 26th November 1869. The boundaries were revised in 1903 by Government notification no. 853-M, dated the 23rd February 1903 by the inclusion of an area contiguous to the municipality and situated all round it. The area was $3\frac{3}{4}$ sq. miles. In 1923 the number of commissioners was fixed at 15 of whom 12 were elected by the tax-payers and appointed by the Local Government. Under notification no. 4044 of the same date, the municipality was divided into 4 wards and the number of commissioners was 4 in ward I, 3 in ward II, 3 in ward III and 2 in ward IV.

In 1939 an additional area of 2.54 sq. miles was added to the municipality. The present area is 6.29 sq. miles. The expansion of the area of the municipality has been simultaneous with the growth of the population of Deoghar town. The variation of the population has been as follows:—

1931	..	..	14,217
1941	..	..	19,712
1951	..	..	25,510
1961	..	..	30,813

The number of wards has also been increased from 4 in 1923 to 12. Out of 12 wards, 7 have been made double seated since 1952.

The number of commissioners is now 23 out of whom 19 are elected by tax-payers and 4 nominated by the Local Government.

The Executive consists of the President, the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman and the commissioners.

To look after the sanitary condition of the town there is a sanitary staff under a qualified Assistant Health Officer. The sanitary staff take a number of measures to prevent and fight epidemics. There are 210 staff including the sweepers, scavengers, jamadars, chowkidars, 3 drivers and supervisory staff. Proper disposal of

the refuse and night-soil constitute a major duty of the municipality. The town has no proper drainage system.

So far as water-supply for drinking purposes is concerned there are different sources, such as tanks, wells, reservoirs, etc. There are 1,400 wells, including 16 public wells in the municipal area. There is supply of piped water through the roadside water-posts and also by giving house connections. There are 103 roadside water-posts and 475 houses have got connections till 1962.

There are 9 Middle and Primary schools managed and 4 Middle and Primary schools aided by the Municipality. There are 24 schools under expansion and improvement of Primary education schemes. Out of these 24 schools, only 10 schools have been sanctioned by the Government. The Municipality has approached the Government for the sanction of the additional 14 schools. A Harijan school within the vicinity of Deoghar town is managed by the Municipality.

The *pucca* or metalled municipal road mileage is 14.51 and *kutcha* or unmetalled 15.89 miles.

The number of street electric bulbs stood at 673 only in 1959 and 1,000 in 1962.

Holding, latrine and water taxes are in force here and the rates are 10 per cent and 6¼ per cent respectively. The rate of taxation on the holdings having water connection is 1¾ per cent. The professional tax is also in force and is collected up to the maximum as defined in the 4th Schedule of the Municipal Act, 1922. The taxation on per head population is 6 per cent. The other taxes, i.e., cycle tax, rickshaw tax, cart tax, trades tax are also in force.

The table below shows the receipts (under different heads) of the Municipality from 1959-60 to 1960-61 :—

Heads.	Years.	
	1959-60.	1960-61.
	Rs.	Rs.
1. Municipal taxes	1,58,969.00	1,86,719.00
2. Municipal Registrations, licences and other fees, realisation under special Act, etc.	21,284.00	23,676.00
3. Revenue derived from Municipal property and powers apart from taxation.	50,354.00	21,231.00
4. Grants and contribution for general and special purposes.	98,425.00	1,23,702.00
5. Extraordinary debts	967.00	17,514.00
6. Miscellaneous	4,07,355.00	48,496.00
7. Trade and Profession Tax	Not available	Not available.
8. Total including balance	2,23,756.00	4,00,108.00
9. Grand total	6,31,111.00	5,19,768.00

The table below shows expenditure under different heads of the Municipality from the year 1959-60 to 1960-61 :—

Heads.	Year.	
	1959-60.	1960-61.
	Rs.	Rs.
1. General administration and collection of charges	37,700.00	40,377.00
2. Public safety	17,586.00	11,882.00
3. Public Health	1,27,580.00	1,11,754.00
4. Public Convenience	47,792.00	83,094.00
5. Public Instruction	78,880.00	98,322.00
6. Contribution and general purposes	13,358.00	13,470.00
7. Miscellaneous and extraordinary debts ..	5,11,452.00	4,38,915.00
8. Total including balance	Not available	80,852.00
9. Grand total	Not available	5,19,768·00

Dumka Municipality

The last District Gazetteer mentions:—

"Act III (B. C.) of 1884 (since replaced by Bihar and Orissa Act VII of 1922, with effect from 1st January 1923) was extended to Dumka town under Bengal Government notification no. 2809, dated the 15th November 1902 and the number of commissioners was fixed at 9 under Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 8432-M, dated the 31st July 1913, the municipality was, for the purpose of the election of commissioners, divided into 7 wards. The total number of commissioners was altered to 12 under notification no. 8433-M, dated the 31st July 1913. Under Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 1199-M, dated the 8th February 1919, the boundaries of municipality were extended by the inclusion of an area contiguous to it and comprising portions of villages Rasikpur, Dumka, Gidhnipahari and Bandarjori. The boundaries of Wards II, V and VII were revised under notification no. 1208-M., dated the 11th July 1919, the Rasikpur portions being included in Ward II and the other portion in Wards V and VII. Under notification no. 4387-L.S.-G., dated the 16th April 1923 the number of commissioners was fixed at 15 of whom 12 should be elected by tax-payers and three appointed by Local Government. Under

Government notification no. 4388-L.S.-G., dated the 16th April 1923 the municipality was divided into 8 wards (the northern portion of Rasikpur being numbered Ward VIII). Wards I, III, IV and VIII having two commissioners each, and other wards one commissioner each. The area of the municipality is 1 square mile and 585 acres with a population of 9,471 according to the 1951 census."*

There have been many changes since 1938. Now (1962) it has got an area of 1.59 square miles. There are 2,379 holdings and the population according to the census of 1951 was 13,582 souls and 18,720 souls in 1961.

The number of wards has remained the same but there have been changes in the number of commissioners under Government notification no. 8676-L.S.-G., dated the 27th July 1950, the Wards II and VIII have now 3 commissioners instead of 2 and Wards III and VII have one commissioner each. The total number of commissioner has been increased to 20, out of whom 16 are elected and 4 are nominated.

The municipality was, more or less, an official body in 1902 with Mr. Thompson, Subdivisional Officer, Dumka as the Chairman and occupied a corner in the Deputy Commissioner's office. The first town planning scheme was taken up by the first Chairman Mr. Thompson. Several miles of *pucca* road were constructed on land gifted by the zamindar Mr. Malong Grant.

At present the Municipal Board consists of commissioners most of whom are elected from the different wards. The commissioners elect the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman and the President to preside over the deliberations. The Executive consists of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman. They are associated with the ward commissioners in various Committees. To look after the sanitary condition of the town there are a number of health staff under a qualified Assistant Health Officer whose services have been placed by the Government at the disposal of the municipality. The sanitary staff take a number of measures to prevent and fight epidemics.

The municipality employs 125 staff including jamadars, drivers and sweepers. Proper disposal of the garbage and the night-soil constitute the major duty of the municipality. The town has no

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*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) by S. C. Mukherji, pp. 354-355.

proper drainage system. So far as water-supply for drinking purposes is concerned there are different sources such as tanks, wells, reservoirs, etc. There are about 1,250 wells and 45 tanks in the municipal area. A reservoir for the supply of drinking water has been constructed on the top of the Hijla Hill, which is situated on the bank of the river Mayurakshi. There is supply of piped-water through the street hydrants and also by giving house connections. There are 75 roadside hydrants and about 150 houses which have got water connections.

There are one Lower Primary and eight Upper Primary schools managed by the municipality.

The road mileage under the municipality is gravelled 26½ miles, metalled 4½ miles and *kutcha* 1½ miles. The roads are now subjected to heavy vehicular traffic, particularly by the trucks.

There is a good market in a healthy and clean surrounding. Bi-weekly *hat* is held in the town but the revenue realised from the shop-keepers and sellers goes to the Government.

The town has electricity. There are 412 street bulbs within the municipal area. Holding, latrine and water taxes are in force and the rates are 7½ per cent, 6½ per cent and 12½ per cent on annual valuation respectively. The incidence of taxation per head population is 6 per cent. The tax on trades, professions, employment, etc. is according to the fourth Schedule of the Municipal Act.

Besides these the following taxes and licence fees are also levied by this municipality:—

Taxes.	Rate.
(*a*) Offensive and dangerous trades	.. The rate is prescribed by the Government.
(*b*) Temporary Land Settlement ..	.. Rs. 4 per square feet.
(*c*) Cycle Rickshaw	.. Rs. 10 annually.
(*d*) Ekka licence fees ..	.. Rs. 2.00 only.
(*e*) Cycle Registration ..	.. Rs. 1.12 (including miscellaneous charges) half-yearly.
(*f*) Cart Registration ..	.. Rs. 4.12 (including miscellaneous charges) half-yearly.

The table below shows the receipt of the Municipality under different heads :—

RECEIPTS.

Heads of revenue.	1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Rs. as p.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Municipal taxes ..	58,791 13 9	57,113.71	49,867.71	51,658.00	55,242.00	39.240.00
Municipal Registration Licences and other fees.	10,523 4 6	6,915.68	7,125.20	5,582.00	3,591.00	1,917.00
Realisation Under Special Act.	16 0 0	..	800.00	N.A.	940.00	484.00
Revenue derived from municipal property and powers apart from taxation.	9,456 8 0	8,933.47	2,394.40	224.12	101.00	398.70
Grants and contribution for general and special purposes.	2,15,279 10 3	72,160.38	1,26,242.56	80,701.50	63,670.00	1,61,433.00
Miscellaneous ..	1,493 6 9	579.35	462.69	237.03	176.94	88.59
Extraordinary and debt.	1,74,727 8 9	21,295.28	67,113.57	7,308.00	8,298.00	6,137.91
Trade and profession tax.	2,443 8 0	4,851.50	7,648.00	4,524.00	3,112.00	1,418.00
TOTAL ..	4,72,731 12 0	1,71,869.37	2,61,654.13	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Opening balance ..	27,583 12 6	49,629.52	64,980.12	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
GRAND TOTAL ..	5,00,315 8 6	2,21,498.89	3,26,634.25	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

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EXPENDITURE.

Heads of revenue.	1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Rs. as. p.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
General Administration and collection charges.	12,772 12 3	10,952.05	16,208.02	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Public safety ..	7,515 2 0	6,719.60	7,714.47	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Public Health ..	3,64,402 13 6	49,812.10	1,60,583.66	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Public Convenience	27,041 5 6	32,429.22	53,459.20	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Public Instructions ..	17,902 0 9	37,465.56	39,991.50	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Contribution for general purposes.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous ..	12,360 14 3	7,675.75	8,642.10	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Extraordinary debts.	8,691 0 0	11,464.49	14,425.12	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
TOTAL ..	4,50,686 0 3	1,56,518.77	3,01,024.07	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Closing balance ..	49,629 8 3	64,980.12	25,610.18	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
GRAND TOTAL ..	5,00,315 8 6	2,21,498.89	3,26,634.25	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Madhupur Municipality.

"The municipality was constituted under the Bengal Government notification no. 676-M, of the 3rd April 1909, but the provision of the Act III of 1884 (The Bengal Municipal Act), since replaced on the 1st of April 1923, by the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act of 1922, actually came into operation, with effect from 1st July 1909. The municipality has a population of 8,965 persons and includes the following villages—Paniakola, Pathar Chapti, Sheikhpura, Bherowa, Lokhra, Sapaha, Titiaban and Madhupur (Khas). The municipality was included in both the first and the second Schedules of Act III (S. C.) of 1884 and the number of commissioners was fixed at 10 by Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 860, dated the 24th January 1919; it was removed from the second Schedule and the privilege of electing Chairman was thus extended to it. Under Bihar and Orissa Government notification no. 8158-L.S.-G., dated the 3rd September 1923 the number of commissioners was fixed at 12 of which 10 are to be elected by the tax-payers and two appointed by Local Government. By notification no. 8159-L.S.-G., dated the 3rd September 1923, as amended by notification no. 8639, dated the 20th September 1923, the municipality was divided into 6 wards. The total number of rate-payers in 1935-36 was 1,325 and the taxation amounted to Rs. 25,420 as below:—

	Rs.
Tax on holdings	16,772
Taxes on vehicles, horses and other animals.	37
Latrine tax	8,611
TOTAL ..	25,420"

"The incidence of taxation per head of population was Rs. 2-13-4. The total income of the municipality in 1935-36 amounted to Rs. 34, 580 and the expenditure to Rs. 30,368. The closing balance at the end of 1935-36 was Rs. 17,719.*"

Since 1938 there have been many changes in the municipality. The municipality now (1962) covers an area of 4.79 square miles as against 2.5 square miles in 1938. In 1943-44 the municipality was extended and the area increased from 2.75 square miles to 4.79 square miles.

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) by S. C. Mukherji, pp. 355-56.

The number of municipal commissioners had increased to 20 (i.e., elected 16 and nominated 4). But under Government notification no. 7769-L.S.-G., dated the 24th August 1961 (made under section 385 of the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, 1922) superseded the commissioners of the municipality for a period of two years. A Special Officer was appointed to exercise and perform the powers and duties under the provisions of the said Act or any other Act. It has got now (1962) only five wards. There are now (1962) 2,794 of holdings with total population of 17,144 souls in 1951 and 19,519 souls in 1961.

The staff to look after public health and sanitation consist of an Assistant Health Officer, Health Inspectors, vaccinators, sweepers etc. There are two trenching grounds.

The Dutta Charitable Hospital which was started in 1900 is the only hospital in the municipal area. The hospital is managed by the Administrator-General of West Bengal. There is the "Bolai Chandra Dutta Trust" for the maintenance of the hospital. The Madhupur Municipality makes a grant-in-aid of Rs. 1,120 towards the maintenance of the staff (dresser, midwife and sweeper, each one). The doctor is provided by the State Government. A sum of Rs. 4,000 was allotted by the State Government for the purchase of medicine.

Except the railway colony there is no piped-water scheme in the Madhupur town. Piped-water scheme for the town is under the consideration of the Government. The investigator comes across several enlightened people who oppose the piped-water scheme. They hold that the well-water is more wholesome and digestive than the piped-water. There are at present (1963) 1,232 *pucca* wells in the town out of which 32 wells were constructed by the municipality. These wells are the main source of drinking.

The municipality maintains 18 Primary schools. The other educational institutions are private and have been covered elsewhere. The total mileage of roads in 1963 is 27.73 miles—2.49 miles metalled 3.23 miles tarred, 9.23 miles *kutcha*, 12.75 gravelled and .03 mile concrete. The main roads and streets of the municipality have been electrified.

The holding tax, latrine tax and the water tax, etc. are the main source of the income of the municipality. The rate of taxation of the municipality is 11 per cent for the holding tax and 4½ per cent for latrine tax. There has been two per cent increase in the holding tax in 1963. The incidence of taxation per head of population was Rs. 5 in 1962 as against Rs. 2-13-4 mentioned in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938). The annual

income and expenditure of the municipality during last three years were as follows:—

Years.	Income.	Expenditure.
	Rs.	Rs.
1960-61	1,64,488	1,62,081
1961-62	2,22,223	1,72,947
1962-63	2,02,027	2,40,180

It was reported to the investigator that there has been improvement in the roads and drainage of the municipality. Fluorescent lights have been provided in the main and crossing roads of the municipality at a cost of about five thousand rupees.

The following table will show the comparative picture of collection of taxes of the pre-supersession and supersession period:—

	Before supersession.	After supersession.	
	1960-61.	1961-62.	1962-63.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1. Holding tax/arrear collection ..	43.4	58.3	61.5
2. Latrine tax/arrear collection ..	45.2	57.3	60.0
3. Holding tax current ..	48.3	70.0	74.0
4. Latrine tax current	46.7	69.0	73.0
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5. Professional tax	2,810	6,633	5,145
6. Bullock cart	2,816	3,826	4,030
7. Cycle tax	366	468	865
8. Hackney Carriage	782	1,001	1,002
9. Road side land	939	1,906	1,298
10. Offensive and dangerous trade ..	655	1,042	804
11. Food License	458	593	617
12. Platform tax	465	1,029	1,273

At the time of supersession the outstanding taxes to be realised was about Rs. 90,000 out of which about Rs. 70,000 has been realised.

The table below shows the Receipt under different heads of the Madhupur Municipality from 1956-57 to 1960-61 :—

Heads.	1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Municipal rates and taxes.	52,220.00	67,128.00	66,347.00	43,175.00	86,086.00
Realisation ..	5,456.00	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available
Other sources of Revenue.	6,679.00	60,478.00	71,500.00	66,535.00	68,066.00
Extraordinary Debts and other receipts.	Not available	8,048.00	5,657.00	6,850.00	10,334.00
Advance ..	3,595.00	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available
Deposits ..	8,985.00	Ditto.	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
TOTAL ..	1,32,484.00	1,27,606.00	1,35,353.00	1,15,831.00	1,64,488.00
Opening balance..	39,818.00	39,465.00	41,857.00	37,112.00	19,997.00
GRAND TOTAL..	17,29,302.00	1,67,072.00	1,77,190.00	1,52,943.00	1,84,485.00

The table below shows the Expenditure under different heads of the Madhupur Municipality from 1956-57 to 1960-61 :—

Heads.	1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.
1	2	3	4	5	6
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. General Administration and collection charges.	12,273.00	..	..	..	..
2. Public Safety..	7,184.00	10,233.00	11,835.00	13,980.00	13,840.00
3. Public Health	40,187.00	1,866.00	1,789.00	1,175.00	1,695.00
4. Public Works	9,546.00	39,152.00	47,146.00	36,770.00	48,307.00
5. Public Instruction.	19,136.00	20,975.00	21,509.00	23,136.00	23,566.00
6. Miscellaneous ..	45,109.00	1,242.00	1,876.00	1,086.00	1,214.00
7. Capital Expenditure.	Not available	13,594.00	15,594.00	13,539.00	15,580.00
8. Extraordinary Debts.	12,000.00	8,404.00	5,874.00	8,540.00	12,877.00
9. Advances ..	1,993.00	..	..	..	..
10. Deposits ..	6,217.00	..	..	..	..
TOTAL ..	1,32,836.00	1,25,334.00	1,40,078.00	1,32,946.00	1,62,080.00
Closing balances	39,465.00	1,67,072.00	1,77,190.00	1,52,943.00	1,84,485.00

Sahibganj Municipality.

Sahibganj was created a second class municipality with effect from the 1st April 1883, under Act V (B.C.) of 1876 by Bengal Government notification, dated the 21st March 1883. The boundaries of the municipality were given in the notice published at page 1049, part I of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 27th December 1882. It was created a municipality under Act III (B.C.) of 1884, with effect from the 1st August 1814 by notification, dated the 31st March 1885. The persent (1962) area of the municipality is $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles and the population was 7,558, 14,783, 11,880, 15,883, 20,742, 25,669 and 31,409 in 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951 and 1961 respectively. The Bihar and Orissa Act VII of 1922 came into force with effect from 1st January 1923. Under notification no. 4223-L.S.-G., dated the 16th April 1923 the number of commissioners was fixed at ten, of whom 8 were elected by the rate payers and two nominated by the Local Government. Now the number of commissioners has been fixed at 15 (12 elected and 3 nominated). The municipality is divided into 6 wards. At present (1962) there are 2,890 holdings. The Executive consists of the non-official Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

There is a staff for public health and sanitation work as in other municipalities. There are 110 staff including sweepers and scavengers. Arrangements for the conservancy are made through bullock-carts, tractors, etc. There is no proper drainage system.

Municipal wells and private wells, numbering 1,275, are the main source of water supply for drinking purposes.

There are 10 Boys Primary, 5 Girls Primary schools and one Middle school under the control of the municipality.

The municipality maintains 13 miles of metalled and 6 miles of unmetalled road.

The number of electric bulbs stood at 361 in 1959 and 450 in 1962.

Holding, latrine, water and lighting taxes are in force and the rates are $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent respectively on annual valuation. The incidence of taxation on per head population is 5 per cent. The tax on trades, professions, employment, etc. is according to the fourth Schedule of the Municipal Act, 1922. Besides these the following taxes and licence fees are levied by the municipality :—

Taxes.	Rates.
(*a*) Offensive and dangerous trades	The rates are prescribed by the Government.
(*b*) Temporary land settlement	.. Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 annually per sq. feet ;
(*c*) Cycle rickshaw	.. Rs. 3 per year.
(*d*) Cycle	.. Rs. 2 per year.
(*e*) Carts	.. Rs. 6 annually.

The table below shows the Receipts (under different heads) of the Sahibganj Municipality from 1959-60 to 1961-62 :—

Serial no.	Heads.	Year. 1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Municipal Taxes ..	1,20,222.00	1,18,844.00	8,744.00
2	Municipal Registrations, Licences, other fees and realisation under Special Act.	23,847.00	22,889.00	21,187.00
3	Revenue derived from Municipal property and powers apart from taxation.	19,220.00	20,707.00	16,961.00
4	Grants and Contribution for general and special purposes.	89,397.00	56,828.00	1,12,519.00
5	Miscellaneous	1,030.00	Not available	Included in Column 4.
6	Extraordinary debts ..	18,134.00	1,434.00	Ditto.
7	Total income of the year excluding the opening balance.	2,53,717.00	2,20,703.00	2,39,411.00
	TOTAL	2,71,851.00	20,554.00	18,714.00
	Opening balance	Not available	2,41,257.00	2,58,125.00
	GRAND TOTAL	2,89,986.00	3,37,539.00	3,14,639.00

The table below shows the expenditure (under different heads) of the Sahibganj Municipality from 1959-60 to 1961-62 :—

Serial no.	Heads.	Year. 1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	General Administration ..	15,462.00	17,154.00	19,680.00
2	Public Safety	7,423.00	4,681.00	19,233.00
3	Public Health	94,127.00	1,18,729.00	1,19,051.00
4	Public Convenience ..	49,679.00	58,314.00	21,896.00

Serial no.	Heads.	Year. 1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5	Public Instruction	59,462.00	47,095.00	75,421.00
6	Miscellaneous	8,503.00	10,185.00	7,164.00
7	Total Expenditure	Not available	Not available	2,63,093.00
8	Extraordinary Debts ..	12,787.00	24,248.00	15,137.00
9	Total Disbursement ..	1,93,703.00	2,81,025.00	2,78,230.00

Notified Area Committees.

There are three Notified Area Committees at Jasidih, Mihijam and Pakaur.

Notified Area Committee, Jasidih.

The Notified Area Committee came into existence in 1951. Formerly sanitation work of the *bazar* area of Jasidih town was under the management of a non-official body, known as the Sanitation Committee. The only source of the Committee was public subscription. In 1955 two villages Raidih and Amarpur were excluded.

The Committee comprises of 3 official and 7 non-official members. The non-official members are elected.

It covers an area of 6 square miles. It had 500 holdings and 3,331 souls in 1951 and 510 holdings and 4,292 souls in 1961. It is divided into four wards.

There are one Middle school for boys, one Middle school for girls, two Upper Primary schools and one Lower Primary school under the management and control of the Notified Area Committee. The Committee maintains 4 miles of unmetalled road and 70 street electric light points.

There are 11 sweepers, one sanitary *Jamadar* and one Vaccinator (deputed by the Government). There is one trenching ground at the outskirts of the town.

Holding, latrine and professional taxes are levied by the Committee. It also realises education cess on behalf of the Government at the rate of 2½ per cent of the holding tax. Whereas the professional tax is realised at the rate given in the Schedule of the Act, the rates of the holding tax and latrine tax are 5 per cent and 2½ per cent on annual valuation.

Notified Area Committee, Mihijam.

The Notified Area Committee was created under Government notification no. 7960-L.S.-G., dated the 4th July 1950. It consists of eleven nominated members, with the Subdivisional Officer, Jamtara, as Chairman and a non-official Vice-Chairman and one Office Secretary. The administration is run according to the provisions of the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act, 1922.

It covers an area of 2,071.37 acres divided into 3 wards with a total population of 2,578 souls in 1951 and 5,431 souls in 1961. There are 541 holdings.

The sanitation and public health work on the whole are satisfactory. There are only 6 female sweepers.

There is one Upper Primary school which is managed by the Committee. There is also a night school for the Harijans.

The Committee maintains one mile of tarred and three miles of unmetalled road.

Holding, latrine and water taxes are in force and the rates are 7½ per cent, 6½ per cent and 4½ per cent respectively.

The table below shows the Receipts of the Committee under different heads from 1957-58 to 1959-60 :—

Serial no.	Heads.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.
1	2	3	4	5
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Municipal rates and taxes ..	5,100.00	6,814.00	4,609.00
2	Other sources	4,836.00	6,637.00	9,769.00
3	Extraordinary Receipts and Debts	Nil	Nil	837.00
4	Opening balance	6,230.00	7,404.00	10,810.00
5	GRAND TOTAL	16,166.00	20,855.00	25,425.00

The table below shows the Expenditure of the Committee under different heads from 1957-58 to 1959-60 :—

Serial no.	Heads.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.
1	2	3	4	6
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Current	Nil	352.00	1,205.00
2	Capital	Nil	620.00	Nil
3	Extraordinary Debts ..	1,200.00	1,242.00	1,011.00
4	Expenditure of Commercial enterprises.	Nil	Nil	Nil
5	Closing balance	7,404.00	10,610.00	15,133.00
6	Wages, salaries and office ..	7,562.00	7,831.00	8,256.00
7	GRAND TOTAL	16,166.00	20,855.00	25,425.00

Notified Area Committee, Pakaur.

Prior to the constitution of the Union Committee, there was a Sanitation Committee which used to look after the sanitation work of the town. The Union Committee was constituted under Government notification no. 705-L.S.-G., dated the 12th April 1944. It was superseded by the Notified Area Committee in October, 1960. It consists of six wards and covers an area of 3 square miles with 1,652 holdings and a population of 10,044 souls according to the census of 1951 and 11,745 souls in 1961. There are 12 elected non-official members and one official member.

All the drains are *kutcha*. The Notified Area Committee maintains 3 miles long metalled and 7 miles long unmetalled roads. There has been a marked decline in the conditions of the road since 1938 as no repair work has been taken up. There are 3 Boys High schools, two Girls High schools, 6 Middle schools and 3 Adult Education Centres under the management of the Notified Area Committee.

There are 148 street electric bulbs. The length of the net work of the electricity has 7 miles and 526 houses got electric connections during 1961-62.

The Government has taken up the schemes for the supply of drinking water.

Holding tax, latrine tax and taxation on per head population are in force which are as follows :—

Holding Tax—

Pucca houses .. .. Re. 1.00 to Rs. 5.00 per month.

Corrugated and tiled houses .. Re. 0.25 to Re. 1.00 per month.

Latrine Tax .. .. Rs. 2½ per cent.

Taxation on per head population .. Re. 0.72

The table below shows the annual income of the Committee from different sources since 1956-57 to 1962-63 (till November 1962) :—

Serial no.	Sources of Income.	1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.	1962-63.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	Income.							
1	Governments grants	Nil	1,200.00	750.00	Not available.	Not available.	5,000.00*	5,000.00**
2	Loans taken from the Government	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	5,000.00	..	..
3	Income from taxation, etc. ..	Not available.	1,200.00	1,207.00	Not available.	5,000.00	10,660.00	990.00
4	Public donation	Not available.	Not available.	270.00	Not available.	Not available.	Not available.	Not available.
5	Closing balance	Not available.	Not available.	181.00	Nil	1,810.70	6,729.00	..
	Expenditure	Not available.	1,040.00	1,026.00	Not available.	3,189.00	4,841.00	1,927.00

*Grant for construction of wells for Local Self-Government Department.

**Grant for drainage and sewerage system.

†To meet initial expenditure.

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Union Committees.

There are three Union Committees, i.e., Godda, Jamtara and Rajmahal functioning in the district.

Godda Union Committee.

This Union Committee came into existence on the 15th August 1950. It has got an area of 5 square miles divided into 5 wards, with 700 holdings and a total population of 5,000 souls according to the census of 1951 and 7,500 souls in 1961. There are 6 elected and 3 nominated commissioners.

It receives an income of Rs. 3,600.00 per year from different taxations, Rs. 750.00 from the District Board of Santal Parganas and Rs. 500 from the Government as grant. The average annual income and expenditure are Rs. 4,800.00 and Rs. 3,400.00 respectively. It maintains 1 mile of metalled and 4 miles of unmetalled roads. There are only *kutcha* drains in existence within the jurisdiction of the Union Committee.

Jamtara Union Committee.

Prior to the formation of the Union Committee under Government notification no. 704-L.S.-G., dated the 12th February 1944, there was a Sanitation Committee which used to look after the sanitation work of the town. This Sanitation Committee was formed in the year 1923 at the initiative of the then Subdivisional Officer.

The Union Committee covers an area of 675.35 acres with 814 holdings and a total population of 7,000 souls according to the census of 1951 and 6,722 in 1961. The Union Committee consists of four wards with four elected and two nominated commissioners. Daily sweeping of roads, clearance and removal of refuse by refuse cart, brushing of *pucca* drains, etc. are the main functions of the Union Committee. There are 21 scavengers (males and females) employed by this Union Committee.

The main sources of water-supply for drinking purposes are public wells, tanks, etc.

Dumka-Jamtara-Rupnarayanpur Road passes through Jamtara covering approximately $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles within the area of the Union Committee. This is a metalled road. It has also got $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long unmetalled road under its jurisdiction. There are 63 street electric points. One public park is attached to the high school which is known as Davis Park.

The table below shows the figures of Government grants, average annual income, expenditure, etc., different years between 1956-57 and 1962-63 (till November, 1962) :—

Serial no.	Heads.	1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Government grants for the improvement of Communication, Public Health and Medical Relief.	565.00	644.00	692.00	692.00	750.00	790.00
2	Dearness allowance to low paid employees out of the grants given by the Government.	Not available	Not available	Not available	4,140.00	5,358.00	5,364.00
3	Average annual income ..	Not available	Not available	11,018.00	11,613.00	1,250.00	12,606.00
4	Average annual expenditure ..	Not available	Not available	Not available	12,055.00	12,935.00	12,448.00
	Closing balance	Not available	Not available	1,782.00	1,340.00	555.00	713.00

Rajmahal Union Committee.

Prior to the establishment of Rajmahal Union Committee the sanitation work was carried on by a Sanitation Committee. The Sanitation Committee was replaced by the Union Committee in 1953. Its jurisdiction extends to one square mile, with 635 number of holdings and a total population of 7,000 souls according to the Census of 1951 and 6,801 souls in 1961. It has 4 wards and there are 4 elected and 2 nominated commissioners and one Vice-Chairman. The Assistant Health Officer, Rajmahal looks after the public health and the sanitation arrangements.

Sanitation in general is satisfactory. The Committee maintains about 28 sweepers.

Holding tax is in force and varies from house to house, i.e., mud houses Re. 0.75 per quarter, *pucca* houses Re. 1.00 to Rs. 15.00 per quarter and latrine tax Rs. 1.12 per quarter.

The table below shows the annual receipts and expenditure of the Committee under different heads from 1958-59 to 1961-62 :—

		Receipts.				
		1958-59.		1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
Serial no.	Heads.	Recurring.	Non-recurring.	..	..	..
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	From taxes ..	Nil	Nil	..	..	..
2	Grants from Government	2,250.00	1,304.00	..	..	..
3	Average annual income from all sources.	7,789	..	..	..	..

District Board.

When the District Board was first constituted, it had 32 members excluding the Chairman who was the Deputy Commissioner. Out of those 32 members, 6 were nominated, i.e., 5 officials (4 Civil

Subdivisional Officers of Dumka Sadar, Pakaur, Godda and Rajmahal subdivisions respectively and the District Inspector of Schools) and one non-official Muslim, and the rest 26 were non-official elected members. Of the elected 26 non-official members, one was Muslim, six Santals, one Paharia and the remaining were Hindus.

The District Board was superseded (under sub-rule I of Rule 38 (*b*) of the Defence of India Rule, vide Government notification no. 5173-L.S.-G., dated the 11th December 1942) for one year and the Deputy Commissioner was vested with the powers of the Board. A Special Officer was appointed to manage the affairs of the District Board. The supersession, however, continued from year to year until the date of election of the office-bearers of the newly elected Board, which took place on the 25th August 1947 The newly elected Board had an elected Chairman and a Vice-Chairman. It has to be mentioned here that this was for the first time when a non-official Chairman had been elected. Altogether there were 32 members of the Board, out of which five were nominated official members, i.e., four Subdivisional Officers (Sadar, Pakaur, Rajmahal and Godda), three nominated non-official members (one lady, one Paharia and one Muslim) and the 24 elected members.

This Board continued till the 14th September 1958 with certain changes in the Executive, due to the resignation or otherwise of the Chairman. This District Board along with the other District Boards of the State were superseded by the State Government as per notification no. 8189-L.S.-G., dated the 12th September 1958. The Board vested in the State Government. The Deputy Commissioner took over the charge of the Board and ran the affairs till a Special Officer was appointed under notification no. 2632-L. S.-G., dated the 11th March 1959. The Special Officer took over the charge of the Board on the 17th July 1959. The post of the Special Officer of the District Board was redesignated as Administrator in Government notification no. 8067-L.S.-G., dated the 1st September 1961. The Administrator is still carrying on the work of the Board.

The duties and the powers of the District Board are very wide. The Board has to maintain roads, bridges and ferries, dispensaries for both men and livestock, Primary and Middle schools, cattle pounds, etc., rural sanitation and water-supply are the responsibility of the District Board. The Board is entitled to levy certain types of taxes and cess for meeting the expenditure and receive subsidies from the Government for the same purpose.

The Board has one District Medical Officer of Health and a subordinate staff to look after the public health and sanitation.

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Details of the work done by the District Board in this connection will be found in a separate chapter. The work of the Board in connection with veterinary hospitals, dispensaries and education has also been mentioned separately. There were 110 Middle, 400 Upper Primary and 432 Lower Primary schools maintained and 37 Middle, 14 Upper Primary and 10 Lower Primary schools aided by the District Board during 1961-62. As per Government notification no. L.-G.-1-053/54-LE.G.-471, dated the 10th March 1954, the District Education Fund was created from April, 1954 under the Board and a separate post of District Superintendent of Education was created who became its operator.

There are 25 Dak Bungalows in the district which are maintained by the District Board. The bungalows are meant for the touring officers of the District Board and the State Government. The bungalows can also be occupied by tourists on payment of some fees.

The table below shows the road mileage maintained by the District Board :—

Year.	Metalled.	Unmetalled.	Village roads.
	Mileage.	Mileage.	Mileage.
1951-52	81	953.9	498.0
1952-53	78.8	901.5	498.6
1953-54	79.8	762.1	428.6
1954-55	55	729.2	498.6
1955-56	56	693.7	483.7
1956-57	56	661.3	478.6
1957-58	56	660.2	478.6
1958-59	56	660.2	478.6
1959-60	56	647.2	478.6
*1960-61	28.63	652.18	567.47
1961-62	30.25	652.18	879.94

The maintenance of the roads is under the Engineering Section of the Board. The Engineering Section consists of a District Engineer with a subordinate staff.

* Some roads were taken over by the Public Works Department.

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The table below shows the Receipts (under different heads) of the District Board from 1956-57 to 1961-62 :—

Serial no.	Heads.	Year.					
		1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Land Revenue	15,031	5,384	35,347	5,347	5,512	5,500
2	Provincial Rates	1,53,786	1,23,256	1,38,663	3,32,564	3,71,564	3,03,964
3	Interest	4,451	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
4	Law and Justice	756	47	46	31	Nil	Nil
5	Education	7	102	Nil	2	Nil	Nil
6	Medical	87,291	44,190	30,494	47,490	47,724	44,559
7	Public Health	1,16,765	3,19,371	1,68,743	2,62,552	1,77,085	3,20,897
8	Veterinary	2,656	1,628	2,740	1,945	2,546	844
9	Miscellaneous	1,35,697	1,02,271	2,32,708	71,154	1,01,352	94,714
10	Civil Works	9,26,863	3,24,543	3,04,538	13,57,759	7,31,783	7,18,785
11	Debts, Deposits, Advances, etc. ..	3,07,768	1,72,155	1,10,338	83,013	1,92,439	4,16,664
12	Total receipts excluding opening balance.	17,51,070	10,92,947	10,23,617	21,61,857	16,29,987	19,05,927
13	Opening balance	4,96,104	8,15,033	5,06,520	6,44,187	18,83,127	20,10,431
14	Grand Total of Receipts ..	22,47,174	19,07,980	15,30,137	28,06,044	35,13,114	39,16,358

The statement showing the Expenditure (under different heads) of the District Board from 1956-57 to 1961-62:—

Serial no.	Heads.	Year. 1956-57.	1957-58.	1958-59.	1959-60.	1960-61.	1961-62.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1	Provincial Rates	1,610	644	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
2	General Administration ..	56,265	54,581	41,036	27,605	45,831	49,323
3	Police	Nil	2,146	4,401	Nil	690	3,960
4	Education	1,408	28,114	Nil	15,625	28,019	70,000
5	Public Health	2,51,688	2,71,833	2,51,143	2,63,211	2,87,857	3,02,884
6	Medical	1,21,461	1,15,211	84,930	75,296	84,417	85,911
7	Veterinary	18,901	15,404	11,270	19,240	8,367	649
8	Superannuation, Allowance and Pensions.	4,818	5,155	5,152	4,637	5,745	5,754
9	Stationery and Printing ..	11,789	17,226	18,393	16,030	21,120	23,751
10	Miscellaneous	11,644	8,704	1,033	4,580	8,753	9,315
11	Civil Works	6,81,336	7,23,761	3,79,993	3,98,986	6,82,657	11,90,250
12	Debts, Deposits, Advances, Stock, etc.	2,71,220	1,58,682	88,598	97,707	3,29,225	4,44,364
13	Total expenditure	14,32,141	14,01,460	8,85,950	9,22,917	15,02,682	21,86,161
14	Closing balance	8,15,033	5,06,520	6,44,187	18,83,127	20,10,432	17,30,197
15	Grand Total	22,47,174	19,07,980	15,30,137	28,06,044	35,13,114	39,16,358

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Gram Panchayat.

The *Gram Panchayat* or *Gram Sabha* is an old indigenous institution in some parts of the country. In Bihar also the village *Panchayats* existed long before the establishment of the British power in India although their functions varied in different areas. Usually, the *Gram Panchayats* were more associated with the solution of the social problems and were not normally entrusted with the collection of rent for the *zamindars* or for rendering justice—Civil or Criminal. The tempo of the working of the *Gram Panchayats* usually depended on the local *zamindars*. It was the *zamindars*, who were responsible for the decline in the importance of the *Gram Panchayats*. Under the Permanent Settlement, the *zamindars* became very powerful even in the matters of law and order. In the early days of British Administration the *zamindars* in Bihar were also entrusted with a part of the police work and used to maintain *Chaukidars* and often ran *zamindary* police thanas parallel to the police thanas in other areas run by the Government. With the creation of a powerful class of *zamindars* and highly centralised system of administration at the district headquarters, there was very little scope for the functioning of the *Gram Panchayats*. Even before the British power was established in India the *Gram Panchayats* had started declining because of weakness of the ruling power and increase of authority of the *zamindars*. The development of the means of communications also lessened the importance of the *Gram Panchayats*. Any aggrieved person could make a complaint to the thana headquarters or to the subdivisional headquarters and his legitimate grievances were redressed. All this contributed to the breakdown of the village community life.

It is doubtful if the *Gram Panchayats* that existed in Bihar before the British established their power in India looked after the rural sanitation, public health, education, etc. As mentioned earlier there was a *Panchayat* of village elders who would occasionally meet and pull up the social delinquents and give a rough and ready justice to some criminal offenders if the parties approached them or were amenable to their orders. The character of the State was of the type of a Police State and the village *chaukidar*, as the representative of the Police Administration in the village, became a very important person. A village *chaukidar* had a lot of nuisance value and he could easily implicate others. He was an almost all purpose agent of the Government. If there was to be a census of wells, palm trees or livestock, it was the *chaukidar* who had to report the statistics of the village. He had to distribute the cholera or the malaria pills. The *chaukidar* again represented the law and order for and on behalf of the administration. It is the overall prestige and power of the *chaukidar* that

reflected the character of the Police State type of administration.* It has to be remembered that in Bihar villages there was no revenue agent of the administration.

Under Act VI of 1870 an attempt was made to associate the *Panchayats* with the working of the *Chaukidari* system. The provision of the Act was extended to the rural units to secure the co-operation of the villages. But they were mere agencies for the assessment and collection of *Chaukidari* taxes. There was no other vital link of the villages with the administration. As Mr. R. C. Dutt, I.C.S., the great economist, scholar and administrator observed in his presidential address at the session of the Indian National Congress in 1899 "there was practically no living touch in the village administration between the rulers and the people and the only link between the administration and the people in civil administration was the hated link of the police. The police, as mentioned before was the link even for social matters, educational problem or for the distribution of quinine or for carrying on vaccination." With the great nuisance value of the police naturally the people were not well inclined towards them. That is why, Mr. R. C. Dutt had advocated that the village union should be made the real centre of village administration, but Dutt's wise suggestions were not accepted by the British Government.

The report of the Royal Commission on Decentralization in 1909 made the following observations :—

> "That the foundation of any edifice which will associate the people with the administration must be the village as being the area of much antiquity than the new administrative creations and one in which people are known to one another. And it is most desirable alike in the interests of decentralization and in order to associate the people with the task of the administration that an attempt should be made to constitute and develop village Panchayats for the administration of local affairs."

The Commission suggested a certain allocation of funds out of land-cess, of receipts from village cattle pounds to the village *Panchayat* and recommended the reconstitution of the village *Panchayat* with powers to try petty civil and criminal cases, to look after minor village works, to control primary schools and to manage fuel and fodder reserves. In 1915, the report of Bengal

*These are the general observation on the *Chaukidar*. In this district the evolution of the *Chaukidari* system as depicted elsewhere has been somewhat different. The *Chaukidars* are under the Pradhans.

District Administration Committee also recommended that *Panchayats* should be re-invested with the supervision and control of *Chaukidars* operating within their local jurisdiction. The Committee made the following suggestions :—

(*i*) To reform local bodies on the principle of indirect elections beginning from the village upwards.

(*ii*) To entrust local defence to village *Panchayats* with powers of taxation to meet local needs.

Many experiments had to be tried before the British Government were driven to the conclusion that the old *Panchayats* must be resuscitated in some form or another. It was, however, not till 1920 that an earnest effort was made by the Provincial Government to resuscitate the village *Panchayats* in the light of the broad principles enunciated in the Government of India Resolution of 1915. As a result, in 1920 the Village Administration Act was passed to revive the old institution of the village assembly. It, however, did not make much headway.

The Indian Statutory Commission in its report published in 1930 (commonly known as the Simon Report) appreciated the importance of the Village *Panchayats* and observed that the *Panchayat* movement had not made any marked progress. It mentioned that the village *Panchayat* was of special interest and importance as being an attempt to recreate the village as a unit of Local Self-Government.

A critical study of the historical factors will show that probably it was not possible for the British Government at the beginning of the establishment of their power to take steps to revive the village *Panchayats*. This was so because the backbone of the village *Panchayats* had already been shattered. The realisation that the *Panchayats* should be revived in some form or the other came to the British Administrator quite early but there was a long period of avoidable hesitation. As the administration was a centralised one, they took steps first to introduce Local Self-Government in the urban area through municipalities, etc. The Local Self-Government ideas were also made popular through the District Boards and after a certain amount of progress had been achieved, it was decided to take up the village *Panchayats*. Certain experimental measures had already been taken before the British Administration came to an end on the 15th of August, 1947.

The extension of the *Panchayats* and the wave of enthusiasm with which the elections were fought just before the country got her independence made it quite clear that the villages could no longer be ignored. One of the secrets of the success of the Congress

Party was the emphasis on the importance of the villages. The early Congress leaders had taken care to shape the public opinion of the citizens of the urban areas. The Congress Movement under Gandhiji took the fight for independence to the villages and the Congress Party was voted to victory in an overwhelming manner in Bihar and in various other provinces through the votes of the villagers. It was felt that without a revival of the *Panchayat Raj* in some shape or the other, the independence that had been won would have had little significance to the millions living in the villages. The organisation of village *Panchayats* was made one of the directive principles of the State Policy in the written Constitution of India. Article 40 of the Constitution lays down that the State shall take steps to organise the village *Panchayats* and endow them with such powers and authority so that they could function as units of Local Self-Government.

The task of the revival of the *Panchayats* was wisely left to the States and was not made a Central subject. The Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 was passed and received the assent of the Governor-General on the 12th June 1948. This Act partially confirms the recommendations made in the Report of the Bengal District Administration Committee in 1950. The Act, however, does not cover all the recommendations either of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation or of the Bengal District Administration Committee. The Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 1947 cannot be said to be a new product nor can it be said to confer wider powers and duties which were contemplated in 1904 and later on in 1909 by the Royal Commission on Decentralisation and in 1950 by the Bengal District Administration Committee.

Normally, a *Panchayat* is formed to cover an area, which has a total population of 4,000 persons. Usually the number of villagers within the radius of two miles is grouped into one *Panchayat*. The *Gram Panchayat* is mainly an elective body and is headed by a *Mukhiya*, who corresponds to the President of the scheme proposed in 1904 representing the executive authority of the *Panchayats*. The *Mukhiya* is assisted by an Executive Committee consisting of eight members, four of whom are elected and four are appointed by the *Mukhiya*. While appointing the members of the Executive Committee, the *Mukhiya* is required to take into consideration the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and females. The term of the office of *Mukhiya* or a member of the Executive Committee would vary from three to five years according to the gradation of the *Gram Panchayats*.

There is a panel of nine *Panches* or members with a head known as *Sarpanch*. Four *Panches* are elected and four *Panches*

are nominated by the joint meeting of the *Sarpanch*, elected *Panches* and all the elected members of the Executive Committee excluding the *Mukhiya*.

A person is considered disqualified for election, nomination or appointment as *Mukhiya* or a member of the Executive Committee, *Sarpanch* or *Panch*, if such a person—

(*a*) is not a subject of India,

(*b*) is in the service of the Central or State Government or any local authority,

(*c*) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind,

(*d*) is under 25 years of age, and

(*e*) does not reside in the *Gram Panchayat* area for at least 180 days in the aggregate in a calendar year, has been convicted by a criminal court, is a leper or a person suffering from tuberculosis or is in the arrears of any tax, toll and fee.

The Government may remove the *Mukhiya* or any other member of the Executive Committee for misconduct, incapacity or neglect of duty on the recommendation of the prescribed authority.

Finance Resources.

The *Gram Panchayat* has been empowered to raise taxes such as professional and property taxes. The other source of income of the *Gram Panchayat* is the grant sanctioned by the Government. An initial grant of Rs. 50 to each *Gram Panchayat* has been sanctioned by the Government. 409 *Gram Panchayats* have been empowered to collect rent on commission basis. In 1961-62, the *Gram Panchayats* collected Rs. 986.29 from property tax and Rs. 10,927.49 from labour tax, etc.

Administration of Justice.

Gram Kutcheries of the *Gram Panchayats* have been given certain powers to administer justice. The first duty of the *Gram Kutchery* is to try and bring about a compromise. Failing a compromise, the *Gram Kutchery* takes up the trial and it is expected that justice will be given in a cheap, quick and efficient manner. It was expected that witnesses will dispose truthfully in the village courts and much of the formalities will be cut out. The lawyers are not allowed in *Gram Kutcheries*. It was also expected that the

judicial function of the *Gram Kutchery* would lead to a lesser number of complaints before the Magistrate. But as a matter of fact this expectation has not been fulfilled. It has been found that villagers still prefer to go to the Subdivisional Magistrates' Courts. Usually, the litigants allege that the *Sarpanch* is not impartial. The elective principle forming the basis of the constitution of the *Gram Panchayats* is said to have vitiated partially most of the *Gram Panchayats*. Groupism based on caste and other considerations is said to have even affected the dispensation of justice.

The statement given later will show the number of cases tried and suits disposed of by *Gram Kutcheries* from 1959-60 to 1962-63 (up to November, 1962).

Gram Panchayats.

There are 41 *Anchals* in the district under which 410 revenue *halkas* or units and 666 notified *Gram Panchayats* have been formed. Out of 12,150 villages in the district 11,702 have been covered by the notified *Gram Panchayats*.

The District Panchayat Officer who is a Gazetted Officer, is the administrative head of this institution and works under the superintendence and control of the Deputy Commissioner. He is also under the administrative control of the Director of the *Gram Panchayats*. The District Panchayat Officer manages the work with the assistance of 21 Supervisors, 8 Instructors of Village Volunteer Force, besides 658 *Panchayat Sewaks*.

Section 26 of the Bihar Panchayat Raj Act provides for the organisation of the Village Volunteer Force in the villages under the command of the Chief Officer. There are 599 Chief Officers in the district (February, 1963). All able-bodied males of the villages between the age-groups of 18 to 30 could be the members of the force. In any emergency the Village Volunteer Forces are to protect the village from dacoits, fire, epidemic, etc. Till December, 1962, 16,350 members of the Village Volunteer Forces were trained in this district under the guidance of the Chief Officers. The main functions of the Instructors are to organise night patrolling and to impart training to Village Volunteer Force. The *Panchayat Sewaks* are at the lowest level of the *Panchayat* organisation and are paid Government servants. They assist the *Mukhiya* in maintaining registers and statistics in rent collection and they also act as a bench clerk of the *Sarpanch*.

TABLE I.*

Year.	No. of notified Gram Panchayat.	No. of cases filed.	No. of cases pending from previous year.	Total no. of cases (Total of cols. 3 and 4).	No. of cases disposed of—					
					Compromised.	Acquitted.	Convicted.	Dismissed.	No. of cases sent to or called by S. D.O. before. judgement.	Pending.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1959-60	666	3,685	..	3,685	2,403	282	885	115	..	..
1960-61	666	8,047	..	8,047	3,488	2,152	273	1,307	..	827
1961-62	666	1,986	827	2,813	845	952	249	264	..	503
1962-63 (till November, 1962).	666	867	503	1,370	586	100	52	247	132	153

*Statement supplied by the Gram Panchayat Office, Santal Parganas.

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TABLE I—*contd.*

Year.	Total no. of cases (Total of cols. 6 to 11).	No. of cases in which appeals against the bench was preferred to full bench.								
		Pending from previous year.	Preferred during the year under report.	Total.	Compro-mised.	Allowed.	Modified.	Dis-missed.	Pending.	Total.
1	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1959-60	3,685	..	..	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
1960-61	8,047	..	261	261	62	45	26	49	79	261
1961-62	2,813	79	..	79	65	5	5	4	..	79
1962-63 (till November, 1962).	1,270	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

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TABLE I—*concld.*

Year.	No. of suits disposed of by Gram Cutchery.						No. of suits in which appeals against the orders of Gram Cutchery were filed in full bench.					
	Compromised.	Decreed.	Dismissed.	Sent to Munsif before judgement.	Pending.	Total of cols. 22 to 26.	Preferred during the year under report.	Total.	Compromised.	Allowed.	Dismissed.	Total.
1	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
1959-60 ..	694	1,266	3	..	..	1,963	3	3	2	1	..	3
1960-61 ..	866	792	352	12	452	2,474	111	111	51	32	28	111
1961-62 ..	2,665	343	771	..	1,323	5,102	..	..	..	..	..	..
1962-63 (till November, 1962).	201	69	53	8	140	471	..	..	..	..	..	..

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Historical Background

The Santals have a spoken language but initially no written script. They have a rich folk-lore, songs and riddles which have been preserved from generation to generation. They have strong common sense and though mostly illiterate have a very good idea of the days in the week and month, direction and distance. When the first provisional census was taken in 1869 they could give account of themselves by putting knots on strings. They knew the direction where certain stars would rise and the stars were their guide in journeys. Simple and joyous they have always been very hardy and when occasion arises they could put in a lot of physical labour. With bows and arrows they have the courage to face tigers and other wild animals. Initially a wandering people and dependent on the jungles for their livelihood they later took to the rudiments of agriculture and knew how crops could be raised. They always had a clear idea as to how a child is born and in this knowledge they are far superior to many other tribes.

But it is a regrettable fact that none of the Hindu or Muslim rulers ever tried to give them the background of literacy or education in the usual sense. The Santals and the other hill tribes were treated as uncivilised and fit for working as field labourers or for clearance of jungles but they were never thought of as human beings who could also learn languages and write. The absence of the strong rule over this tract was one of the reasons why both during the Hindu and Muslim rule there was no attempt to give them education.

The credit of bringing education to the doors of Santals in the remote corners of the district goes to the early British administrators and Christian Missions. When Cleveland was sent out to put down the unruly and the so called wild Santals and Paharias he did the job first with the military but he realised that they must be won over more by sympathy and human treatment than by the rule of the bullet. He understood that the great energy and natural love for fight in the Santals and Paharias should be canalised properly and he organised a battalion of the Hill Rangers. It was an instance of Cleveland's sound judgment that he named as the first native commandant a chief named Jourah.

With a view to increase the efficiency of the corps of Hill Rangers, and to promote the happiness and civilisation of the hill

people a school was established for them at Bhagalpur in 1822. This school was originally started by the sagacious Cleveland, but had been neglected by his successors in office. It was revived by Lord Hastings. The details of this school have been covered in the *Bhagalpur Gazetteer.*

The Christian Missionaries after their advent made pioneer work for the modern system of education in the district. An article "Missionary Education in the Santal Parganas", by Dr. K. K. Basu published in the journal of the Bihar Research Society* will be of great help to those who are interested in the history of the spread of education in Santal Parganas. In the fifties of the last century the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society undertook to establish schools among the Santals. It appears that both the Governor of Bengal and Governor-General-in-Council took keen interest in this respect. The Court of Director's Despatch dated 19th July, 1854 emphasised on imparting of secular education amongst the uncivilised tribe. Wide latitude was given to the Church Missionary Society or other body of persons for the establishment of the educational institutions among the Santals. The Government rendered liberal assistance to them subject to the inspection of the officers of the Education Department.

Mr. Harrison, Inspector of Schools of the Bhagalpur Division was directed to select sites for schools in consultation with Rev. Mr. Droese of the Church Missionary Society. It appears that in 1860 there were 14 such schools with a total number of 487 boys and 23 girls. These schools were at Tildiah, Bansgoorie (Bansloi), Dearh in Godda Pargana, Pooree Dhumeree, Chunchi, Borio, Namghani, Dhumnee and Sahibganj in Damin Pargana, Rampur in Dhansian Pargana, Nowdyah, Raghunathpur and Dullu in Lakshmipur Pargana. Besides Mission schools Government also established schools in the district.

The boys were instructed in Kaithi and Devanagri reading, writing in simple Nagri, Accounts and Elementary Geography. Bengali was also popular with the Santals. The educational staff kept by the Church Missionary Society consisted of one Superintending Master at Rs. 10 per mensem, and 14 teachers from 5 to 9 rupees. It appears that some Santal boys were trained for teachers to their countrymen at a monthly cost of Rs. 3.50 per mensem.

Further it appears, however, that the Court of Directors disapproved the scheme for the education of the inhabitants of Santal Parganas through the agency of the Church Missionary Society. The disapproval was on the ground that it identified "the Government in measures prosecuted by the Missionaries and so exposed

*J.B.R.S., Vol. XXX (June, 1944).

the arrangement to the risk of perverted misconstruction". In their opinion "the Santal though equally debased in ignorance and devoid of rational religion with the races referred to in their Despatch of 1854 differed from them in one important particular. They did not occupy separate regions or tracts of country so as to form isolated communities locally separated as well as socially distinct from the Hindu and Mussalman populations. They were, on the contrary employed freely by zamindars for jungle clearance and for other agricultural purposes and were thus often located in close vicinity with well inhabited towns and villages and mixed with the general population in many of the relations and concerns of life".

It was in view of the cautious policy of the Government which led the Court of Directors not to take any step, that might have the appearance of uniting the Government with the Missionary Society in converting any class of population to Christianity. The Government Officers were strictly enjoined to abstain from any attempt to introduce religious subjects in any form. Thus some institutions on secular lines were instituted having their geographical positions remote from those established by the Missionaries. It appears from the extract of the report of Rev. Droese, dated the 4th May, 1857 (Bhagalpur) sent to F. J. Halliday, Secretary to the Government of Bengal that the Missionaries strongly objected to the establishment of such schools by Government at places where they had established.

The Commissioner in his letter dated Bhagalpur, 30th August, 1857 emphasised the importance of establishing Government institutions in the Santal land. In his opinion the question that seemed important was not which was best a Mission school or a Government one but providing education to Santals. The Santals were very much in need for 3 Rs. education. It was beyond the power of the Mission Society to establish schools and provide native teachers in the vast extensive lands of the Santals. Such teachers had yet to be educated and converted.

"No person who was not a native of or acclamatized by long residence to the Sonthal Districts could stand their unwholesome climate during the rains.

"Secondly, in view of the wrongs endured by the Sonthals from mere ignorance of writing there was nothing wrong in communicating to them the first elements of knowledge by means of heathen teacher and thereby attempting to remedy a positive evil at the risk of incurring a future one*."

Thus it appears that the Government was alive of the necessity of imparting education to Santals on the secular line.

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*J.B.R.S., Vol. XXX (June, 1944).

The modern system of education may be said to date back to the advent of the Christian missionaries in 1862. The missionaries did a lot of pioneer work in spreading education among the aboriginals in the midst of which they were principally working. They had set up schools in far-flung impenetrable tracts. In those days communication had not developed. There were no fast moving vehicles in the interior of the district as there were hardly any roads.

By 1867 they had started a few elementary schools for the education of the aboriginals. The missionaries took up the work of writing out text books for the Santals in their language. They also prepared grammar. Many of their works are still the authority on Santali literature and grammar. They also compiled story books and particularly Santal folk tales. The work of Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud, a Norwegian, chief authority on the Santali grammar and language needs particular mention.*

The work of the Mission was mostly confined to the south of the Bansloi river. By the end of the nineteenth century a number of schools and boarding houses were opened at different places for the education of both boys and girls. Very soon the activities of the Missions spread throughout the district. The medium of teaching in Mission schools was Santali and English. In these schools vocational education was imparted and the aboriginals were also taught a few handicrafts and trade such as rearing of poultry, bee-keeping, gardening, weaving and carpentry. The impact of the missionaries brought a lot of change in the outlook of the converted aboriginals in particular. They gave up drinking to some extent and led a more regulated life with a slightly better standard. The Missions also helped them to improve their financial condition. As the administration previously partronised the Missions to a great extent, the Christian Santals were easily absorbed in Government services.

Regarding the progress of education the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has mentioned as follows :—

"The figures in the marginal table will sufficiently illustrate the progress made in education since 1873, when a definite system of vernacular education was first introduced. In comparison with the other three districts in the Bhagalpur Division, Santal Parganas is still backward in respect of literacy, but gradual progress of the people in this direction is evident from the fact that in 1901, 2.5 per cent of the population was literate, while in

Year	Schools	Scholars
1873	116	1,169
1891	881	18,164
1901	1,002	22,755
1908	1,030	27,326
1936	1,364	55,193

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938), p. 85.

1931, 2.9 per cent was literate (male 5.3, females 0.5). The aboriginal people of the district are no longer apathetic towards education. They now show a positive liking for it.

"Of the 1,364 schools shown in the above table, 1,228 are public institutions, 5 being under the management of Government and 16 under the management of the 4 municipalities in the district. 1,084 schools are aided by Government and the local bodies and 123 are unaided institutions. They include 10 High English schools, 27 Middle English schools, 3 Middle Vernacular schools, 1,171 Primary schools, 7 Training schools, 2 Technical and Industrial schools, 1 Agricultural school, 3 *Madrasas* and 4 Sanskrit tols. There are also 136 private institutions, some of which do not comply with the departmental standard. Out of the 1,171 Primary schools, 91 are *maktabs* or Primary Urdu schools and 12 are Sanskrit *pathshalas* or Primary Sanskrit schools. Out of 136 unrecognised private schools, 16 are Primary Urdu schools, and 1 is a Primary Sanskrit school, That figure also includes a school at Sater near Deoghar belonging to the Arya Samajists and a school at Deoghar belonging to the Ram Krishna Mission, and a National school called Tilak Vidyalaya at Madhupur. The rest are ordinary Primary schools mainly teaching the 3 Rs. The number of pupils on the roll of the unrecognised (private) institutions was 4,101 and that of the public or recognised schools was 51,092 on the 31st March 1936."

During the period from 1936 to 1951 there does not appear to have been much progress. In 1952-53 the number of schools came up to 1,527 only as will be evident from later statistics.

Very great credit is due to the Inspectorate during the first few decades and particularly till the end of the last century for helping in the spread of education. The district was under one Deputy Inspector of Schools and a large number of Sub-Inspector of Schools. The roads were few, the hazards of road journey through jungles infested with wild animals were far too many and the *Gurus* of the Primary schools and the headmasters of the Middle schools had to be constantly checked and encouraged to do their work. There was also a great dearth of qualified teachers and very few teachers from the other parts of Bihar wanted to go to Santal Parganas. This lacuna of qualified teachers was partially met by recruitment from the districts of Bengal (at that time there was no Bihar State). Sri Bhudeb Mukherji, a reputed educationist was the Inspector of Schools for this area for a long time and helped a lot in increasing the number of schools. It was he who had insisted on Hindi being adopted as the language of the text books for the schools. One of the inspectorates the late Khirod

Chandra Roy Choudhury after his retirement as the Principal of Chittagong College had settled down in Cuttack where also he had worked as the Principal. When the Edward George High English School of Madhupur was facing difficulty and going to be disaffiliated for lack of a qualified headmaster in 1911 he volunteered and worked as the headmaster for more than a year. The zeal of such people was at the bottom of the spread of education in the inhospitable tracts of the district.

Literacy and Educational Standard

The incidence of literacy as mentioned in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas of* 1938 was very low. This was due to the fact that the Adibasis who formed the majority of population had no craze for education. The economic backwardness of the people is mainly responsible as the children could hardly be spared for the schools. In 1901 census only 2.5 per cent of the total population was literate, while in 1931 the incidence of literacy was enumerated at 2.9 per cent of the total population (males 5.3, females 0.5).*

A perceptible increase was recorded in 1951 census when the incidence of literacy rose to 8.26 per cent of the total population, i.e., 11.68 for males and 4.76 per cent for females. According to the Provisional Census figures of 1961 the total number of literates accounted for 3,86,313 (3,22,390 males and 63,923 females) out of the total district population of 26,74,354. Thus the percentage of the literates comes to 14.45 (23.85 per cent males and 4.83 per cent females) in 1961. The rise of female literacy seems to be very poor. **

The educational standard of the people is also much lower in comparison to that of the other districts of Bhagalpur Division. The statement below will show the educational standard of the people as recorded in 1951 census:—

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 357.

**The final detailed figures for 1961 census have not yet been published. The Brochure of 1961 census Provisional Population Figures published by the Superintendent of Census Operations in August, 1961 was consulted (page 9 may be seen).

Educational standard.	Total.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Literate	1,96,446	1,49,485	46,961
Middle school	15,050	12,396	2,654
Matriculate	3,096	2,620	476
Intermediate	509	461	48
Degrees or Diplomas—			
Graduate	172	152	20
Post-graduate	46	42	4
Teaching	304	290	14
Engineering	45	45	..
Commerce	5	5	..
Agriculture	32	32	..
Veterinary	13	13	..
Legal	52	52	..
Medical	75	63	12
Others	40	40	..
Total	2,15,885	1,65,696	50,189*

The above statistics show that the educational standard of the people is rather low. The figures of the educational standard after middle stage seem to be very poor. The educational standard among the females is much worse. But it has to be borne in mind that the statistics are of a period when the number of High schools was very small and there was no college. There has been an appreciable increase in the number of Secondary schools since 1951 and simultaneously better progress seen. The first college was started at Deoghar in 1951.

The break-up figures of educational standard collected in 1961 census have not yet been published. But from the total figures of literacy of 1961 it appears that the number of educated people had increased from 2,15,885 (1,65,696 males and 50,189 females) in 1951 to 3,86,313 (3,22,390 males and 63,923 females)** in 1961.

**District Census Handbook, Santal Parganas*, published in 1956, p. 136.

**Brochure of 1961 Census Provisional Population Figures, published by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Government of Bihar, p.9.

Spread of Education among the Backward Classes

The majority of the population comes from the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes. They live mostly in forest or hilly areas and are economically very poor. The elders think that the children should add to the income of the family by working in the fields or jungles.

As mentioned before, the Christian missionaries did pioneer work in the nineteenth century for education among them. Primary and Middle schools were also started by the Government later. Boys of these classes were liberally admitted but there were very few stipends for them. The recruitment of the aboriginals in the last two Great Wars as combatants and non-combatants gave a great impetus to the spread of education among the Adibasis. The recruits imbibed a lot from their contact abroad and maintained a higher standard of life and wanted their children to be educated. The aboriginal people of the district are thus no longer apathetic towards education.

Regarding the incidence of education among the aboriginals and depressed classes (now represented by the Scheduled Castes) the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) mentioned as follows :—

"*Education of aboriginals.*—The number of aboriginals under instruction on 31st March 1936 was 16,121 of whom 3,062 were Christians. The number of all kinds of schools specially meant for the aboriginal races was 449 with 15,806 pupils on the roll. Of these, 3, viz., those at Pathra, Taljhari and Kaerabani, are Middle English schools for males, 2 at Maharo and Dharampur are Middle Vernacular schools for girls and 1 at Pakaur is Middle English school for girls. The three boys' Middle English schools are aided by the District Committee of the Santal Parganas and the Middle Vernacular and Middle English schools are aided by Government. The Training schools at Taljhari and Kaerabani are specially meant for Santal teachers. The former is managed by Government. Of the two Government aided training classes for women at Deoghar and Maharo, the one at Maharo is specially and the one at Deoghar is chiefly meant for the aboriginal female teachers. The Industrial school for males at Benagaria and the Lace school for women at Pathra and the Agricultural school for women at Pathra are also meant for the aborigines. The remaining are all Primary schools. 2 Middle, 2 Upper Primary and 18 Lower Primary scholarships are reserved for the benefit of the aboriginal pupils. The Special Inspecting staff for the inspection of schools for the aborigines consists of one Special Deputy Inspector and 6 Sub-Inspectors of

Schools—all belonging to the aboriginal tribes. The work which is being done by the missionaries in connection with the education of the aborigines in the district is praiseworthy. They possess some of the best Middle and Primary schools both for aboriginal boys and girls and have created a written Santali language and published many books suitable for use in Primary schools. Education is spreading very rapidly amongst the Santals and they are being appointed as Sub-Deputy Collectors, Kanungoes, Assistant teachers of Government High schools, Sub-Inspectors of Police, Excise and Education and in other posts.

"*Education of the Depressed Classes.*—There were 24 Primary schools with 694 pupils on the 31st March 1936, specially meant for these classes. There were also 1,771 more pupils belonging to these classes in the ordinary schools in the district. The District Committee, Santal Parganas, make special provision for the opening of more special schools for these classes and also for paying capitation allowances to the teachers in ordinary Primary schools teaching pupils of these classes. Two Lower Primary scholarships have at present been reserved for them."*

After independence the State Government of Bihar set up a Welfare Department which makes special provisions for the education of such children. Besides the Christian Mission schools, residential schools were opened in the tribal areas by the Government. The *Santal Pahariya Seva Mandal,* an institution liberally helped by the State Government working for the welfare of the aboriginals maintains now two High schools, four Middle schools and 30 Primary schools. Some schools are located on the hills where the Sauriya Pahariayas live. The Government maintain six residential basic schools, primary-*cum*-welfare centres and one junior basic school for the boys of the Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes. Some hostels have been constructed by the Welfare Department for the students of the Backward Classes. The details of such educational activities of the Welfare Department have been given in the text on 'Public Life and Social Services'.

The statement below will show the progress of education among the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes from 1957-58 to 1961-62.

**District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938), pp.360-361.

These figures refer to the schools exclusively meant for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes :—

1957-58

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes				Scheduled Castes			
	No. of schools		No. of scholars		No. of schools		No. of scholars	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
High schools	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	9	4	1,590	638	..	..	..	..
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	419	7	19,354	2,330	24	1	767	214

1958-59

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes				Scheduled Castes			
	No. of schools		No. of scholars		No. of schools		No. of scholars	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
High schools	1	..	287	..	..	..	..	..
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	9	5	1,743	709	..	..	..	..
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	421	7	21,927	2,667	24	1	798	274

1959-60

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes				Scheduled Castes			
	No. of schools		No. of scholars		No. of schools		No. of scholars	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
High Schools	1	..	316	..	..	..	..	..
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	14	5	1,879	716	..	..	..	..
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	442	12	24,974	4,032	24	1	813	287

1960-61

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes				Scheduled Castes			
	No. of schools		No. of scholars		No. of schools		No. of scholars	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
High schools	1	..	318	..	..	..	..	..
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	18	6	2,391	868	..	..	..	..
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	445	15	26,630	4,637	25	4	856	307

1961-62

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes				Scheduled Castes			
	No. of schools		No. of scholars		No. of schools		No. of scholars	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
High schools	2	1	439	108	..	..	..	..
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	22	6	2,848	890	..	..	..	..
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	446	16	27,187	5,010	25	5	873	311

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Besides the special schools the statement below will show the number of boys of the Scheduled Tribes and Castes attending the general schools which are scattered all over the district :—

1957-58

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes (No. of scholars)		Scheduled Castes (No. of scholars)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5
Multi-purpose Higher Secondary and High schools.	544	63	268	2
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	1,296	287	558	58
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	24,919	3,247	5,312	889

1958-59

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes (No. of scholars)		Scheduled Castes (No. of scholars)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5
Multi-purpose Higher Secondary and High schools.	575	55	359	17
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	1,409	401	1,790	200
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	28,597	4,875	5,663	1,393

1959-60

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes (No. of scholars)		Scheduled Castes (No. of scholars)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5
Multi-purpose Higher Secondary and High schools.	1,302	93	341	21
Middle and Senior Basic schools	5,304	181	1,602	181
Primary and Junior Basic schools	30,926	8,124	5,013	1,012

1960-61

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes (No. of scholars)		Scheduled Castes (No. of scholars)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5
Multi-purpose Higher Secondary and High schools.	1,372	64	344	22
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	5,760	1,285	3,078	636
Primary and Junior Basic schools ..	38,630	5,783	9,379	1,522

1961-62

Kind of Institution	Scheduled Tribes (No. of scholars)		Scheduled Castes (No. of scholars)	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	2	3	4	5
Multi-purpose Higher Secondary and High schools.	1,434	79	369	13
Middle and Senior Basic schools ..	6,211	1,373	3,363	682
Primary and Junior Basic schools	39,817	6,417	9,737	1,761

These statements indicate a marked increase of students among these classes. While in 1936 the aboriginal scholars in all kinds of schools were 16,121 only, the number had gone up to 30,474 boys and 6,008 girls in special tribal schools and 47,462 boys and 7,869 girls in general schools in 1961-62. The total number of scholars of the Scheduled Castes (previously known as the Depressed Classes) in 1961-62 in special schools was 873 for boys and 311 for girls and in general schools 13,469 for boys and 2,369 for girls as against only 694 pupils in 1936.

The spread of education among the tribals, the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes of the district which is now definitely on the increase is due to a tremendous drive on the part of the Government and non-official agencies. The provision of free education and various types of stipends and the allurements of the reservation

of a certain percentage of posts in Government services have been very helpful. It can no longer be said that these classes are now apathetic to education.

Spread of education among women.—It is understood that the first batches of indigenous girls of the district to receive education were those who went to the Mission schools. Now girls' education has made considerable progress although the incidence of literacy is far below that of the neighbouring districts. The Bengalis who settled in parts of Santal Parganas were also great pioneers of female education. Karmatanr, Madhupur and Deoghar became the favourite places for long stay and settling after retirement of a galaxy of Bengali educationists and social reformers like Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Raj Narain Bose, Debi Prosanna Roy Chaudhury, Khirod Chandra Roy Chaudhury, Aurobindo Ghose, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji and others. Naturally they took a good deal of interest in starting schools for boys and girls. Jogendra Nath Bose, a literary giant in Bengali, was the Headmaster of R. Mitra H. E. School at Deoghar. Those scholars helped in spreading female education. Several European administrators took keen interest in the matter. Their efforts went a long way in liquidating the conservatism of the inhabitants towards female education.*

Regarding girls' schools the Old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has mentioned as follows :—

"Altogether 71 girls' schools are in existence on 31st March, 1936, viz., 1 High school at Deoghar—managed by the Church Missionary Society, 2 Middle English schools at Pakur managed also by the mission authorities, 2 Middle Vernacular schools at Maharo and Dharampur also managed by the missionaries, 10 Upper Primary schools and 52 Lower Primary schools. There were also 2 Training schools for girls attached to Deoghar High and Maharo Middle Vernacular schools, and 1 Industrial and 1 Agricultural school at Pathra which were also managed by the mission authorities. Besides the girl students in the purely girls' schools there were girls studying in boys' schools. The total number of girls under instruction was 6,090 or 0.59 per cent of female population of the district. The Industrial and Agricultural schools at Pathra have since been closed."

Female education of the district had marked a steady development during the post-independence period. Both girls' schools and scholars witnessed strident progress. The Government have taken ambitious schemes for the development of female education. Besides facilities afforded for co-education in colleges and schools there are

*Swami Vivekananda had visited Deoghar in 1889, 1890 and again in 1898 (Swami Vivekananda Centenary Souvenir, Patna, 1964.)

a large number of girls' schools. The statement below will show the progress of girls' education in the district since 1952-53 :—

Year	No. of schools					
	Multi-purpose	Higher Secondary	Post-Basic	High schools	Middle and Senior Basic	Primary including Junior Basic
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1952-53 ..	..	..	..	2	13	45
1953-54 ..	..	..	..	2	13	50
1954-55 ..	..	..	..	2	13	52
1955-56 ..	..	..	..	2	13	58
1956-57 ..	..	..	..	2	15	76
1957-58 ..	..	..	..	3	15	80
1958-59 ..	1	..	..	2	15	130
1959-60 ..	1	..	..	4	15	250
1960-61 ..	1	..	..	5	19	255
1961-62 ..	1	..	..	6	19	284

Year	No. of scholars					
	Multi-purpose	Higher Secondary	Post-Basic	High schools	Middle and Senior Basic	Primary including Junior Basic
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1952-53 ..	..	..	..	628	1,692	7,723
1953-54 ..	..	..	..	650	2,368	8,837
1954-55 ..	..	..	..	675	2,692	10,016
1955-56 ..	..	..	..	429	2,854	11,300
1956-57 ..	..	..	..	821	3,620	16,176
1957-58 ..	..	..	..	892	3,817	16,394
1958-59 ..	295	..	..	848	6,937	27,603
1959-60 ..	290	6	..	1,000	7,863	35,682
1960-61 ..	314	17	..	1,108	9,253	37,140
1961-62 ..	328	13	7	1,193	9,758	37,368

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Thus the total number of girls' schools in 1961-62 comes to 310 and the scholars reading in the institutions 48,667 or about 3.5 per cent of the total female population. Thus in course of about two and a half decades the number of scholars increased from 6,090 in 1936 to 48,667 in 1961-62 or from 0.59 per cent to 3.5 per cent of the total female population of the district. Besides, a few girls are also reading in the colleges of the district. In Higher Secondary and Post-Basic schools there are no separate managements for girls but in those institutions there is co-education. Co-education in other schools and colleges is also a common feature.

General education.—In the field of general education the district has made steady progress at all the stages from colleges to Primary schools. There was not a single college in the district when the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* was published in 1938. The first college as mentioned elsewhere was established in 1951. The post-independence era witnessed a marked improvement in this direction. There are now five colleges located at Dumka, Deoghar, Sahibganj, Godda and Jamtara. A Women's College was also started at Deoghar in 1962. Public donation was at the bottom of the opening of these colleges. They are now affiliated to the Bhagalpur University, with headquarters at Bhagalpur. The opening of colleges in all the subdivisional headquarters except Pakaur had provided avenues for higher education to the people of the district. There are now ample facilities for college education to the boys of the district. There had been enormous increase in the number of schools of all denominations. The figures for 1961-62 mentioned below will indicate the overall progress.

The number of High schools, Multi-purpose, Higher Secondary and Post-Basic schools stood at 69 for males and 7 for females and 19,549 boys and 1,534 girls were getting instruction in them. The number of Middle schools for boys and girls was 156 and 18 respectively with 30,404 and 7,704 boys and girls respectively ; the Senior Basic schools for boys numbered 89 and one for girls with enrolment of 12,412 and 1,784 for boys and girls. The total number of Primary and Junior Basic schools for boys and girls stood at 2,413 and 284 for boys and girls with total enrolment of 1,28,069 and 37,368 respectively.

Primary schools.—There were 1,109 Primary schools for boys and 62 Primary schools for girls, attended by 41,988 and 2,289 pupils respectively, on 31st March 1936.* Some of the Primary schools have been now converted into Junior Basic schools, and so Primary school also includes Junior Basic school. The number of Primary and Junior Basic schools in 1952-53 was 1,357 for boys which rose to 2,413 in 1961-62.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 358.

पटना

The statement below will show the progress of Primary schools from 1952-53 to 1961-62* :—

Year	Number of schools	Number of scholars
1952-53 ..	1,357	56,632
1953-54 ..	1,402	57,810
1954-55 ..	1,613	61,905
1955-56 ..	1,776	68,224
1956-57 ..	1,935	73,424
1957-58 ..	1,951	75,203
1958-59 ..	1,950	90,903
1959-60 ..	2,097	1,04,550
1960-61 ..	2,248	1,21,633
1961-62 ..	2,413	1,28,069

A comparison of the statistics of 1936 with those of 1961-62 indicates the progress that has been made so far.

Middle schools.—The number of Middle schools in 1936 was 32, with 4,218 Pupils reading in them. 4 schools were for girls with 497 pupils. The number of Middle schools rose to 98 in 1952-53. The Senior Basic schools are also included in the Middle schools. The statement below will show the progress made in Middle school education from 1952-53 to 1961-62 :—

Year	Number of schools	Number of scholars
1952-53 ..	98	13,044
1953-54 ..	117	15,503
1954-55 ..	143	17,642
1955-56 ..	168	20,459
1956-57 ..	179	22,552
1957-58 ..	181	22,612
1958-59 ..	202	31,357
1959-60 ..	210	34,287
1960-61 ..	232	39,787
1961-62 ..	245	42,786

The number of Middle schools for boys in 1936 was 28, with 3,421 pupils which as will be evident rose to 98 schools, with 13,044 pupils in 1952-53. In the next decade the number of Middle schools for boys rose to 245, with 42,786 pupils. This figure excludes the girls' Middle schools which have been discussed previously.

Secondary schools.—There are 4 Multi-purpose schools in the district. Besides Multi-purpose schools there are 5 Higher Secondary schools, one Post-Basic and 59 High schools. The statement below will show the progress made under Secondary schools from 1952-53 to 1961-62 :—

*The statements of Primary schools, Middle , High schools and other schools are of boys only, the girls' schools have already been covered.

Year	No. of Multi-purpose schools	No. of scholars	No. of Higher Secondary	No. of scholars	No. of High schools	No. of scholars	No. of Post-Basic schools	No. of scholars
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1952-53	..	..	..	..	22	6,146	..	..
1953-54	..	..	..	..	29	7,293	..	..
1954-55	..	..	..	..	31	7,906	..	..
1955-56	..	..	..	..	31	8,406	..	..
1956-57	..	..	..	..	33	8,659	..	..
1957-58	..	..	..	..	36	9,691	..	..
1958-59	4	2,682	3	940	36	9,083	1	102
1959-60	4	3,136	3	973	40	10,204	1	127
1960-61	4	3,280	4	1,548	43	10,972	1	182
1961-62	4	3,275	5	2,276	59	13,998	1	199

The inauguration of the Multi-purpose and the Higher Secondary schools from 1958-59 made a reorientation in the system of Secondary education. The changes were necessary in view of the starting of three-year degree course in the Universities of Bihar. The pre-university education is now imparted in the Multi-purpose and the Higher Secondary schools. The difference between the Multi-purpose and Higher Secondary school is that in the former the syllabus includes crafts also whereas in the latter only general education is imparted. The Multi-purpose schools are 5—2 in Dumka, 2 in Deoghar and 1 in Godda. The former Dumka Zila school, along with the Rajkiya Kanya Vidyalaya, Dumka has been upgraded to Multi-purpose schools. The Higher Secondary schools, 5 in number, are located as follows :—2 in Godda, 1 in Deoghar, 1 in Pakaur and the remaining 1 in Jamtara. The Post-Basic school is at Buxra near Godda.

In Secondary education the High schools recorded a large increase. There were 22 High schools for boys and 2 for girls in 1952-53 which rose to 59 for boys and 6 for girls in 1961-62. The previous District Gazetteer (1938) mentioned that there were only 10 High schools.

Colleges

There are four affiliated degree colleges in the district at Dumka, Deoghar, Godda and Sahibganj. All the four colleges are affiliated to the Bhagalpur University. Recently from the session of 1962-63 a college has also been started at Jamtara. A brief history of some of them is given.

Santal Parganas College

The college was started in 1954 as a Secondary College up to the Intermediate standard. It was first located in the Zillah School building. Now it teaches up to the degree standard, both in Arts and Science, and has its own magnificent building at Karharbil, about 2 miles from Dumka by the side of the Dumka-Pakaur Road. It has acquired about 37 acres of land. A welfare hostel has been constructed, adjacent to the college building with accommodation for 100 students. The college is affiliated up to pass course in B.A. and for Honours in Hindi and Mathematics. In B.Sc. (Pass) standard it is affiliated in Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Botany and Zoology; Honours teaching is provided only in Mathematics. The strength of the students during the session 1962-63 was 677—641 boys and 36 girls. The college has a National Cadet Corps in two platoons, consisting of 123 cadets in 1962-63. It is the Headquarters of 'C' Company of the 4th

Bihar Battalion, Bhagalpur. Besides it has a National Cadet Corps (Rifle) Company with the authorised strength of 400 cadets.

Deoghar College

The Deoghar College was opened in 1951 and at first taught up to Intermediate standard only. It was raised up to B.A. standard with effect from the session 1954-55. The Science section up to Intermediate standard was started in 1956 with a donation of Rs. 50,420 by Shri Anukul Chandra Thakur. The college was affiliated in science up to Intermediate standard in Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics and Biology from the session 1956-57. It was also granted affiliation up to B.A. Honours standard in English, Hindi, Sanskrit and Bengali in 1959-60. After the creation of the Bhagalpur University the college was affiliated to this university.

The Bihar Government made a grant of Rs. one lakh for the Science section and Rs. 1,50,000 for the construction of the college building in 1952. There were only 107 students in the rolls when the college was started in 1951-52. The number of students increased to 770 in 1959-60 out of which 32 were girls. There is a National Cadet Corps.

Godda College

The Godda College was started in 1954. In 1955 it was affiliated to the Bihar University up to Intermediate standard in Arts and up to B.A. standard in 1956. The Science teaching was started in 1960. The college has its own building and has about 38 acres of land. With the creation of the Bhagalpur University it stands affiliated to this University. There were only 41 boys on rolls when the college was started in 1954-55. The strength of students was 223 out of which 5 were girls in 1958-59. The number of students is increasing day by day. A welfare hostel for the accommodation of the students of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was constructed by the Government; it has accommodation for 50 students. The college is in the midst of tribal areas, so it caters to the needs of the tribal boys for getting higher education. The college has not been in a good condition.

Professional and technical schools

With the expansion of the educational institution and development work the necessity for professional and technical schools was felt. Such schools have been started practically in the course of the last decade. A college for training teachers has been started at Deoghar from the session 1962-63. There are five Training schools for teachers, four for males and one for females. They are

located at Hansdiha (Sadar subdivision), Ghormara (Deoghar subdivision), Pabia (Jamtara subdivision), Gama (Godda subdivision) and the school for lady teachers is located at Jasidih (Deoghar subdivision). These five institutions are run by the Government and train teachers for the Primary and the Middle schools. The Christian Mission, aided by the Government run two such Training schools for girls, one at Maharo near Dumka and the other at Deoghar. Facilities for teaching Hindi to teachers, who do not know Hindi, are provided at a Hindi Training Centre at Mihijam.

The development schemes for Community Development Blocks require a large number of Village Level Workers. For training the future Village Level Workers and others an agricultural training school was started at Dumka in 1954. It has provision to accommodate 80 trainees. The school is under the charge of a Superintendent who is an employee of the Agricultural Department.

There is a great demand for skilled artisans, carpenters, electricians, etc. To impart training in various crafts there is a technical school at Madhupur run by the Central Government. There is a similar technical school at Dumka under the State Government. Mohulpahari Hospital run by a Christian Mission has a Nurse's Training school subsidised by the Government.

School for the cultivation of fine arts

There are no exclusive schools for fine arts, music, dancing and painting. It may, however, be mentioned that music and dancing are almost indigenous in the aboriginals, particularly in the Santals. There is, therefore, excellent material which could be conserved and developed.

In some of the schools, and particularly the schools for girls, there is a provision for teaching music. There are three subsidised centres (*Kala Kendras*) one at Maheshpur (Godda subdivision), the others at Deoghar and Dumka for propagation of music and dancing. The Education Department has sponsored two parties (*mod mandalis*) at Dumka and Deoghar for displaying cultural performances in the rural areas. One of the aim is to revive the traditional folk dance and music of both the Adibasis and non-Adibasis.

Oriental schools and colleges

There is no oriental college for higher teaching in the Sanskrit and Persian. The Bihar Vidyapith, a residential school on the old indigenous *ashram* line was started at Mihijam in 1922 by

the Ram Krishna Mission. The school was shifted to Deoghar in 1923. The institution has been covered elsewhere.

Adult literacy

In a district like Santal Parganas any programme for adult literacy has its particular importance although beset with difficulties. The first Congress Ministry in Bihar formed in 1936 sponsored a mass literacy scheme. Before much progress could be achieved the Congress Ministry resigned and the work was suspended.

After the attainment of independence there has been a particular emphasis to push on the work of literacy. The Welfare State has covered the district with Community Development Blocks, which are charged with the work in this connection. The blocks try to implement the objective of social education through special staff by the Social Education Organiser and the Lady Social Education Organiser. A large number of centres has been created for the adults, both males and females. Night schools, welfare centres, youth clubs, community centres, etc., have been organised in the rural areas and adults are encouraged to read and write with the aid of teachers and the audio-visio equipments. Cinema shows are organised and radio sets are distributed for creating zest to attain literacy. The total number of literacy centres during 1961-62 was 725 out of which 27 were exclusively for females. The number of enrolment of adults under instruction during 1962 has been reported to be 32,048 males and 1,921 females. It may be mentioned here that without a certain amount of the spirit of dedication in the Social Education Organisers the scheme cannot succeed. Sustained efforts are necessary for there is ample scope for pushing up the work in the interior, and particularly in the inaccessible parts of the district.

Cultural, literary and scientific societies and periodicals

There is no scientific society. Excepting the literary societies in schools and colleges there are no cultural and literary societies of the intellectuals. Government subsidy has been extended to Dumka Sahitya Parishad and Pankaj Gosthi that have been formed in Dumka for cultural pursuits. It cannot be said that these societies have been able to do much so far.

There is no scientific periodical published in the district. Two weekly periodicals are published from Deoghar, with a small local readership. They are *Prakash* in Hindi and *Hor Sambad* in Santali language but in Devanagri script.

Libraries

There is no museum or botanical or zoological garden. The district has, however, some forest nurseries run by the Forest Department. There are excellent rose gardens at Deoghar, Madhupur, Karmatanr, Jamtara and Mihijam. Some of these gardens particularly at Deoghar have been evolving new type of roses. The cut-roses and most of the flowers of the Calcutta market are supplied from these gardens. It cannot be said that there is no scope for a small botanical garden within the district. There are various species of indigenous plants that require rare conservation and encouragement in a botanical garden. One of them is *Sarpagandha.*

For a far-flung district the number of 78 libraries given by the District Education Officer appears to be small. It is a fact that there are a few private libraries with valuable old books. There has been no investigation as to the old historical records in the possession of private individuals. Some of the old families have probably got various types of old historical records.

The State Library at the district headquarters has a fine building and about 9,448 books in various languages but little patronised. The readership is mostly confined to the newspapers. About 70 persons on the average visit the library every day. The library does not seem to be very popular.

The district Information Centre, which provides a number of newspapers and magazines attracts a comparatively larger number of people.

General

From an enquiry in July 1964 it was found that although the Bhagalpur University had thrown open teaching in the University for English, Mathematics, Economics, Psychology, History, Physics and Chemistry the incidence of students for M. A. classes from Santal Parganas was very poor. Science teaching in the colleges has had no expansion because of the want of money. Excepting Deoghar and Dumka colleges the other colleges were not in a prosperous condition. The two rival girls' colleges in Deoghar had been amalgamated and yet there were only 34 students. Instead of producing more science graduates the number is likely to go down.

CHAPTER XV

MEDICAL AND PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

Survey of Public Health and Medical Facilities in Early Times

There is not much information of any survey of public health and medical facilities in this district in the period prior to British rule. The Adivasis of Santal Parganas who form a large percentage of the population, had been utilising some of the indigenous roots, leaves and herbs commonly found in the jungles for medical purposes.

Sorcery had a tremendous hold on the Adivasi population and was widely resorted to for preventive and curative purposes. The *Ojhas* or the witch-doctors were in great demand. Even widescale failure of crops or epidemic of the cattle would be attributed to the witch and the witch-doctor was supposed to have antidotes by propitiating particular spirits. Incantations of the witch-doctors have still a great hold on the people.

The *Vaids*, following the Ayurvedic system of medicine, and the *Hakims*, following the Unani system of medicine had some hold on the non-Adibasis. After the British power was consolidated the allopathic system was introduced by the administrators. The hospitals and dispensaries had allopathic doctors. Homeopathy system is confined to the urban areas and has a small clientele.

When the British administration stabilised, the Civil Medical Authority of the district was made responsible to look after the public health work; under him there were some Government vaccinating inspecting staff, whose duty was to supervise vaccination work as well as to look after other public health work. Occasionally during emergency the State Government used to depute doctors on epidemic duty. The employees of the District Board Committee (now District Board) assisted the doctors on epidemic duty. During vaccination season, i.e., from November to March every year a large number of licensed vaccinators used to be temporarily appointed for carrying on vaccination work in the rural areas of the district.

The Civil Surgeon at the district headquarters in the early days of the British rule was really meant to serve the Government Officers and their families. The hospital and the dispensaries catered to the medical needs of the officers and the subordinates

on Government work—whether they belonged to the civil or the military. Usually the Civil Surgeon used to be a European and some Indian doctors used to be posted under him. The Civil Surgeon belonged to the I.M.S. or I.M.D. cadres. Slowly there grew up a Sadar hospital with beds and the Subdivisional hospitals with fewer beds. The District Road Cess Committee was followed by the District Board and came to be entrusted with the sanitary problems of the rural areas. Slowly a number of dispensaries administered by the District Boards grew up. There was another source from where medical aid, particularly in the rural areas, was given. The Christian missionaries, to whatever denominations they belonged took up medical aid as a part of their work. The Mission hospitals have given very substantial medical aid even where the District Board dispensaries had a limited service. Some of them are still continuing their useful service.

The Health Department of the State Government as well as of the District Board had to expand the sections. There was all along a certain amount of co-operation and overlapping. Whenever required the health staff are deputed by the State Government to meet public exigency such as *mela* sanitation or an epidemic control. As in the other districts, there was a District Medical Officer of Health, an Assistant Health Officer in each subdivision, a Sanitary Inspector for each group of *thanas* and a Health Inspector for each *thana*, besides 2 Disinfectors for each *thana* and a Vaccinator for every 30,000 of the population. This has ensured epidemic control and resulted in the reduction in the incidence of epidemic. Details of the working of the Health Department have been given in the text on General Administration.

Vital Statistics

The village *chaukidars* report the vital statistics to the *Gram Sewaks*, which are then compiled. Naturally the accuracy of the available vital statistics is open to question. The village *chaukidars* are the source and their level of intelligence or curiosity for investigation is poor. The diagnosis of the cause of death reported by the village *chaukidars* cannot be relied on for if there is any doubt it is generally attributed to fever. When the *chaukidar* is himself indisposed the reporting agency probably stops functioning altogether for an indefinite time. The reporting agency may be better where the *Gram Panchayats* are well established and public co-operation is more forthcoming. A second source of the vital statistics is the census which is taken once in a decade. Occasional health surveys are conducted in a particular area but they are not very helpful for generalisations as they are usually confined to

a particular objective, like the food habits of the Santals or the prevalence of a particular disease in a particular area.

The population of the district has steadily increased since 1901 in every census, except in 1921 census which recorded a fall of 83,744 due to the epidemics of Cholera and Small-pox. On the whole birth-rate has always exceeded death-rate since 1945. The vital statistics from 1941 to 1950 are given below* :—

Year.	Births (Registered)			Deaths (Registered)		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1941 ..	38,531	19,869	18,662	28,454	15,706	12,748
1942 ..	24,277	12,343	11,934	17,863	10,026	7,837
1943 ..	12,901	6,644	8,257	12,166	7,132	5,034
1944 ..	19,543	10,332	9,211	22,152	12,758	9,394
1945 ..	28,538	14,805	13,733	26,279	14,844	11,435
1946 ..	32,689	17,025	15,664	25,161	14,233	10,928
1947 ..	27,040	13,915	13,125	26,836	12,667	14,169
1948 ..	24,952	12,898	12,054	18,789	10,755	8,034
1949 ..	28,430	14,524	13,906	16,429	8,832	7,597
1950 ..	23,161	12,139	11,022	19,843	10,596	9,247

The figures of vital statistics supplied by the Civil Surgeon, Dumka and the District Statistical Officer, Dumka, from 1951 to 1962 are as follows :—

Year	Total number of births registered (male and female)	Total number of deaths registered (male and female)
1951	19,331	15,965
1952	21,217	9,754
1953	23,978	13,134
1954	22,313	13,382
1955	23,180	11,402
1956	20,038	10,045
1957	20,296	14,170
1958	14,971	11,961
1959†	N.A.	N.A.
1960	N.A.	N.A.
1961	14,010	7,364
1962	6,588	3,075

**District Census Handbook for Santal Parganas* (1950), page 173.

†The figures from 1959 to 1962 (up to June) are supplied by the District Statistical Officer, Dumka. The break-up figures were not available, Vital statistics were not discussed in the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* published in 1938.

The figures, if correct, show that from 1946 to 1950 the total birth-rate was 11.9 per mille while death-rate was 9 per mille. From 1954 to 1958 both birth and death-rates show a declining rate. The birth-rate came down to 8.60 per mille and death-rate to 5 per mille.

The aboriginals do not have many children. It is commonly believed that they have indigenous herbs which are useful for birth control. The open country in the district has a fairly good climate and a satisfactory health incidence.

Diseases common to the District

Cholera, Small-pox and Malaria are the common diseases of the district. Bowels complaints, Hookworm, Influenza, Ophthalmia and Skin diseases, Filaria and Leprosy in some pockets are also prevalent.

Cholera.—Cholera is a seasonal disease, but the actual period of heavy casualties is not the same every year. The peak months are usually June to August. The disease is more frequent in the non-Damin areas, though occasional outbreaks are reported from the Damin areas as well. The spread of epidemic is due to the taking of contaminated water of the streams that pass by the affected villages. If a village is affected and is on the bank of a stream, the disease spreads rapidly in almost all the villages downstream. More vulnerable subdivisions are Dumka, Deoghar, Godda and Rajmahal*. The worst epidemics on record are those of the following years :—

Year	No. of deaths from cholera
1897	7,107 or 4 per mille.
1906	6,160 or 3.4 per mille.
1908	9,406 or 5.2 per mille.
1919	7,326 or 3.8 per mille.

The years 1897 and 1919 were years of famine and the years 1906 to 1908 were years of successive bad harvests. Cholera also broke out in epidemic form in parts of the district in the years 1916, 1934 and 1935 and carried off 3,274, 3,127, and 3,542 persons respectively; the Deoghar subdivision was the worst sufferer. Occasional congregation of people at *Melas*, fairs and cattle marts leads to bad sanitation and the outbreak of cholera.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas*, published in 1938, page 184.

Melas at Basukinath Dham and Baidyanath Dham had also been responsible for cholera epidemic occasionally. Extra measures are taken for keeping the areas clean and for the supply of good drinking water.

Mortality figures from cholera in the district from 1947 to 1962 are given below*:—

Year	No. of deaths
1947	731
1948	564
1949	143
1950	1,256
1951	307
1952	206
1953	1,165
1954	68
1955	124
1956	362
1957	452
1958	208
1959	N.A.
1960	N.A.
1961	101
1962 (Up to June)	10

Small-pox.—In the Gazetteer published in 1910, Mr. O'Malley mentioned "There are small outbreaks of small-pox every year, but the death-rate since the present system of mortuary returns was introduced has never been as high as 1 per mille except in 1903 when 2,986 persons died representing 106 per mille of the population".

"Since then the number of deaths from small-pox exceeded 1,000 only in the following years :—

Year	No. of deaths
1916	1,074
1926	1,149
1927	1,869
1928	1,356
1935	1,434

*The above figures were supplied by the Civil Surgeon, Dumka, and the latter figures from 1959 to 1962 (up to June) from the District Statistical Officer, Dumka.

Godda subdivision was the worst sufferer during the years 1916, 1928, and 1935 and Pakur during the years 1926 and 1927. The average death-rate during years was only 598.*"

Prevention of small-pox is a problem as the Adibasis are allergic to vaccination. A mass vaccination scheme has been taken up and the rate of attack and mortality has come down now.

Mortality figures from 1947 to 1962 supplied by the Civil Surgeon are given below† :—

Year	No. of deaths
1947	82
1948	220
1949	46
1950	332
1951	1,345
1952	197
1953	58
1954	114
1955	95
1956	202
1957	776
1958	1,237
1959	N.A.
1960	N.A.
1961	17
1962	8

Leprosy.—The incidence of leprosy in Santal Parganas is high. The heavily affected area is Jamtara subdivision. In 1941 a few areas were surveyed. A few leprosy clinics were opened and attached to the District Board Dispensaries at Jarmundi, Asanbani, Kundahit, Pakuria, Nala, Jamtara, Narainpur, Karmatanr and Mihijam.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas,* published in 1938, page 184.

†The above figures were supplied by the Civil Surgeon Dumka, and the latter figures from 1959 to 1962 (up to June) from the District Statistica. Officer, Dumka.

A leprosy survey was carried out in this district in the year 1940-41. The following statement summarises the result :—

SURVEY OF THE WORK DONE IN ALL THE CENTRES DURING LEPROSY SURVEY IN 1940-41.

Name of the villages	No. of villages surveyed	Approximate population	No. of population surveyed	No. of houses surveyed	No. of infected houses	Type		
						Neural	Leprometous	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Asanbani	26	5,289	5,508	1,210	123	113	86	199
Benagaria	18	3,868	3,584	833	77	105	16	121
Maheshpur	10	2,013	1,875	444	15	15	1	16
Pakuria	3	1,083	992	215	20	21	4	25
Jamtara	17	5,317	5,224	907	78	51	54	105
Mihijam	8	4,717	4,607	907	51	24	42	66
Narainpur	16	4,753	4,135	635	45	46	21	67
Karmatanr	12	3,348	3,036	427	21	29	10	39
Nala	18	4,406	4,213	713	94	84	47	31
Fatehpur	19	4,926	4,749	776	67	60	43	103
Kundahit	23	4,847	4,618	670	128	96	73	169
GRAND TOTAL ..	170	44,567	42,042	7,937	739	644	397	1,041

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SURVEY OF THE WORK DONE IN ALL THE CENTRES DURING LEPROSY SURVEY IN 1940-41—*concld.*

Name of the villages.	No. of child leper	No. of adult male leper	No. of female leper	Economic State (M).			History of contract.		
				Rich	Idle	Poor	Villages	Houses	Outside
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Asanbani	64	57	78	177	105	77	23	74	102
Benagaria	25	46	50	..	28	93	40	73	8
Maheshpur	4	7	5	..	4	12	8	7	1
Pakuria	3	16	6	..	9	16	10	15	..
Jamtara	32	46	27	1	91	13	1	51	53
Mihijam	13	30	23	3	35	28	8	15	41
Narainpur	19	26	22	28	16	45	20	29	18
Karmatanr	14	18	7	..	9	30	..	21	18
Nala	36	54	41	8	47	76	53	49	29
Fatepur	23	46	34	12	26	65	24	47	32
Kundahit	39	73	58	14	54	101	60	67	44
GRAND TOTAL	271	419	351	61	424	556	247	450	344

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From the statement it is evident that among the population surveyed 2.4 per cent are lepers. The highly affected areas are (*a*) Asanbani 4.05 per cent of the total population, (*b*) Kundahit 3.5 per cent of the total population. Out of the total number of lepers (1,041) found in the survey, 406 leprometous cases were detected. This gave a percentage of 38.8 per cent but in Jamtara areas the percentage was 53 per cent. It was possible that early neural cases had escaped detection, as the fear of being declared a leper is great in the villages. Even making allowance for this, the percentage of leprometous cases was alarmingly high. The percentage of the child lepers was 26.4. Among the lepers it was found that 43.2 per cent had contacted the disease from the village and 33.2 per cent from outside.

In 1951 another circumscribed Leprosy Survey was carried out in a few villages of Godda subdivision (Paraiyahat Police-station). Among 2,000 persons examined, 75 cases of leprosy were detected. As a result of this survey, a leprosy clinic has been started in the area under the Medical Officer of the local dispensary and a propaganda staff has been placed at his disposal.

The District Board, with the help of Government, opened leprosy subsidiary centre in Maheshpur, Deoghar and Baramasia in 1957.

A leprosy hospital was started at Deoghar in 1885 by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, M.D.,C.I.E. of Calcutta named Rajkumari Leper Asylum to commemorate the name of his wife Raj Kumari Sarkar.* This institution was provincialised with effect from 1st September 1956 by the State Government of Bihar. A Medical Officer from the cadre of Civil Assistant Surgeon was posted. This hospital is provided with hundred beds and its clinic caters the needs of a large number of patients.

The Santal Mission of the Northern Church has been doing good work in fighting the leprosy incidence. They run the Saldaha Leprosy Colony. It has 355 indoor beds. This leprosy institution was founded on 10th March, 1922, by the Danish Civil Engineer and Missionary Mr. Ali Boegh. He got help from his brother Dr. B. Boegh who was a Missionary Doctor, at Benagaria Hospital (now Mohulpahari Hospital).† The founder of the institution came

*A detailed history of this institution, a pioneer in the field has been given in the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pages 191 to 194.

†A detailed account has been given in the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pages 194 to 196.

to India to visit his brother. He was moved with pity at the sight of the persons afflicted with leprosy. He took the challenge and began the work of eradicating leprosy.

The colony is in the hilly areas, 23 miles from Dumka in Kathikund thana. It covers 330 acres of land. In the colony there are 7 villages.

There is an outdoor clinic also at Saldaha and at Tharni Village 6 miles from Saldaha. About 900 patients attend the hospitals and the clinics daily. The work in the colony has been characterised by steadiness and continuity.

In addition to the anti-leprosy work done by the Christian Missions there are three anti-leprosy subsidiary centres, run at Government cost at Baramasia, Deoghar and Maheshpur. Besides this *Santal Paharia Seva Mandal*, a non-official organisation is running a hospital and sub-centres for combating the disease. The aforesaid hospital is located at Fatehpur in Jamtara subdivision. It had 20-beds. Another 20 bedded emergency ward for leprosy patients was constructed during 1961-62 in the same hospital. Besides the hospital at Fatehpur there are anti-leprosy clinics spread over the Dumka, Pakaur and Jamtara subdivisions under the *Santal Paharia Seva Mandal.* The Government allotted a sum of Rs. 90,000 during 1961-62 to the *Santal Paharia Seva Mandal* for meeting 90 per cent of the expenditure in running the hospital and clinics. A centre for the orthopaedic and plastic treatment of the burnt out cases has been opened at Madhupur in November, 1963.

Malaria.—Regarding fever the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) at page 183 mentions as follows :—

> "Malarial fevers are prevalent before and after the rains and are especially common in the low lying country bordering the Ganges, and in the Damin-i-koh portion of the Godda and Pakaur Subdivisions, in localities where the drainage being defective, the land is apt to become water logged and water remains stagnant in hollows and depressions. The greatest number of deaths occur in the Godda subdivision and next to Godda is Dumka and Deoghar. According to Major Pereira who was Civil Surgeon of the district this is due to jungles near habitations as jungles afford protection to Anopheles mosquitoes. The type most commonly met with is intermittent fever, but remittent cases are fairly numerous at the close of rainy season. Eruptive fevers, such as small-pox, measles

and chicken pox are endemic throughout the district and sometimes become epidemic during the hot months preceding the rains. Mortality caused by fever is not very high in this district. From 1892 to 1904, the death-rate was above 20 per cent per mille in only 4 years. In each of the succeeding three years which were years of bad crops the death-rate was 25 per mille and in 1908 it was as high as 30 per mille. From 1909 to 1917 the death-rate was above 20 per mille only in years 1911, 1915, 1916, and 1917. In 1918 it was 32 per mille and in the famine year of 1919 it was as 37 per mille and out of 70,077 deaths, 2,518 were attributed to influenza. In 1920 and 1921, the death-rate was 21 per mille but since 1922, it has always been below 20 per mille and was as low as 14 per mille in 1933. Sometime in 1953 Malaria Control Scheme was started in Santal Parganas. A Malaria Control Unit, with head-quarters at Pakaur started functioning with 4 sub-units at Dumka, Rajmahal, Pakaur and Godda."

During the Second Plan, 2 more Malaria Control Units were opened, one at Deoghar and other at Jamtara. The above units started spraying work. As a result of widespread spraying with D.D.T. there has been a fall in the incidence of Malaria. The National Malaria Control Programme has been changed into National Malaria Eradication Programme since 1958 and D.D.T. spraying operation is being carried out in two rounds every year by the 3 units and 9 sub-units of this district. The names of the units and sub-units are given below :—

Malaria Control Units

(1) Pakaur, (2) Deoghar and (3) Jamtara.

Malaria Control Sub-units

(1) Under Pakaur Units —(*a*) Pakaur, (*b*) Dumka, (*c*) Amrapara and (*d*) Rajmahal.

(2) Under Deoghar Units—(*a*) Deoghar, (*b*) Madhupur and (*c*) Poraiyahat.

(3) Under Jamtara Units—(*a*) Jamtara. The other sub-units under this unit are in Dhanbad district

Malaria cases treated in this district from 1953 to 1958 are enumerated below :—

Year.	Persons treated.*
1953	44,223
1954	38,400
1955	32,601
1956	29,539
1957	25,657
1958	20,296

Other diseases.—Dysentery, influenza, hookworm and filarial fevers are common. Dysentery is more confined to the poorer classes.

Ophthalmia is also prevalent. Plague which was noticed in the last District Gazetteer has now disappeared. There was an outbreak of plague at Sahibganj in 1921 but since then there have been no plague cases.

Public Hospitals and Dispensaries

Organisation

There are two distinct sections: one section is for the preventive side which is known as the Public Health Department and the other section is for the curative side known as the Medical Department. Previously there were two Directorates, one was known as the Directorate of Public Health under the Director of Public Health who had several Deputy Directors and Assistant Directors and there used to be one District Health Officer at the district headquarters. The medical Directorate was under the Inspector General of Civil Hospitals and under him there were Civil Surgeons, the highest medical official at the district headquarters.

With the expansion of both the departments the number of gazetted doctors had enormously increased and it was increasingly felt that there was overlapping and avoidable duplication of work. It was also felt that both the departments would work better if the overall responsibility and supervision were vested in one and the same officer at governmental level, and at district level also there should be one senior doctor who could be entrusted

*No statistics were supplied for the mortality from Malaria in the recent years.

with both the preventive and curative work. It is with this object that the public health and the medical departments have been recently amalgamated abolishing the post of the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and creating a common post of the Director of Health Services for Bihar. The post of Assistant Director of Public Health, Bhagalpur, was abolished and a post of the Regional Deputy Director of Health Services was created for the entire Bhagalpur Division.

A Government Circular no. 11A-3-43 of 1958-59, dated the 3rd January 1959, laid down that the posts of Civil Surgeons in the districts were converted into posts of Senior Executive Medical Officers-*cum*-Civil Surgeon. Henceforth the Senior Executive Medical Officers-*cum*-Civil Surgeons were to be responsible for the efficient implementation, supervision and control of all public health measures, preventive as well as curative.

Duties of the Senior Executive Medical Officer

The Senior Executive Medical Officer is responsible for all medical work in the district both preventive and curative. He is assisted by the District Medical Officer of Health in respect of public health work.

He is the Superintendent of all Government hospitals and dispensaries within his district.

The Senior Executive Medical Officer is also responsible for the enforcement of drug control measures. He is the authority to issue licence for medical shops and also to cancel the same in case of non-observance of prescribed rules.

He exercises no administrative control over the Mission dispensaries but he could inspect them and these institutions welcome his expert advice.

He is expected to inspect all the hospitals and dispensaries incharge of Medical Officers of the status of Assistant Surgeon in the district and all the hospitals at Subdivisional headquarters at least twice a year.

With the expansion of the Health Department activities, the duty and the responsibility of the Senior Executive Medical Officer has also multiplied. Some schemes sponsored by the Centre for the control of small-pox or Family Planning, schemes sponsored by World Health Organisation, or B.C.G. Scheme for Tuberculosis or State sponsored schemes for Family Planning, Child Welfare, Maternity etc., are all the ultimate responsibility of the Senior Executive Medical Officer. As a matter of fact the Senior Executive Medical Officer is expected to attend so many meetings at the

headquarters as well as in the rural areas (Block Development Headquarters and other places), inspect so many hospitals, dispensaries and medical centres that he has hardly any time to do surgical and medical cases even at the Sadar Hospital.

Duties of the District Medical Officer of Health

His services have been placed under the District Board and he is to give advice on technical matters concerning public health, such as control of epidemics, vaccination, sanitation, etc. He supervises the work of the subordinate public health staff, viz., Assistant Health Officers, Vaccinators, Disinfectors, who are the employees of the District Board. He seeks the advice of the Senior Executive Medical Officer in every matter relating to public health and the latter is to report any case of default and mismanagement to the Government.

Hospitals and dispensaries

There are altogether 54 Allopathic hospitals and dispensaries in the district, out of which 40 are run by Government, 10 by the District Board, 2 by the Railway and 2 by the Christian Missionaries. The total number of hospitals with indoor arrangement is 42. A list of hospitals and dispensaries is given below :—

Hospitals maintained by the Government

Name	Total number of beds	Male	Female	General	T.B. Ward	
					Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Dumka Sadar Hospital ..	77	44	23	..	6	4
2. Police Hospital, Dumka ..	15	..	..	15	..	..
3. Subdivisional Hospital, Deoghar	56	26	10	..	6	4
4. Subdivisional Hospital, Sahibganj.	25	15	10	..	..	..
5. Rajmahal Hospital ..	18	12	6	12	..	..
6. Dutta Hospital, Madhupur ..	10	6	4	..	..	..
7. Subdivisional Hospital, Jamtara.	16	8	8	..	..	..
8. Subdivisional Hospital, Godda	42	20	14	8	..	..
9. Subdivisional Hospital, Pakaur	30	10	10	..	6	4

Dispensaries maintained by the Government are at the following places with number of beds specified:—

Kathikund (6), Ramgarh (4), Saraiyahat (4), Sikaripara (4), Gopikandar (4), Jarmundi (6), Jama (0), Masalia (6), Raghunathpur (6), Mohanpur (4), Jasidih (4), Sarwan (6), Sarath (6), Karon (6), Palajori (6), Barhait (4), Barharwa(6), Borio(6), Taljhari (0), Nala (4), Kundahit (6), Narainpur(6), Boarijore (4), Sundarpahari (4), Poreayahat (6), Mahagama (6), Pathargama (6), Hiranpur(4), Amarapara(2), Maheshpur (0), Pakuria (6).

All the beds of the above dispensaries are emergency and non-dieted beds except those of Kathikund State Dispensary.

Dispensaries maintained by the District Board are at the following places:—

Asanboni, Amjora, Dalahi, Nonihat, Burhai, Golkhore, Mundro, Maharajpur, Kasba, Dharampur.

The Eastern Railway maintains hospitals at Madhupur and Sahebganj.

Hospitals maintained by the Christian Missions are at Mohulpahari and Hiranpur.

The details of some of the important hospitals and dispensaries of the district are given below :—

The oldest dispensary is at Deoghar which was opened in 1864 and was maintained by the Deoghar Municipality. It was provincialised in 1947 and is maintained by the State Government. It has 26 beds for males and 10 beds for females. It has T.B. ward also of 10 beds, 6 for males and 4 for females. There is an X-ray plant also. It is located in a substantial *pucca* building detached from other buildings for the treatment of infectious cases. It is provided with quarters for the Medical Officer, Lady Doctor, Nurse, Compounders and other menial staff. There is a separate female hospital within the compound constructed in 1914. A 30-bedded double storeyed building with separate operation theatre and labour rooms is under construction. It will have a paying ward also for upper and middle class people.

In 1865 the Dumka Sadar Hospital was opened and was maintained by the Dumka Municipality. It was provincialised in 1945 and is now maintained by the State Government. It has 44 beds for males and 23 for females. It has a T. B. ward of 10 beds and has an X-ray plant. It has

a *pucca* detached building for the treatment of infectious cases. There is a separate arrangement for outdoor and indoor female patients within the compound. The Dumka hospital was originally located in a stone building to which a small cottage hospital with two beds for treatment of females was added in 1900 by the Zamindar of Lakhanpur, Rai Bahadur Sitab Chand Nahar. The *pucca* building for the entire hospital and quarters was constructed during the years 1928—30. A T.B. clinic in Sadar Hospital is under construction.

Jamtara, Sahibganj, Pakaur and Godda subdivisional hospitals were provincialised in 1955. Out of these four subdivisional hospitals only Pakaur has been provided with a T.B. ward with 10 beds, 6 for male and 4 for female which has been functioning since 1960. In Jamtara hospital a Referal wing hospital has been opened with the assistance of UNICEF.

A list of hospitals and dispensaries which gives detailed information is appended at the end of the chapter.

Community Development Block Dispensaries

There are 32 Community Development Block Dispensaries in the district. Each Dispensary consists of one Medical Officer, one Sanitary Inspector, one Lady Health Visitor, one Auxiliary Health Worker and three Auxiliary Nurses or trained *Dais*.

Health sub-centres have been opened in the various Community Development Blocks to serve the rural areas.

There are three Health sub-centres in each Community Development Block. Santal Parganas district has health sub-centres at Gando, Ranibahal, and Makro in Dumka Block; Bedia Barapalasi and Pargadih in Jama Block; Gandrapur, Sarasdangal and Rajband in Shikaripara Block; Rangabandh, Sadipur and Golamdih in Ranishwar Block; Nawasa, Bara-Chapuria and Mohanpur in Masalia Block; Karbindha, Parna and Sinduria in Ramghar Block; Chaudhary Nawadih, Angwali and Kunjora in Palajori Block; Siktia, Dumeria and Chita in Sarath Block; Dhobana, Baskupi and Nargomunda in Koron Block; Mirzachowki, Banghi and Deopahar in Borio Block, Brindaban, Bandudih and Maharajpur in Taljhari Block; Murli at Kejigram, Mangalhat and Radhanagar in Rajmahal Block; Ranga, Dighi and Attagama in Pathna Block; Garia, Sarash Kunda and Majhladih in Nala Block; Amba, Fatepur and Bagdehri in Kundahit Block; Karmatar, Mihijam and Pattajoria in Jamtara

Block; Basanta Rai, Rajon and Gangta in Pathargama Block; Balbadda, Bhagaiya and Chanda in Meheram Block; Lohandia Gorandih and Rajabhitta in Boarijore Block; Deodaur, Buksara and Raghunathpur in Poreayahat Block; Naraini, Biswaskhari and Chandsar in Mahagama Block; Alubera, Dumerchi and Parenkola in Amrapara Block; Kairachattra, Birkitty and Sahargaon in Maheshpur Block; Barasapdaha, Khojuria and Ba nogram in Pakuria Block; Dumaria, Kunjabana and Litipara in Litipara Block; Narganj, Mohanpur and Lakhanpur in Kathikund Block; Dhamani, Gobindpur and Saptar in Madhupur Block.

Health Sub-centres

Each health sub-centre of Community Development Block is run by one Health Worker, one trained *dai* and one servant. As a preventive measure these centres disinfect wells and houses, give cholera inoculations, vaccinations against small-pox, distribute skimmed milk powder and multi-vitamin tablets free of cost to the needy population in the area covered by each centre. In each health sub-centre outdoor patients are treated free of cost. The Medical Officer incharge of the Block attends the centre twice a week and examines the patients and distributes medicine to them. The Block dispensaries and the health centres have taken medical aid to the rural area. Their popularity depends on the zeal and medical skill of the doctors and their staff and if the Doctor's visits are regular.

Maternity and Child Welfare Centres

To provide better care and medical attention to mothers in both pre-natal and post-natal stages and also to the children from their birth up to a certain age, so far six Maternity and Child Welfare Centres have been started in this district. The centres are located at Dumka, Deoghar, Jamtara, Godda, Rajmahal and Pakaur. At present all these centres are under the supervision of the Senior Executive Medical Officer who is also known as the Civil Surgeon.

Every centre has a Health Visitor and a trained *dai* to conduct labour cases. They also organise baby shows at intervals and distribute prizes to the babies at different places during the year.

Family Planning

With a view to protect the health of mothers and to check the alarming rate of growth of population, a Statewide family planning scheme has been launched. There are family planning centres attached to the Sadar hospital at Dumka and the Subdivisional hospital at Deoghar. Family planning clinics are attached to 20 rural dispensaries and 4 urban dispensaries, including Dumka

and Deoghar. The family planning clinics are also attached to 19 urban and rural health centres in Community Development Blocks in the district. The scheme is in its initial stage and not much work has been done so far. The centres have to give the proper instruction and distribute aids to birth control.

There are four *Ayurvedic* dispensaries at Bhagaiya (Borio Police Station), Basant Rai (Pathergama Police Station), Rohini (Jesidih Police Station) and Aluara (Madhupur Police Station). All these dispensaries are maintained by the District Board. Each dispensary has one *Vaidya*, one Compounder and one servant.

There is only one Tibbi (*Unani*) dispensary at Agloi in Barharwa Police Station. It is also maintained by the District Board. The dispensary has one qualified *Hakim*.

For providing medical facilities to the Paharias living in remote jungle and hilly areas six *Ayurvedic* dispensaries are functioning at Karudih and Sillingi in Dumka Damin, Parikola and Kunjbona in Pakaur Damin and Banjhi and Jonkmari in Rajmahal Damin. The *Vaidyas* incharge of these dispensaries visit twice a month the hilly areas according to a fixed tour programme and offer treatment besides attending to the patients at their headquarters. They have been provided with a pony at Government cost to enable them to cover the hilly areas without much difficulty. A sum of Rs. 55,500 was allotted during 1961-62 by Welfare Department to run these dispensaries including two more located outside the scheduled areas. They are located at Dhamuni and Telo in Godda Damin. Each dispensary is under a qualified *Vaidya*.

Private hospitals and nursing homes

There are only two private Mission Hospitals at Hiranpur and Mohulpahari in the district of Santal Parganas.

Hiranpur Mission Hospital

The Hiranpur Mission Hospital was the anonymous gift of a retiring Judge of the Indian Civil Service who wishing to give a parting gift to the province where he had spent the larger part of his service offered to the Church Missionary Society a sum of money sufficient to build and endow a hospital of twelve beds.

Hiranpur is in the heart of the Santal Parganas thirteen miles from Pakaur and 51 miles from Dumka Town towards East. The hospital was opened in December, 1929 by Sir Huge Stephenson, the then Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

The hospital started functioning since 1929 and had 12 beds for indoor patients. In 1934 the number was raised to forty. In 1937 the strength was increased to sixty. A separate Women's Hospital and a Nurses' house were opened by Sir Murice Hallet in January, 1938. Even the sixty beds now increased to 70 are too inadequate for the cold season rush and the bulk of cataract cases between four and five hundred have to be accommodated on straw beds on the floor. The hospital is well-staffed and equipped.

Mohulpahari Christian Hospital

The Mohulpahari Christian Hospital was opened as the Benagaria Christian Hospital in 1916 at Benagaria by a Danish Missionary, Dr. B. B. Bogh. His successor, Dr. E. Ostergaard from U.S.A. and the Assistant Doctors, Dr. Banerjee and Chatterjee, built the hospital up to a thriving 65 beds capacity. Sponsored by the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches (Norway, Denmark and the U.S.A.) and later by the Northern Evangelical Lutheran Church of India, it was decided to move the hospital in 1951 to Mohulpahari. There it has developed into an institution of 110 beds under the direction of Dr. W. R. Scott, its permanent Superintendent.

In the last ten years the hospital has enlarged its medical staff to four doctors (including one lady doctor), twenty staff nurses, and twelve compounders; added a training school for auxiliary nurses and midwives, built a 12 beds Children's Ward; doubled its maternity department. It now offers general medical, surgical, obstetrical, laboratory and X-ray services on a private, pay-as-you-can basis, a portion of its budget being devoted to the care of charity patients. It receives an annual grant from Northern Evangelical Lutheran Church and capital grants from foreign supporters, mostly in the U.S.A. Visiting specialists in eye surgery, plastic surgery, and orthopaedic surgery have come from the U.S.A. at their own expense to treat the patients at the hospital.

In 1960 the hospital performed 735 operations, of which 464 were major and 271 minor (indoor) besides 912 minor surgical (outdoor).

The hospital has pioneered in endemic goitre prevention by introducing iodized salt into some boarding schools in the area, thus cutting the incidence of such goitres from over 50 per cent to about 5 per cent in teenaged girls.

The hospital has 7 beds for the treatment of Tuberculosis besides which it also supervises a small T.B. Annexe Hospital at Kaerabani, where 7 patients can be treated for T. B. It has a maternity centre and dispensary at Benagaria.

Dutta Charitable Hospital, Madhupur

Dutta Charitable Hospital of Madhupur has to be particularly mentioned as it is jointly run by West Bengal and Bihar Governments. This hospital is dedicated in the name of the late Rajnarain Dutta of Colootola, Calcutta by his son Bolye Chandra Dutta. The donor was deeply moved by the death of a servant of his, who died here without any medical aid. The foundation stone of the hospital was laid by Justice Shri Chandra Madhab Ghosh of Calcutta High Court and it was opened by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1900. The hospital is the only one of its kind in the town of Madhupur. It is mainly maintained by the Administrator General of West Bengal from the interest of a few lacs of rupees deposited in the trust fund known as "Bolye Chandra Dutt" A/C Dutta Charitable Hospital, Madhupur. The Madhupur Municipality gives an annual grant of about one thousand rupees per year. The State Government gave a grant of Rs. 4,000 in 1960. The hospital has a small staff with a doctor who is a Bihar State Government employee. The staff is inadequate.

The finances are poor and there is a chronic dearth of medicines. In 1960 the help of Rs. 4,000 from Bihar Government and Rs. 2,000 from West Bengal Government went a long way to meet the demands.

The hospital was previously provided with 12 diet beds which however, was discontinued since the year 1950-51. Owing to paucity of funds the indoor side has become inoperative.

The operation theatre, office and the compounder's room were electrified in 1961, the cost of which was borne by the Madhupur Municipality.

The statement given below shows the number of outdoor and indoor patients treated in the hospital from the year 1950—1961:—

Year	Number of new outdoor patients treated	Total number of old and new outdoor patients treated	Number of indoor patients treated
1	2	3	4
1950 ..	10,292	29,230	272
1951 ..	8,610	24,302	165
1952 ..	7,883	23,012	116
1953 ..	8,095	20,137	104
1954 ..	7,823	13,801	40
1955 ..	8,247	23,443	36
1956 ..	7,851	21,180	36
1957 ..	8,460	20,862	40
1958 ..	9,764	19,619	21
1959 ..	8,663	19,472	N.A.
1960 ..	8,173	12,609	N.A.
1961 ..	5,648	11,629	N.A.

From the above statement it appears that the number of both outdoor and indoor patients has decreased. In 1950 the number of outdoor patients was 10,292 and in 1961 it was 5,648. There was a decrease of about five thousand patients.

Medical Practitioners

It is not possible to give anything like a correct number of the medical practitioners. There is no system of qualified doctors registering themselves with the district authorities. There is no statutory bar against changing the mode of treatment. There is no obligation for even a qualified doctor to be registered as a member of the branch of Indian Medical Association. Unfortunately again, there is no statutory restriction preventing an unqualified Allopathic doctor practising both medicine and surgery. Regarding the Homœopaths the system of registration of qualified Homœopaths is not obligatory. There are also very good Homœopaths who have become so by sheer experience and private study and may not have any Homœopathic qualifications. There are also absolutely unqualified quack Homœopaths who deal in giving Homœopathic medicines without any experience or proper diagnosis. The same remarks could be made regarding the *Unani* doctors or the *Ayurvedic* Physicians. No research centre exists and hardly any research work is done anywhere in the district.

Sanitation

Sanitation problem in the urban areas is looked after by the Municipalities and Notified Area Committees. The functions have been discussed in the text on Local Self-Government. There are Municipalities at Deoghar, Dumka, Madhupur and Sahibganj. There are Notified Area Committees at Jasidih, Mihijam and Pakaur. These bodies have a limited scope because of financial stringency and the expansion of the urban areas. There is no proper housing scheme or town planning in any of the areas. Madhupur which was once a health resort and has hundreds of well-planned decent houses with compounds is a neglected area and the houses are falling into disrepairs. The solution of the sanitation problem in Madhupur is very much handicapped by non-realisation of dues for most of the holdings which are vacant. At Deoghar the melas and the temples of Lord Siva always attract thousands of pilgrims. The Municipality and the Lodging House Committee which control the temporary places of abode of the pilgrims have a hard task. Dumka was a very pretty spot before but the bazar area has already become congested. Sahebganj is a busy trade centre with narrow and congested roads. There is no underground

sewerage anywhere in Santal Parganas District, and the drains and cesspools are plague spots.

An inadequate supply of piped water is available in Dumka, Deoghar and at Basukinath only. The wells and a few tube-wells cannot supply an adequate quantity of pure water. Rapid and lopsided urbanisation is seen in all the urban areas. It is peculiar that in Deoghar and Madhupur, while some of the developed areas are on the decline and houses are falling down, new residential areas are being opened up.

In the rural areas the District Board and the State Government Departments have assured necessary medical aid although inadequate. One vaccinator is provided for every 30,000 persons. With the provision of a Medical Officer at every Block, it is expected that sanitation problems will be better looked after. The problem of assuring supply of drinking water is being met by the sinking of tube-wells and ordinary wells. The streams and rivulets are a great help.

The solution of the problem of sanitation does not depend on State help only. The people will have to respond. As long as the present incidence of poverty and dirty habits and consumption of low diet continue and these features are all co-related, the sanitation will not improve. The jungles and shrubs have been responsible for an influx of mosquitoes, flies, and various vermins in both urban and rural areas.

It is true that inoculation, vaccination and annihilation of mosquitoes have been taken up on a large scale. But the response from the people has not been encouraging.

Food Adulteration

In early days there was no control over adulterated food articles. Occasionally, the Municipality with the help of the Police and Magistrate used to raid the shops and prevent sale of unwholesome food articles. During the year, 1948 the Bihar Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1947 was enforced to prevent the adulteration of food. Subsequently the Government of India, after due consideration, promulgated and enforced the prevention of Food Adulteration Act (Act no. 37 of 1954). The provisions of the Act, as well as the Rules, are quite strict and if strictly observed might reduce the sale of adulterated food. The table below shows the number of food samples taken from 1951 to 1961 and number of samples found adulterated.

Year.	Number of samples taken	Number of samples found adulterated.
1951	43	7
1952	57	6
1953	47	18
1954	135	36
1955	158	17
1956	29	4
1957	195	60
1958	180	35
1959	176	47
1960	212	55
1961	128	27

Figures of cases instituted and convicted under Food Adulteration Act from 1956 to 1961 of Dumka Municipality are given below:—

Year	Cases adulterated	Cases instituted	Cases convicted
1956	2	2	2
1957	2	2	2
1958	2	1	..
1959	..	..	..
1960	7	Nil	..
1961	9	Nil	..

If we compare the number of adulterated samples with the number of prosecutions, we will find that very little energy has been shown to stop the evil. The law also does not provide for any deterrent punishment. A fine of a few rupees is not adequate for a food adulterer who makes huge profits.

Drug Control

The Civil Surgeon controls the sale of drugs. Sale of spurious drugs is a common feature and the racket is almost countrywide. There is no restriction on the sale of tinned or bottled food, like cereals, jelly, jam, etc.

APPENDIX I

List of Hospitals and Dispensaries in the district of Santal Parganas (1962)

Name of Hospital or Dispensary	Authority mainly responsible for its management	Date of opening	Date when provincialised	Number of beds				Police-Station	Subdivision
				Male	Female	T. B.	General		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Dumka Sadar Hospital.	Government	1865	1-4-1945	44	23	Male 6 Female 4 Total 10	..	Dumka town	Dumka.
2. Police Hospital Dumka.	Ditto	1-4-1953	..	..	..		..	15 Ditto	Do.
3. Kathikund Dispensary	Ditto	1907	12-8-1944	..	..		..	4 Kathikund	Do.
4. Ramgarh Dispensary	Ditto	9-2-1953	9-2-1953	..	..		..	6 Ramgarh	Do.
5. Saraiyahat Dispensary.	Ditto	12-12-1954	12-12-1954	..	..		..	6 Saraiyahat	Do.
6. Sikaripara Dispensary	Ditto	15-12-1954	15-12-1954	..	..		..	4 Sikaripara	Do.
7. Gopikandar Dispensary	Ditto	28-3-1956	28-3-1956	..	..		..	6 Gopikandar	Do.
8. Jarmundi Dispensary	Ditto	1924	12-2-1957	..	..		..	6 Jarmundi	Do.
9. Jama Dispensary	Ditto	July, 1958	..	..	..		..	6 Jama	Do.
10. Masalia Dispensary	Ditto	1-12-1959	..	..	..		..	4 Masalia	Do.
11. Raghunathpur Dispensary.	Ditto	1-2-1957	1-2-1957	..	..		..	6 Raghunathpur	Do.

12. Asanboni Dispensary	District Board	1925	..	..	..		..	..	Ditto	Do.
13. Amjora Dispensary	Ditto	1956	..	..	..		..	..	Ditto	Do.
14. Dalani Dispensary	Ditto	1952	..	..	..		..	..	Masalia	Do.
15. Nonihat Dispensary	Ditto	1960	..	..	..		..	..	Nonihat	Do.
16. Mohulpahari Hospital.	Mission	1916	..	..	..		..	110	Sikaripara	Do.
17. Deoghar Subdivisional Hospital.	Government	1864	1-4-1947	26	10	Male Female	6 4	..	Deoghar	Deoghar.
						Total	10			
18. Mohanpur Dispensary	Ditto	14-9-1951	..	..	..		..	4	Mohanpur	Ditto.
19. Jasidih Dispensary	Ditto	18-12-1954	14-9-1959	..	..		..	4	Jasidih	Ditto.
20. Sarwan Dispensary	Ditto	1-2-1957	1-1-1960	..	..		..	6	Sarwan	Ditto.
21. Sarath Dispensary	Ditto	1924	1-2-1957	..	..		..	6	Sarath	Ditto.
22. Karon Dispensary	Ditto	N.A.	1-1-1960	..	..		..	6	Karon	Ditto.
23. Palajori Dispensary	Ditto	1-4-1955	1-12-1960	..	..		..	6	Palajori	Ditto.
24. Burhai Dispensary	District Board	1951	..	..	..		..	..	Sarwan	Ditto.
25. Madhupur Dutta Hospital.	W.B. Government.	N.A.	..	6	4		..	..	Madhupur	Ditto.
26. Madhupur Railway Hospital.	Railway	N.A.	..	..	..		..	..	Ditto	Ditto.
27. Sahibganj Subdivisional Hospital.	Government	N.A.	15-7-1955	15	10		..	..	Sahibganj	Rajmahal.
28. Barhait Dispensary	Ditto	1905	..	..	..		..	4	Barhait	Ditto.
29. Barharwa Dispensary	Ditto	1924	1-1-1960	..	..		..	6	Barharwa	Ditto.

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LIST OF HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES IN THE DISTRICT OF SANTAL PARGANAS (1962)—*contd.*

Name of Hospital or Dispensary	Authority mainly responsible for its management	Date of opening	Date when provincialised	Number of beds				Police-Station	Subdivision
				Male	Female	T.B.	General		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
30. Borio Dispensary	Government	1891	1-9-1959	..	..	..	6	Borio	Rajmahal.
31. Taljahari Dispensary	Ditto	15-3-1958	..	..		..	4	Rajmahal	Ditto.
32. Rajmahal Hospital	Ditto	N.A.	1-9-1959	..	..	..	12	Ditto	Ditto.
33. Golkhore Dispensary	District Board	1951	..	..	..	..	..	Barharwa	Ditto.
34. Mundro Dispensary	Ditto	1941	..	..	..	..	..	Borio	Ditto.
35. Maharajpur Dispensary.	Ditto	1940	..	..	...	..	..	Do.	Ditto.
36. Sahibganj Railway Hospital.	Railway	N.A.	..		...	..	..	Sahibganj	Ditto.
37. Jamtara Subdivisional Hospital.	Government	1877	15-7-1955	8	8	..	..	Jamtara	Jamtara.
38. Nala Dispensary	Ditto	1940	..	..	..	..	4	Nala	Ditto.
39. Kundahit Dispensary	Ditto	1924	1-2-1957	..	..	..	6	Kundahit	Ditto.
40. Narainpur Dispensary	Ditto	1924	1-12-1960	..	..	..	6	Narainpur	Ditto.

41. Godda Subdivisional Hospital.	Ditto	N.A.	15-7-1955	20	14		..	8	Godda	Godda.
42. Boarijore Dispensary	Ditto	20-3-1956	20-3-1956	..	..		..	4	Boarijore	Do.
43. Sundarpahari Dispensary.	Ditto	20-3-1956	20-3-1956	..	..		..	4	Sundarpahari	Do.
44. Poraiyahat Dispensary.	Ditto	11-4-1957	1-1-1960	..	..		..	8	Poraiyahat	Do.
45. Mahagama Dispensary	Ditto	1926	1-12-1956	..	..		..	4	Mahagama	Do.
46. Pathargama Dispensary.	Ditto	1955	1-1-1960	..	..		..	6	Godda	Do.
47. Kasba Dispensary	District Board	1951	..	..	..		..	..	Mahagama	Do.
48. Pakaur Subdivisional Hospital.	Government	1898	15-7-1955	..	..	Male Female Total	6 4 10	..	Pakaur	Pakaur.
49. Hiranpur Dispensary	Ditto	16-3-1956	16-3-1956	..	..		..	4	Hiranpur	Do
50. Amrapara Dispensary	Ditto	1905	..	..	..		..	2	Amrapara	Do.
51. Maheshpur Dispensary.	Ditto	1909	1-4-1958	..	..		..	1	Maheshpur	Do.
52. Pakuria Dispensary	Ditto	1924	1-9-1959	..	..		..	8	Pakuria	Do.
53. Dharampur Dispensary.	District Board	1941	..	..	..		..	..	Litipara	Do.
54. Hiranpur Hospital	Mission	1928	..	..	..		..	..	Hiranpur	Do.

CHAPTER XVI

PUBLIC LIFE AND SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

Labour Welfare

This section is confined to a discussion of the welfare measures for the agricultural labourers. Welfare measures of the non-agricultural labourers are described elsewhere.

Any accurate census of the agricultural labourers is not possible. The reasons are many. The agricultural labourers are extremely mobile and may change their occupation or may be following some other occupation simultaneously. Agricultural labourers are also seasonal in character. The tribal women also take direct part in agricultural activities. The fact that about 91.9 per cent of the total population of the district is engaged in agriculture and the number of cultivating labourers is 1,79,905 (79,396 males, 80,509 females) indicates the large proportion of agricultural labourers, landless or otherwise within the district. There is also no bar to inter-district movement of agricultural labourers, particularly in busy seasons of agricultural operations.*

There are hardly any statutory welfare measures for agricultural labourers. The Minimum Wages Act, 1948 was extended to Santal Parganas in 1959 but there have not been any prosecutions. Bonded labour still exists but the previous rigour of bonded labour has been removed to a very great extent. The landless labourers and the tribals working as agricultural labourers are still heavily in debt. Their daily wages do not exceed one rupee with or without a little dole of food. Wages in kind are still paid, but usually this amounts to less than a rupee per day.

Prohibition

Prohibition has not been introduced in this district. Steps have been taken as mentioned before to enforce prohibition in Deoghar subdivision.

The tribals are addicted to drinking. They have the privilege of free brewing of *Pachai*, a kind of rice beer for domestic consumption. Their social customs not only admit but encourage

*The figures are from the *District Census Hand-Book of Santal Parganas*, 1956 (according to Census of 1951).

drinking. Total prohibition will be a revolutionary measure, so far as the tribals are concerned.

As a preliminary step towards prohibition the price of liquor has been raised and the outstill shops were abolished in 1947-48. These outstill shops (of which there were many in the district) used to distil liquor from fermented *Mahua* flower; this liquor was very cheap. The district abounds in *Mahua* trees and the *Mahua* flowers also serve as food in time of distress. The outstill shops were settled every year by auction and the licensees encouraged consumption of liquor by making it very cheap.

The distillery liquor shops are now controlled by the Sliding Scale System. Under this system the licensees are required to pay the licence fees proportionate to the consumption of liquor. Thus the incentive to push up the sale has been checked. The high prices of distillery liquor have been an economic drain to the consumers, who mostly belong to the poor classes.

The abundance of *Mahua* trees within the district has encouraged illicit distillation of liquor and from the figures supplied by the Superintendent of Excise it was found that the incidence of such detection has been on the increase.

Ganja and *Bhang* are also consumed but not to any appreciable extent. There is also a certain amount of smuggling of non-duty paid *Ganja* and of wild *Bhang* from North Bihar districts. The consumption of opium has been restricted from 1st April, 1959 and no opium now can be sold for oral consumption except on medical grounds.

Circumstances do not seem to be favourable for the introduction of prohibition. The raising of the prices of the intoxicants has not had deterrent effect on drinking. In a tribal district, where drinking has a certain amount of social and religious sanction, one has to approach the problem with caution. There is ample scope for the social worker to prepare the ground for prohibition.

Advancement of Backward Classes and Tribes

The history of the Santal Parganas discussed elsewhere traces the story of the early contacts of the British with the Hill Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills. A few facts may be repeated here. In 1782, on the suggestion of Augustus Cleveland (Administrator of the Area) the Rajmahal Hills were withdrawn from normal administration. The administrative history of the district from 1782 to 1855, when the Santal *Hul* (insurrection)

broke out shows the various mistakes, commissions and omissions that were made in trying to civilise the tribals.*

The normal laws of the land were first sought to be made applicable to the tribals and then some restrictions and special concessions were given. Later, there was a swing to the first phase.

Cleveland's Rules in 1796 (commonly known as Regulation I) may be described as the first concrete statutory step for the protection and advancement of the tribals. This Regulation was substituted by Regulation I of 1827, which brought the Paharias and other adjacent tribes under the partial jurisdiction of ordinary courts. Providing special exemptions, this pattern of the administration continued till the Santal Revolt in 1855. The administration then realised that the Santals and the Paharias, along with the other tribes, should have special protection. The creation of the district of Santal Parganas was a great administrative step towards this end.

A Non-Regulation Area was reintroduced conferring civil and criminal powers on the Executive Officers.

The British Parliament sanctioned the establishment of specially administered Non-Regulation Areas by the Indian Council Act of 1861. In 1870 the Parliament gave the Governor-General in Council powers to legalise special regulations for such areas. Regulation III of 1872 reaffirmed the exemption of Santal Parganas district from the operations of all Regulations and Acts not specially extended to it.

From time to time enquiries were made as to the pattern of administration suited for this district and changes were introduced.

The application of the Government of India Act, 1935 was a landmark. This Act led to the appointment of a Tribal Enquiry Committee in Bihar. Owing to the resignation of the popular Congress Ministry soon, any bold policy could not be adopted.

The Constitution of India, drawn up after Independence, has a number of clauses applicable to the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes (who were first defined). The preamble to the Constitution guarantees to all citizens of India, social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith

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* *See* 1857 *in Bihar—Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas* by P. C. Roy Chaudhury (Gazetteer's Revision Branch, Revenue Department, Bihar).

and worship; equality of status and opportunity, and seeks to promote fraternity among Indians in order to assure the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

Article 335 reiterates the claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for appointment to posts in the Union or in State. The Constitution abolished untouchability, assured a Ministry of Tribal Welfare in Bihar and reserved seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, both in the Parliament and in the State Legislature. A Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was also appointed under Article 339. Later on, Commissions were to be set up to look into the problems. The Governor was also given special directives for tribal welfare.

The present policy of the Government may be described to be a sympathetic and well-balanced approach to the problems of the Tribals, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes. The process of integration of the tribals is to be carried out without disturbing the tribals, mentally or emotionally. Prime Minister Nehru once declared, "We must approach the tribal people with affection and friendliness and come to them as a liberating force. We must let them feel that we come to give and not to take something away from them."*

The population of the Adibasis, Harijans and other Backward Classes in Santal Parganas for the Census years 1951 and 1961 is as follows**:—

	1951.	1961.
Scheduled Castes	1,44,363	2,02,307
Scheduled Tribes	10,37,167	10,23,078
Other Backward Classes	3,18,761	N.A.

In 1951 the total population of the district was 23,22,092 and the population of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes constituted 66 per cent of it. In 1961 Census the total population of the district was 26,75,203.

According to the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, the scheduled area in the district of Santal Parganas consists of

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*Nehru, Jawahar Lal : *Tribal Folk,* as quoted in Dr. N. Prasad's book entitled *Integration of Tribe, Democracy in Crisis and Other Essays* at p. 22.

**Census Hand-book of Santal Parganas,* 1956 (according to the Census of 1951), pp. 124—128 and *Census of India,* paper no. I of 1962, 1961 census, page 16.

4 subdivisions, namely, Dumka, Pakaur, Rajmahal and Jamtara and extends over 3,678 square miles. The scheduled area of this district is an upland tract with a hilly backbone running from north to south.

Welfare Schemes

Graingolas

Graingolas are banks for seed paddy which lend good quality of seed to the agriculturist. This institution is particularly meant to help the indigent agriculturists, who usually consume all the produce and run into debt before the next sowing is done. The tribals are proverbially spendthrift by habit and the incidence of indebtedness is very high.

In July, 1962 there were 235 graingolas in the district, out of which 154 graingolas are exclusively meant for the aboriginals, 6 graingolas for the Paharias and 4 exclusively for the Harijans. Twenty-six graingolas are run by the *Gram Panchayat*, 22 by the Co-operative Societies and 170 by the Welfare Department. There are 17 Damin graingolas in the scheduled areas, which are managed by a Graingola Committee. This figure is included in the total figure mentioned before.

The following statement will show the progress of the graingolas in the tribal areas from 1957-58 to 1961-62 : —

Year	Paddy advanced (in maunds)	Number of tribal loanees	Loan realised during the year (in maunds)	Percentage of collection
1	2	3	4	5
1957-58 ..	38,556	14,878	19,672	54
1958-59 ..	25,878	24,482	42,588	70
1959-60 ..	47,561	22,176	49,969	65
1960-61 ..	55,330	23,829	52,846	76
1961-62 ..	51,482	20,346	50,135	59

The above statement shows that the tribals are not very prompt in returning the loans advanced by the graingolas. The graingolas, as it is gathered, have curbed to some extent the influence of the local *Mahajans*.

The graingolas are meant to give relief to the aboriginals. They are intended to rescue them from the clutches of the *Mahajans*. But the experience of the functioning of the graingolas has not been happy. It was rightly stated in the Annual Report of the Administration of Scheduled Areas in Bihar in respect of Santal Parganas district for 1960-61 that the repayment of the loans was unsatisfactory. This might not only deplete the capital invested in these graingolas but it may ultimately lead to the very end of the system.

Agricultural Subsidy

The agricultural subsidies are meant for the purchase of bullocks, manures and seeds. In view of the poor economic conditions of the tribal population, this type of help is very useful although the degree of help is not so adequate. The table given below shows the amount of subsidies granted and the number of persons benefited from 1956-57 to 1961-62 :—

Year	Amount (in rupees) spent	Caste	No. of persons benefited
1	2	3	4
1956-57 ..	41,850	Scheduled Tribes	11
		Scheduled Castes	33
1957-58 ..	26,882	Scheduled Tribes)	
		Scheduled Castes }	45
		Other Backward Classes)	
1958-59 ..	47,224	Scheduled Castes	26
		Scheduled Tribes	100
		Other Backward Classes	22
1959-60 ..	57,700	Scheduled Tribes)	213
		Scheduled Castes }	
		Other Backward Classes)	
1960-61 ..	45,500	Scheduled Tribes)	141
	7,200	Scheduled Castes }	
	5,100	Other Backward Classes)	39
1961-62 ..	54,000	Scheduled Tribes)	189
	3,000	Scheduled Castes }	
		Other Backward Classes)	18

During 1962-63, Rs. 45,500 and Rs. 3,000 were allotted for grant of subsidy to Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste agriculturists respectively out of which Rs. 7,860 and Rs. 500 have been spent up to July, 1962.

Housing Scheme

This is a scheme for construction of houses for homeless members of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and denotified Tribes. Under this scheme 75 per cent of the cost of houses is met by the Government and the remaining 25 per cent has to be contributed in the shape of labour or materials or both by the beneficiary. The total estimated cost per house comes to Rs. 1,250 out of which Rs. 937.50 is contributed by the Government.

During the First Five-Year Plan period 50 houses were constructed. The table given below shows the number of houses constructed and the expenditure incurred from 1956-57 to 1960-61 :—

Year	Expenditure (in rupees)	No. of houses constructed	Remarks
1	2	3	4
1956-57 ..	82,500	100	
1957-58 ..	1,30,350	170	100 houses for Adibasis and 70 houses for Harijans.
1958-59 ..	1,12,500	170	100 houses for Adibasis and 70 houses for Harijans.
1959-60 ..	1,76,250	188	150 houses for Adibasis and 38 houses for Harijans.
1960-61 ..	87,290.50	181	130 houses for Scheduled Tribes, 24 for Scheduled Castes and 27 for denotified Tribes.

The schemes for housing the tribals, as implemented in the district of Santal Parganas, do not seem to have been successful. There are instances of colonies made habitable but lying unoccupied. There are also colonies which have been deserted wholly or partly after an initial occupation. Again there are colonies in which the houses have fallen or have begun to fall because they are very poorly constructed or because of negligence.*

Grants of loan under State Aid to Industries

Cash loans are granted to the members of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes for the development of Cottage Industries, under

*According to the brief synopsis of the activities of the Paharia Welfare Schemes (Santal Parganas) supplied by the Paharia Welfare Officer, Dumka, Santal Parganas.

the State Aid to Industries Act. During the First Five-Year-Plan period in the district of Santal Parganas 166 members of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes were granted loan of Rs. 26,200. The table below shows the amount of loan advanced and the persons receiving the loan:—

Year	Amount (in rupees)	Caste	Number	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1956-57 ..	31,350	Scheduled Tribes ..	54	
		Scheduled Castes ..	19	
1957-58 ..	22,928	Scheduled Tribes } Scheduled Castes }	114	
1958-59 ..	24,400	Scheduled Tribes ..	N.A.	
		Scheduled Castes ..		
1959-60 ..	2,300	Ditto ..	N.A.	This scheme has been closed under orders from the Government.

Construction of Hill Pathways and Village Roads.

During the First Five-Year Plan 81 miles of road was constructed at the cost of Rs. 1,63,656.

The scheme was also taken up in the Second Five-Year Plan. 212.50 miles of road was constructed and repaid in 1956-57, 132.50 miles in 1957-58, 18 miles in 1958-59, 80 miles in 1959-60, 39 miles in 1960-61 and 5 miles in 1961-62.

Opening of Training-cum-*Production Centres.*

The following Training-*cum*-Production Centres were running during the year 1960-61:—

	Number of Centres	Number of Trainees
1. Carpentry	2	149
2. Beekeeping	9	N.A.
3. Rope-making	1	121
4. Tailoring	2	41
5. Blacksmithy	1	67

Out of these only 4 centres were sanctioned for the financial year 1961-62. The Training-*cum*-Production Centre in tailoring, knitting and embroidery for Scheduled Tribes has been functioning since 1960-61 at Pakaur.

Animal Husbandry Scheme

Under this scheme improved variety of boars, bucks and eggs are distributed free of cost amongst the Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes. Six pair of boars and 261 dozen eggs were distributed till 1960-61.

Subsidy to the people of under-developed areas of the district for the development of Cottage Industries

The scheme is identical with the scheme of follow-up programme for the Scheduled Tribe ex-trainees. This is primarily meant for the people of under-developed areas. The benefit is admissible to the ex-trainees of Training-*cum*-Production Centres and also to the traditional trainees. Under this scheme a sum of Rs. 4,163 was spent during the year 1960-61. Under the follow-up progamme during the year 1958-59 a sum of Rs. 7,600 was granted to 2 co-operative societies of ex-trainees as subsidy and during 1959-60 8 individual ex-trainees were granted Rs. 2,000. The amount was spent on carpentry, cane, bamboo and rope making industries.

Educational Welfare

Residential schools for the tribals with free board, lodging, supply of clothes, reading and writing materials have been sponsored by the State Government.

There are six residential senior basic schools and 30 Primary *cum*-Welfare Centres and one junior basic school for the students of Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. From the statistics supplied by the District Welfare Office it appears that the number of students reading in these institutions is increasing. But as regards residential senior basic schools for the tribal boys and girls located at Barhait and Brindaban the number of students decreased in 1960-61 in comparison with 1957-58 and 1958-59.

Construction of additional hostels for the residential basic schools at Gopikandar, Hiranpur and Banjhi has been sanctioned at a total estimated cost of Rs. 15,543. Construction of school and hostel buildings of the residential senior basic school for Scheduled Tribe boys at Brindaban has been completed while the

construction of school and hostel buildings for the residential senior basic school for Scheduled Tribes girls at Barhait is in progress. The estimated cost of the buildings at Brindaban is Rs. 1,03,085 and at Barhait is Rs. 1,04,862.

Hostels

Besides the hostels attached to the above-mentioned six residential senior basic schools, there are also 36 welfare hostels including 4 college hostels for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Out of 36 hostels, 6 hostels are housed in Government buildings and the remaining are in the rented buildings. There is also one welfare hostel for the Backward Muslim Communities at Dumka. The total amount sanctioned for the maintenance of hostels during 1960-61 was Rs. 55,542 and Rs. 59,420 during 1961-62. Besides, there are 8 hostels run by the Santal Paharia *Seva Mandal*, Deoghar, out of the funds sanctioned by the Welfare Department. The Ram Krishna *Ashram*, Dumka is also maintaining a Student Home at Dudhani, Dumka for which the *Ashram* was given aid of Rs. 13,000 in 1961-62 and the same amount in 1960-61. There are 56 boarders in the Student Home, Dudhani in 1962 and they are given food, clothes and stationery. In this hostel no rent is charged from the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste boarders. The Government have also provided furniture, utensils and other necessaries. There are also a hostel superintendent and a cook-*cum*-servant in every hostel.

The six buildings constructed by the Government for hostels are at Pakaur, Barhait, Maheshpur, Udhua, Deoghar *Vidyapith* and College hostel at Dumka. The construction of the hostel building at Dumka was sanctioned at the estimated cost of Rs. 1,24,046 in the year 1958-59 and was completed. A hostel building for Sahibganj College for housing the tribals, Scheduled Caste and Backward Class boys is also under construction. Construction of a hostel for Scheduled Tribe girls at Pakaur was also sanctioned during 1961-62.

For the promotion of education among the Adibasis the Santal Paharia *Seva Mandal* maintains 2 High Schools, 4 Middle Schools, 30 Upper Primary Schools out of which 6 are located on the hills. There are also hostels managed by the *Mandal* under the Thakkar Bappa Scheme. Under this scheme 20 per cent of the boys in the hostel, subject to a maximum of 50 boarders, are given free food at a cost of Rs. 17 per month per boarder. Besides this, all the boarders, subject to a maximum of 250 boarders, are given vegetable allowance of one rupee per head. Sixty girl boarders of the Pakaur girl hostel for Adibasis are given Rs. 17 per

month each for food. In the six schools located at hills a mid-day meal is given to the students irrespective of caste and creed, subject to a maximum of 50 students. The hostels managed by the *Mandal* are as follows:—

(1) Deoghar Hostel, Deoghar, (2) Jamtara Hostel, Jamtara, (3) Pakaur Hostel, Pakaur, (4) Binodanand Hostel, Dumka, (5) Raghunathpur Chhatrabas, Hariyari Poraiya, (6) Pakaur Girls Hostel, Pakaur, (7) Rolagram Hostel, Maheshpur Raj, (8) Fatehpur Hostel, Fatehpur.

In dealing with hostels for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes it seems desirable to mention one of the recommendations set forth in the Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes (July, 1959) ;—

"Hostel should be common for students of all communities, reservation of an adequate proportion of seats being made for Backward Class students." There should be no separate institutions, hostels or colonies exclusively for Harijans. In these at least 10 per cent non-Harijans should be taken, as far as possible, to give them mixed character. Non-Harijans up to this number should be given the same facilities as are admissible to Scheduled Castes to encourage them to join such colonies or institutions. This recommendation does not appear to have been implemented.

Technical Education for Tribals

One Welfare Technical School was established at Dudhani, Dumka in 1957. It imparts technical training in Blacksmithy, Carpentry, Electricity, General Mechanic, Linemen and Wiremen, Motor Mechanic and Moulding. The sanctioned number of seat for each type of training is 32. During 1961-62 out of 176 trainees, 40 were Scheduled Tribe trainees as against only four Scheduled Tribe trainees out of 158 trainees during 1960-61. The aboriginal trainee gets a stipend of Rs. 25 per month during the period of training, but no stipend was given to them when they were sent for training in some factory. Difficulties for training the candidates passing the final test in this institute are felt. The institute trained up-till 1961-62 a total number of 275 students belonging to Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Tribe students are also given the facility of free hostel accommodation.

The four Training-*cum*-Production Centres, namely, (1) Carpentry Training-*cum*-Production Centre, (2) Blacksmithy and

*Pp. 340—341 and P. 169

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Tinsmithy Training-*cum*-Production Centre, (3) Tailoring-*cum*-Production Centre, (4) Weaving Training-*cum*-Production Centre function under the management of the Ram Krishna *Ashram*, Dumka. Funds for this are provided by the Welfare Department. These Training-*cum*-Production Centres used to be managed by Santal Paharia *Seva Mandal* till 1959-60. They were transferred to Shri Ram Krishna *Ashram* in the beginning of the year 1960-61. There are 48 Scheduled Tribes trainees in 1962-63.

One Knitting and Tailoring Training-*cum*-Production Centre at Pakaur started functioning from 1961-62. Besides, there are 22 Training-*cum*-Production Centres in the different blocks.

With a view to supply disease-free layings to the *Tassar* rearers, who are all aboriginals, and also to train them in rearing and spinning, two sub-stations were started at Banjhi and Litipara during 1961-62. Besides these, two improved reeling and spinning centres were established in 1961-62. One reeling, spinning and demonstration centre in *Tasar* is functioning at Bhagaiya in Borio Welfare Project and the other rearing, spinning and weaving centre is functioning at Shikaripara Community Development Block. To enable the Adibasi rearers to obtain fair price for their *Tassar* cocoons, one *Tassar* Marketing Organisation has been started at Amrapara.

The Santal Paharia *Seva Mandal* is also running a school at Pakaur for giving training in type writing to Scheduled Tribes girls. In 1960-61, 7 girls were given training. It is not known if the girls have found employment.

Stipends and Book Grants

Stipends, book grants, hostel grants and other petty grants are awarded to deserving Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Class students to enable them to prosecute their studies. The award of stipends, book grants, etc., to such students reading in primary classes is now under the Block Development or *Anchal* Committee and the award of stipends and book grants to the students reading in High or Higher Secondary School is under the District Stipend Committee.

In the district of Santal Parganas during the First Five-Year Plan a sum of Rs. 4,42,012 was disbursed among the students of Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes as stipend, book grants, hostel grants, etc. In 1956-57, 1957-58, 1958-59, and 1959-60, Rs. 22,284, Rs. 2,70,468, Rs. 3,99,329 and Rs. 8,01,636 respectively was granted for the same purpose.

The amount of stipends, book grants, scholarships, etc., for 1960-61 is given below:—

Year		Amount
		Rs.
1960-61 ..	Scheduled Tribes	8,05,262
	Scheduled Castes	78,287
	Other Backward Classes ..	98,819
	Total	9,82,368

From the amount spent over stipends, book grants, etc., from 1956-57 to 1959-60 as given above it appears that more and more students are granted stipends and book grants every year. In 1958-59, 1959-60, 1960-61 and 1961-62 scholarships were given to 4,195, 4,797, 5,192 and 12,402 students respectively.

The Paharia students who prosecute further studies in High School after passing from the residential senior basic schools receive a special stipend of Rs. 25 per student. Such students are admitted in the High School at Hiranpur in Pakaur subdivision where hostel facilities in two rented houses have been provided for them. In 1961-62, there are 44 such students, two of whom also get merit scholarship of Rs. 15 from the Education Department.

At the primary stage education is free for all the students. At the secondary stage the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes students are now fully exempted from payment of the tuition fee. In the Post-Matriculation stage they are exempted from tuition fee, admission fee and examination fee. The loss sustained by the colleges on account of these exemptions is compensated by the State Government. But this facility is extended only to those students of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes who have not been awarded stipends.

Health Scheme

There are several schemes for improving the health of the tribals. Such schemes include sinking of wells for drinking water, medical aid, grants for social and cultural development, legal aid, etc. The Santal Paharia *Seva Mandal* receives financial aid for running leprosy centres in the district. There is a leprosy hospital with 20 indoor seats at Fatehpur.

Welfare of the Paharias

Special schemes for the welfare of the Paharias, who are comparatively backward are being implemented. There are special residential senior basic schools at Gopikandar, Hiranpur, Dhamni

and Banjhi for the Paharia boys. There are 30 primary school-*cum*-Welfare centres with two teachers in every school.

Medical and Public Health

There are 8 Ayurvedic dispensaries located at Karudih, Sillingi, Kunjbona, Parerkola, Dhamni, Telo, Jonkmari and Banjhi. Medicine is supplied free. The *Vaidyas* are expected to tour in the interior.

There are also six graingolas under the Paharia Welfare Scheme located at Alubera, Surajbera, Kunjbona, Dumarchir, Telo and Sakrugarh.

Rehabilitation of the Paharias

There is a scheme (started in 1953-54) to rehabilitate the Paharias on the plains. Under this scheme houses are constructed for the Paharias at Government cost. Besides, they are also provided with cultivable lands (reclaimed at Government cost), agricultural implements, poultry, bullocks, cows, seeds and manures, etc. The drinking water scheme for the Paharias has also been implemented in each colony. From the inception of the scheme till July, 1962, 532 wells and *Jharnas* were completed.

In 1953-54, 10 families were established at Parerkola in Pakaur Damin. Up-till 1957-58, 138 families were established at the following places:—

		Families.
1. Talberia	Godda subdivision ..	12
2. Barakotha	Ditto ..	26
3. Kortika	Ditto ..	20
4. Dala	Deoghar subdivision ..	7
5. Uperbandhi	Ditto ..	10
6. Chopkiari	Ditto ..	9
7. Gouribasar	Ditto ..	8
8. Koraiya	Dumka subdivision ..	8
9. Nawadih	Ditto ..	12
10. Asna Nawadih	Ditto ..	8
11. Amla Gachhi	Pakaur subdivision ..	18
		138

But as reported by the Special Officer, Paharia Welfare, Dumka all the families established at Koriya Nawadih, Asna Nawadih and Amla Gachhi left the houses and resumed their old nomadic way of life. Out of the 10 families established in 1953-54 at Parerkola only 5 families continue to live a settled life and five families left the place. During 1958-59, 80 families were established, 23 in Dumarchir under Pakaur subdivision, 30 in Murgabani in Rajmahal subdivision, and 27 in Kundapahari in Dumka subdivision. But all the 30 families established at Murgabani left the houses. Out of 27 families established at Kundapahari, only 17 families are living there and the rest have left the place. During 1959-60, 80 families were established, 30 at Jalo in Dumka subdivision, 30 at Baramasia in Pakaur subdivision and 20 at Bara Panchgarh in Rajmahal subdivision. During 1960-61, 20 families were provided with housing facilities in Asnapahari in Dumka Damin. At Kadwa Bungalow 30 Paharia families were established during 1960-61. During 1961-62, 20 families were rehabilitated at Asnapahari Bungalow and Kathikund in Dumka Damin.

The Paharias are averse to hard manual work. It is the reason why about 50 per cent of settled Paharias in colonies left the houses and a large sum of Government money spent on the Scheme for their rehabilitation has not brought in the expected result. In view of the apathetic attitude of the Paharias towards a settled life, the Government decided to give up the Rehabilitation Scheme after March, 1963 and the information to this effect, vide letter no. 1189, dated the 30th January, 1962, from the Under-Secretary, Welfare Department, was received by the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas.*

Legislative Measures

Under the Santal Parganas Tenancy (Supplementary Provisions) Act, 1949 (which came into force in this district on 1st November, 1949) provision has been made under section 20 that no transfer by a *raiyat* of his right in his holding or any portion thereof, by sale, gift, mortgage, will, lease, or any other contract or agreement, express or implied, shall be valid unless the right to transfer has been recorded in the record-of-rights and then only to the extent to which such right is so recorded. In case of transferable holdings any holding belonging to an aboriginal cannot be transferred to any one except a *bona fide* aboriginal cultivator. There are also other provisions in this Act directed to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Tribes. The main reason for this

*Information supplied by the Special Officer, Paharia Welfare Office, Santal Parganas, Dumka.

measure is that the lands of the Santals were being sold away to the non-Santals very rapidly.

In accordance with the provision of the Constitution the Bihar Harijan Act of 1949 was passed and enforced. According to this Act whoever prevents a Harijan from having access to or using river, well, bathing *ghat*, public conveyance plying for hire, institution used for charitable or public purposes maintained wholly or partially out of the revenues of the State of Bihar, a place of public amusement or entertainment, religious institutions including a temple, *math* or *dharmsala*, is on conviction, punishable with simple imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to five hundred rupees or with both. Forced labour is also a crime under this Act and the punishment for this offence is the same as for the offence of untouchability.

Welfare Organisation

There are two offices, namely, (1) District Welfare Office and (2) Paharia Welfare Office, both at Dumka to carry out the welfare measures. The Welfare Office started functioning with effect from the 27th November, 1947. In the beginning for some time the District Aboriginal Office functioned separately from the District Harijans Office. Both these offices were combined with effect from 9th September, 1951 and the combined office was put under the charge of a Gazetted Officer designated as the District Welfare Officer. The special schemes for the rehabilitation and welfare of the Paharias were introduced in the district in 1953-54, and so a separate office known as Paharia Welfare Office was established to implement these schemes. The District Welfare Office works under the control of District Welfare Officer who is assisted by an Assistant Welfare Officer, 36 Welfare Inspectors and 170 *Kalyan* Graingola *Sevaks*. The Assistant Welfare Officer has his office at Dumka, and Welfare Inspectors and *Kalyan* Graingola *Sevaks* are posted in different parts of the district. The Paharia Welfare Office functions under the control of the Special Officer, who is of the rank of a Deputy Collector. There are 6 Graingola *Sevaks*, 2 Supervisors for inspection of Primary Schools, 8 *Vaidyas*, 32 teachers for four Residential Senior Basic Schools for Paharias and 60 teachers for 30 Primary School-*cum*-Welfare Centres. They are working under the Special Officer, Paharia Welfare Office, Dumka. Both the District Welfare Officer and the Special Officer, Paharia Welfare work under the control of the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas.

Charitable Endowments

With the object of providing better administration of Hindu Religious Trusts and for the protection and preservation of

the properties appertaining to such trusts the Bihar Hindu Religious Trusts Act, 1950, came into force on the 15th August, 1951. Public Trusts and Endowments made by the Hindus in the district of Santal Parganas are governed by this Act. The State Government have also formed a Board known as the Bihar State Board of Religious Trusts, which consists of 17 members and is headed by a President, with his headquarters at Patna. Under the Act the State Government is empowered to appoint one of the members as the President of the Board. The term of the office of the member of the first Board and also of second and subsequent Board as provided in the Act is five years. The general superintendence of all religious trusts in the State is vested in the Board. The Board is required to see to the proper administration of the trusts. It has wide powers to ensure that the trusts are properly supervised and administered and that the income thereof is duly appropriated and applied to the objects of such trusts. Under section 28, sub-section 2 (*b*) of the Bihar Hindu Religious Trusts Act, it has power to remove a trustee from his office if such trustee is convicted of any such offence as implies moral turpitude which, in the opinion of the Board, unfits him to hold office, or is convicted more than once of the same or different offences or refuses to act or wilfully disobeys the directions and orders of the Board. In case of a Bonafide dispute as to the right of any persons to act as trustee or where there is a vacancy caused by the order passed under clause (*h*) of sub-section (2) of section 28, the Board has been given power under section 33 (1) to appoint any person to act as trustee, but while making appointment the Board, under section 33, clause (2) shall, if possible, select one person of the section to which the last trustee belonged. To safeguard the property of the trust a provision in the Act has been made. Under section 44, clause (1) no transfer made by a trustee of any immovable property by way of sale, mortgage, gift or exchange is valid unless made with the previous sanction of the Board. Under section 45, no trustee can borrow money for any of the purposes of the religious trust of which he is trustee without the previous sanction of the Board. For the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred or to be incurred in the administration of this Act, the trustee is required under section 70, sub-section (1) to pay to the Board a fee not exceeding five per cent of its net income. The expression 'net income' means the total income realised by the trustee from all sources after deducting any amount payable as revenue, rent, taxes, local or other cesses and cost of management at twelve and a half *per centum*.

There are a few trusts in this district.

In Dumka subdivision there are two trusts worth mentioning. They are (1) Rajat Kamini Trusts Fund and (2) Ambika Sitabastra Fund.

Rajat Kamini Trust Fund was created in 1936 with a donation of Rs. 1,500 in the form of Government Promissory notes received from the wife of Late Rai Saheb Jitendra Narain Mukharji. The object of creating the trust was to help the poor people of Dumka town by distributing warm clothes to them in winter. The income derived by way of interest is received half-yearly by the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas who has been appointed as the Administrator of the trust. The income is spent by him on purchasing clothes for free distribution to the poor.

Ambika Sitabastra Fund came into existence in 1900. This fund was started with a donation of Rs. 600 in the form of Government Promissory notes received from the wife of Shri Upendra Nath Mitra, Vakil, High Court, Darjeeling for the benefit of the poor lepers of the Raj Kumari Leper Asylum, Deoghar. The income derived by way of interest is received and spent by the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas, as the Administrator of the fund. Warm clothes are purchased out of the income and distributed to the lepers.

In Rajmahal the Nanak Sahi *Sangat* was established in 1956 by the local people of Rajmahal. It is a religious institution which offers facilities for religious purposes.

Radha Rani Gaur Trust *Mandir* is an important religious institution of the Hindus. It was also constituted by the people of Rajmahal circle in 1956. Forty *bighas* of land was endowed for the management of this institution. The income derived from the property of the *Mandir* is utilised for meeting the necessary expenses of *Kathas* held from time to time and for ritual performances. The management of the *Mandir* is entrusted to a committee of seven members.

Sheokaran Das Ranjit Lal *Dharmshala* was built by Manbharan Patwari of Barharwa, who also donated 10 acres of land. The annual income from this property is about Rs. 800 which is spent on the maintenance of *Dharmshala* and distribution of alms to the beggars.

Rataneshwar Mahadeo Temple, situated in Ratanpur, was built by Shri Ganpat Bhagat of Ratanpur in 1955. It has got only 3 acres of land, whose annual income is about Rs. 250, which is spent on the maintenance of the temple, honorarium to the *Pujari* and on items of *Puja Baidynathdham Trust.*

The famous temple of Mahadeb Baidyanath Jee, Deoghar, is a registered trust under the Bihar Hindu Religious Trust Act, 1950. The annual income of the trust is approximately fifty thousand

rupees. The early history of the creation of the trust and its management is as follows :—

> "The God Mahadeb Baidaynath Jee is established and consecrated at *Mouza* Deoghar in District Santal Parganas from time immemorial. For his service and for the service of other Gods and Goddesses relating to him, the Maharaja of Gidhore and others have caused temples to be erected and have made gifts of many properties movable and immovable since many generations past for the benefit of Yogis, hermits and pilgrims of all the Hindus ; and to feed the poor, the wretched, the blind and the maimed, and such visitors have also made many gifts for the service of the said God. In all such properties movable or immovable no individual has any personal interest or ownership.* In 1897 the temple became the subject-matter of litigation. In that year a suit was filed under section 539 (corresponding to the present section 92) of the Code of Civil Procedure in the Court of District Judge of Burdwan. The suit was decided on the 4th July, 1901. It was held by the Additional District Judge that the temple properties belonged to a public trust and that the high priest who held the office at that time should be removed on account of mismanagement. The Judgement of the Additional District Judge was affirmed on appeal to the Calcutta High Court. In this suit it was further decided that some fit persons be elected Sardar Panda by the 'Pandas' of the temple and the affairs of the temple be managed under a scheme which was framed by the Additional District Judge and which formed a part of the decree. Under this scheme three persons were to be appointed to look after the temple and its properties and for a proper administration of the same. Since then the trust has been functioning under this scheme (which was a bit modified in 1909).

A detailed description of the management of the temple in ancient time has been given in the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) at pages 383 to 386.

The properties of the temple are mostly in the State of Bihar but are also located in the districts of Burdwan, Murshidabad and Birbhum in the State of West Bengal. There are a large number of families of 'Pandas' who belong to a branch of Maithil Brahmins

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*C. F. Umeshanand Dutta Jha and others Vs. Sail Janand Dutta Jha and others, title suit no. 18 of 1897 (Judgement delivered on 4th July, 1901 by Additional Judge of Burdwan).

attached to the temple, and earn a livelihood by assisting the pilgrims in performing the various ceremonies connected with God.

The succession of the office of Sardar Panda devolves usually upon the first born son of Sardar Panda to the exclusion of others provided that the said eldest son is at least 45 years of age and otherwise qualified. Where the person so entitled by inheritance to succeed is of less than 45 years, another person of the same family if there be any ; and in absence of such a person, of another family being of the said age of 45 years and otherwise fully qualified should be elected by the majority of the votes of the Pandas to hold office for life. On his death the heir, who was by inheritance to succeed but was excluded from election, shall succeed if he is of 45 years and otherwise duly qualified. This rule of succession was made in the Schedule A of the Judgment, dated the 4th July, 1901 in original suit in the Court of Additional Judge of Burdwan in title suit no. 18 of 1897.

The Sardar Panda receives all offerings and manages the temple and its properties. The expenses incurred in performing religious functions such as *Basant Panchmi*, *Shiva Ratri* and *Sombari*, are met from the income of the trust.

Basukinath Dham Trust.—This is also a registered trust. The present trustee is Smt. Anandabati Kumari, ex-proprietress of Handwe Estate. The annual income of the trust is about eight thousand rupees. The expenses of holding and managing important festives, like *Shiva Ratri* and *Sombari* are met out of the income of the trust. The temple of Basukinath is very famous and thousands of pilgrims come here in the month of *'Savan'*.

Other Trusts

Two trusts, namely, Falhari *Ashram* and Sakri *Ashram* are situated at Samda within Sakri Rampur *Panchayat*. They were created by Charu Sah of Sahibganj and Dwarikanath Tapsi respectively. Falhari *Ashram* has about 8 *bighas* of land while Sakri *Ashram* has got 17 *bighas* of land. In Sakri *Ashram* only those who have faith in *Varnashram Dharm* can be selected as trustee by the local people.

Besides, there are Shri Baba Baidyanath Shiva Thakur, Barharwa, Smt. Parwati Devi, Daridra Narayani and Kartik Trusts in Rajmahal subdivision, which are not doing anything beneficial to the society. They are simply religious institutions.

In the revered memory of his Gurudev, Shri Balanand Brahmachari Maharaj, Shri Ram Charan Bose (a retired Subdivisional Officer, Ranaghat, Bengal), established an *Ashram* in Karanibad within the municipal area of Deoghar. This *Ashram* is known as Ramnibas Brahmacharya *Ashram*. Shri Balanand Brahmachari founded a private religious and charitable trust known as Shri Balanand

Trust by executing a Trust Deed on 6th April 1916. In the said *Ashram* there are two temples, namely, Shri Baleshwari Devi and Shri Baleshwar Mahadeb. At present (1962) there are five trustees who manage the charitable institutions.

There is one Balanand Sanskrit College for free teaching of *Darshan, Nyaya, Jyotish, Karmakanda, Ayurved, Sahitya* and *Vyakaran*. Students reading in this institution get free lodging and also a monthly stipend. The college is affiliated to Bihar Sanskrit Association.

For free treatment of poor persons the Trust runs (1) Baleshwar Anath Ayurvedic *Aushadhalay*, (2) Homoeopathic dispensary and (3) Baleshwar Allopathic Charitable Hospital. This hospital has a Pathological and X-ray Department. Efforts are being made to add a maternity ward and eye surgery section to this hospital. There is also one Middle School at Tapoban where students get free education.

The capital income of the Trust is about six lakh rupees invested in G. P. Notes. The above institutions are financed from the income of Shri Balanand Trust and occasional financial assistance received from Bihar Government.

There is another trust in Karanibad, Deoghar known as Shrimati Charusila Trust. There are five trustees to manage Shri *Jugal Mandir* in which the idols of Shri Gopalanand and marble statue of Shri Balanand, Gurudev of Shrimati Charusila have been installed. Shrimati Charusila Devi spent about nine lakh rupees in the construction of the *Jugal Mandir*. This *Mandir* is popularly known as *Nawlakha Mandir*. She also dedicated her buildings situated in Calcutta to the trust. The gross income from the buildings comes to nearly 60,000 per year which is spent over Pujas or worship of the idols and charitable purposes.

Waqfs

Public trusts and endowments made by the Muslims are governed by the Bihar Waqfs Act, 1947 (Bihar Act 8 of 1948), which came into force on the 1st April, 1948. To implement the provisions of the Act, two *Majlises* one known as Bihar Subai Sunni Majlis-e-Awqaf and the other as Bihar Subai Shia Majlis-e-Awqaf have been constituted at Patna. Each *Majlis* consists of eleven members, headed by a Sadr who is appointed by Bihar Government. The powers and functions of the *Majlis* are almost the same as the Religious Trust Board under the Bihar Hindu Religious Trusts Act, 1950 have.

In the district of Santal Parganas only a few Waqfs are in existence and they have little importance and significance for the society. However, the following Waqfs may be mentioned :—

Madarsa Samsul Huda, Dilalpur has got 20 acres of land yielding an annual income of about Rs. 1,000. The endowment was made

about 89 years ago. The *Madarsa* is maintained under this endowment and its expenditure is met from the income of the property of endowment as well as from contributions of the people. In the *Madarsa* Arabic and Persian are taught.

Jumma *Masjid*, Maharajpur is situated in village Maharajpur and has got four acres of land which was donated by Tofat Nisa and Mufizan Bibi in 1952. The income is spent on the maintenance of the *Masjid* and on running a *Madarsa*, which is attached to the *Masjid* premises.

Jumma *Masjid*, Islampur has got 5 acres of land, whose annual income is about Rs. 150. The endowment was created by Hari Rabin Bux of Islampur some 50 years ago. There is also a *Maqtab* attached to the *Masjid*, and its expenditure is partly met from the income of the endowment.

There is also a Muslim religious trust for *Bari Masjid* at Sahibganj. The trust has ten *bighas* of land, whose income is spent on the maintenance of *Masjid* and for other religious work.

Newspapers

In the district of Santal Parganas only two papers, namely, '*Hor Sambad*' and '*Pera Hoor*' in Santali language are published. The '*Hor Sambad*' is being published from Baidyanath Dham, Deoghar since 1947 under the Director of Public Relations, Government of Bihar, Patna. It is a weekly paper. It deals with local news and some problems of *Adibasis*. The '*Pera Hoor*' is published from Benagaria Mission Press, Benagaria, Santal Parganas and has been in existence since 1922. This paper is meant for tribal population with the object of gaining religious popularity among them. These papers have a very limited sale.

Besides these two papers, '*Adibasi*' and '*Amrit*' published outside the district, also deal mainly with the tribal culture and their problems. These two papers have a limited sale in the district.

The English dailies, namely, '*The Indian Nation*' and '*The Searchlight*', both published from Patna, have also some circulation in this district. The Calcutta English dailies, namely, '*The Statesman*', '*The Amrita Bazar Patrika*' and '*The Hindusthan Standard*' have a good circulation in this district. The Hindi papers '*Aryavarta*' and '*Pradip*' published from Patna, and '*The Ananda Bazar Patrika*' and '*Jugantar*' published in Bengali from Calcutta have also some circulation in this district. '*Dharmyug*' and '*Hindustan Saptahik*', Hindi weeklies, published from outside the district, are popular in this district.

Voluntary Social Service Organisations

In the district of Santal Parganas a few voluntary social institutions are functioning for the betterment of society in general and for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes in particular. A brief description of them is given here.

Shri Ram Krishna Ashram

Shri Ram Krishna *Ashrams* located at Dumka, Madhupur, Amjora and Bilkandi in the district of Santal Parganas are branches of Shri Ram Krishna *Ashram*, a society registered on the 6th August, 1945 under the Act XXI of 1860, with its Head Office at Barangar, Calcutta-36. The main objects of the *Ashram* are to propagate Hindu religion and to undertake works of welfare and charity. The Dumka Branch of Shri Ram Krishna *Ashram* was started in 1957 at Mahalla Dudhani, Dumka.

The *Ashram* started two Homoepathic charitable dispensaries at Dumka —one in 1947 and the other in 1954. It also opened a school known as *Vidyapith* in 1954 which got the recognition as Upper Primary in 1956 and as Middle School in 1958. The school had 250 students in 1962. The medium of instruction is both Bengali and Hindi. A Student Home was also started in 1954 with 9 poor students. Students are provided with boarding, lodging, books, etc., free of cost. The *Ashram* receives aid from the Welfare Department to meet the expenses of maintaining the Student Home. In the year 1962 there were 38 Scheduled Tribe, 10 Scheduled Caste, 6 Backward Caste and 2 Caste Hindu boarders in the Student Home.

There is also an Industrial Training-*cum*-Production Centre under the *Ashram* at Dudhani (Dumka). It was started in 1960 and has four sections—blacksmithy, carpentry, tailoring, and weaving—each section gives training to 12 students in a session which is of one year's duration. The number of trainees in 1962-63 was 11 in blacksmithy, 11 in carpentry, 13 in tailoring and 12 in weaving. The Industrial Training-*cum*-Production Centre is maintained out of the fund provided to the *Ashram* by the Bihar Government.

The Ram Krishna *Ashram* at Madhupur was started in 1946 and it has a charitable dispensary since then. It also started a Middle School in 1948.

The Ram Krishna *Ashrams* located at Amjora and Bilkandi maintain charitable Homoeopathic dispensaries. Shri Ram Krishna *Ashram* at Bilkandi is also maintaining a Government-aided Middle School.

The Ram Krishna Mission

The Ram Krishna Mission established a centre at Mihijam in 1922. This Mission opened a residential school known as *Vidyapith* at Mihijam. This place was not found suitable for an educational institution of that type and its venue was shifted to Deoghar in 1923 though a branch of the Mission continues there.

The main feature of the *Vidyapith* at Deoghar is its *Ashram* environment. Students, teachers and other inmates of the *Ashram* live together in a peaceful family atmosphere. The curriculum followed is that of the Board of Secondary Education, West Bengal.

The San'al Paharia Seva Mandal

Under the inspiring guidance of Shri A. V. Thakkar, the Santal Paharia *Seva Mandal* was established in 1944 with a view to uplift the aboriginals of the district. It established four *Ashrams* in the beginning in the Damin Area when the Indian social workers were not allowed to work in hilly tracts known as Damin-i-koh. Later on, with the attainment of independence and subsequent changes in the administration, the activities of the *Mandal* expanded. In 1960-61, the Santal Paharia *Seva Mandal* managed 3 High Schools, 5 Middle Schools, 25 Primary Schools, 7 hostels for boys and 1 hostel for girls at Pakaur, 5 Ayurvedic dispensaries and one technical school.

The *Mandal* also took up anti-leprosy work in the Fatehpur area of Jamtara subdivision in 1947. Later on, a well-equipped Leper Hospital, known as Thakkar *Kustha Ashram*, was opened at Fatehpur in a compound of nearly 70 acres of land in 1955. It has also opened a few other centres where medical treatment is given to lepers. The leprosy centres are mainly in Madhupur and Hiranpur, where there is high incidence of leprosy.

The *Mandal* receives aid from the Government for carrying out welfare programmes.

Santal Parganas Gramodyog Samiti

This institution was established in 1952 with the object to encourage the production of *Khadi* and development of cottage industries. It has established about 15 centres in this district in which about one hundred workers are employed.

Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

The Gandhi *Smarak Nidhi* started functioning in 1954 in this district. Its aim is to ameliorate the economic condition of the Harijans and aboriginals of this district. Under the Gandhi *Smarak*

Nidhi two welfare centres—one at Koraiya and the other at Kewatjali—were opened in 1954. At present (1962), the *Nidhi* is managing five welfare centres in this district located at Savokhar Patirampur, Telo, Sakri-Phulwari, Sarpatta and Kewatjali. *Ashrams* have been established in these villages where trained workers reside and conduct various welfare schemes according to the plan approved by its central office at Delhi. Besides, village development schemes including spreading of literacy and anti-drinking campaign are carried out by the workers.

Sarvodaya Mandal

The *Sarvodaya Mandal* of Santal Parganas district is a branch of the *Sarvodaya Mandal* of Bihar, which was established in 1954 at Dumka. There are a few workers of *Sarvodaya Mandal* who go from village to village to propagate the ideals of *Bhoodan Yagna.*

Harijan Sevak Sangh

A branch of the *Harijan Sevak Sangh* was established in this district in 1951, with its headquarters at Dumka. It works under the direction of the Bihar *Harijan Sevak Sangh,* Patna. Its main aim is to eradicate social evils such as untouchability, drinking, etc., and to improve the lot of the backward classes. To attain these objectives the *Sangh* has been running 5 social centres in villages. It has also started Harijan Co-operative Societies at Dumka and Deoghar. The impact of its activities on the life of the people is, however, not very great.

Bharat Sevak Samaj

A district unit of *Bharat Sevak Samaj* was started at Dumka in 1953. It works for the well-being of the backward communities. It holds camps for the training of young men and women for social services. In this district, *Bharat Sevak Samaj* is not popular and only a few persons of the district know its name.

Deoghar Mahila Sahyog Samiti

This *Samiti* was established in 1948. Its aim is to serve women and children who need help. Its activities are mostly confined to Deoghar town and its adjacent villages. Literacy centres are occasionally started in villages where talks on domestic science and hygiene are arranged. In Deoghar town the *Samiti* has a tailoring and weaving section. Under this *Samiti* music and dance are also

taught to girls. In recent years Hindi classes have been started for the refugees of East Pakistan.

Madarsa and Yatimkhana Islamia, Dumka

Madarsa and *Yatimkhana* Islamia were established at Dumka in 1958. The *Yatimkhana* is attached to the *Madarsa* where teaching up to *Hafiz* standard is imparted. There are three teachers for teaching the students and one person for collecting public contributions to meet the expenses of the *Madarsa* and the *Yatimkhana*. In *Yatimkhana* in 1962-63 there were 35 inmates who were provided with free boarding, lodging and other necessities of life. The expenses are borne mainly by public contributions.

Christian Missions

In the district of Santal Parganas the Christian Missionaries have been functioning for about a century with also philanthropic motive. They have opened many educational institutions. Under the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, 24 primary, 4 middle and 2 high schools are functioning. In 1961-62 there were 2,410 children receiving education in all the 24 primary schools 1,103 in middle schools and 412 in high schools. The two high schools are located at Maharo and Kaerabani. The high school at Maharo is for girls. Besides, it has also been running the Saldaha Leprosy Colony where a large number of lepers is treated every year. There is also a well-equipped and popular hospital at Mohulpahari. It has got 110 beds. There are four doctors, 19 nurses and 40 compounders employed in this hospital. There is also a Nurses' Training School at Mohulpahari. Besides these, one weaving school and one carpentry school are also functioning under this Mission.

General

Regarding social services in the district it may be mentioned that it is only after independence in 1947 that the character of the State has been changed into that of a Welfare State and social work for the people has been taken up as one of the responsiblities of the State. As we have now a socialistic pattern of society in view there has to be necessarily more concentration on social work to uplift the vast sections of people who are extremely poor and have suffered grievously in the past from the ill effects of caste system, poverty, want of education and other disabilities. The Constitution has laid down a list of tribes and castes which come

under the category of really down-trodden people and they are described as Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes. Before independence very little work was done to upgrade them. Such work was mostly sponsored by the Christian Missionaries and a few other voluntary social organisations like Ram Krishna Mission, etc. But it is the Christian Missionaries who had penetrated into the accessible parts of the district and had opened schools and dispensaries. It is correct that the Christian Missionaries had also the object of spreading Christianity to the masses and particularly to the people who were treated as outside the pale of Hindu religion more because of their caste disabilities or poor economic condition. The Christian Missionaries have done quite a lot of such work in the district. As a matter of fact, some of the earliest schools and well-run hospitals and dispensaries have been sponsored by them. Their magnificent social work should not be belittled because of their zeal to spread Christianity.

It is unfortunate that the upper classes or castes among the Hindus practically did so little for such tribes or castes. It is only now that some organisations have been set up but they mostly depend on State help for carrying on their work. There are also some complaints as to whether they have been able to do what could have been done because of the great financial aid. It will not be incorrect to state that but for the financial aid received from the State many of such organisations would stop working. We find that there are some old Trusts but they are mostly meant only to run temples or charitable institutions entirely connected with a particular religion.

Social work has been described as the process of helping the needy people with the aid of appropriate social services, to resolve or mitigate a wide range of personal and social problems which they are unable to meet successfully without such help. Although this kind of help is nothing new in the district as there had always been some good neighbours or doctors or teachers and a few philanthropists to help the people in need. But there has been very little of a properly organised system through which a voluntary guild could do social work which also requires a certain amount of training and experience. A spasmodic exigency like an earthquake or an epidemic stands on a different footing and such emergencies will probably necessitate even inexperienced men to join up for rendering social service. But if there has to be a sustained twelve months' work with fix objectives, there has got to be a system that can only be properly worked through experience and knowledge. Social workers like occupational therapists, health visitors, home helps cannot be obtained just for the asking. It is because of the want of such properly trained men who have taken up humanitarian

work as their mission that most of the present day social service organisations are not working properly.

Another peculiar aspect of the social service organisations that are found within the district is that they are all more or less concentrated in the urban or semi-urban areas and as mentioned before, more or less, entirely depend on Government help. They have also an extremely limited scope of work. Even in the district headquarters, there are no Women's Voluntary Service, no Citizens' Advice Bureau, hardly any institution to do welfare work or look after people without homes or to help the sick and disabled. There is no institution to help the children deprived of normal home life or to protect children from ill-treatment or neglect. No one worries about the handicapped or incapacitated young or old people or the delinquents. Old age problems are never thought of. The educational institutions also have very little activities on these lines. The problems of the students are certainly not given much of thought that they deserve. Giving a few stipends is the least that can be done.

Elections

First General Election of 1952

After the attainment of independence the First General Election was held in 1952. This election was a new phenomenon in the history of representation as for the first time the election was held on the basis of adult franchise. Previously, franchise for Local Bodies, Provincial Assembly or Council was restricted. It was based on property tax, educational qualification or communal representation. Due to these restrictions imposed on franchise only a very low percentage of the population had the right of franchise. In the election of 1936 in the district of Santal Parganas there were less than 968 electors for Provincial Assembly. The adult franchise, which was adopted in 1952 General Election, gave equal opportunity to all the Indian citizens above 21 years, irrespective of sex and caste to exercise the right of franchise. The result was that there were 12,03,416 electors in 1952 election for the Legislative-Assembly as compared to 968 electors in the election of 1936.

Legislative Assembly

There were 17 constituencies for Bihar Legislative Assembly out of which 2 were plural and 15 were single-member constituencies. The political parties that participated in the election for

19 seats were the Jharkhand, Janta, Congress, Socialist, Forward Bloc (Marxist), K.M.P.P. and Jansangh. The first two parties were of local and the rest were of all-India character. In this election out of 19 seats, the Jharkhand party won 11 seats, Congress 6, Forward Bloc (Marxist) 1, and one seat was won by an independent candidate. The total number of candidates contesting the election for the Legislative Assembly was 78 out of whom 51 had affiliation to political parties while 27 were independent candidates. Out of 51 party candidates, 19 belonged to the Congress party, 16 to Jharkhand party, 7 to Socialist, 3 to Forward Bloc (Marxist), 3 to K.M.P.P., 2 to Janta and 1 to Jansangh party. The total number of votes polled was 6,95,028. The number of votes cast in favour of the parties and independent candidates was as follows :—

Jharkhand	2,75,659
Congress	2,71,747
Socialist	32,413
Forward Bloc (Marxist) ..	28,837
K.M.P.P.	7,205
Janta	6,576
Jansangh	590
Independent candidates ..	72,001
Grand total	6,95,028

The details of the constituencies and the results of the 1952 election for the Assembly seats have been given at the end of the Chapter.

Parliament

In the general election of 1952 there were two parliamentary constituencies, namely, Purnea-*cum*-Santal Parganas and Santal Parganas-*cum*-Hazaribagh. A few constituencies of Purnea and Hazaribagh were joined with Purnea-*cum*-Santal Parganas and Santal Parganas-*cum*-Hazaribagh constituencies respectively. Both the constituencies were double-member constituencies and hence the number of seats was 4, out of which 2 were reserve and 2 were general seats. 12 candidates including 4 independent candidates, contested for all the four seats. Only three parties, namely, Congress, Jharkhand and Socialist participated in the election. The Congress party contested four seats and won three—two general and one reserve whereas Jharkhand party contested two seats and won one reserve seat and Socialist party contested two seats with no

success. The number of votes polled in favour of political parties and independent candidates is given below :—

Congress	6,17,060
Jharkhand	2,69,085
Socialist	1,06,464
Independent candidates ..	3,00,726
Total	12,93,335

Out of 14,73,300 electors for parliamentary election only 6,46,668 went to the poll and cast their vote. The results of the parliamentary election have been furnished at the end of the Chapter.

The Second General Election, 1957.

Assembly Election

The General Election of 1957 is another landmark in the history of Parliamentary democracy in India. It was better planned and more systematically organised. The total number of electors at the time of the first General Election was 1,80,80,181 (44.9 per cent of the general election) whereas it rose to 1,95,14,567 (50.32 per cent of the total population) in the whole State of Bihar. So far as Santal Parganas district is concerned, the total number of electors in the 1952 General Election was 12,03,416 but in the 1957 General Election it was 12,02,118. The decrease in the number of electors seems rather strange especially when the population has been increasing. Within 10 years the population of the district rose from 23,22,092 in 1951 to 26,75,203 in 1961. The reason of the decrease in the number of electors may be attributed to the defective election machinery of enrolling the names.

In the First General Election it took about a month to declare all the results after the completion of poll ; but in the Second General Election the programme for the counting of votes and declaration of results was so arranged that all the results were declared within a fortnight. In 1952 General Election many nomination papers were rejected for failure on the part of the candidates to appoint Election Agents. As the law stood at that time every candidate had to appoint either himself or some one else as his election agent. But this law was amended before the Second General Election. Under the law so amended notice of appointment of Election Agent has to be given to the Returning Officer only when the candidate wants to appoint any person other than himself

as his election agent. The members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes had to get their declaration specifying the caste or the tribe to which they belonged attested by a Gazetted Officer in the 1952 General Election under the law, but the amended law does not require attestation of the declaration by a Gazetted Officer. The candidate himself had to make the declaration. This facilitated the Scheduled Tribe candidates of this district in filing nomination for contesting the election in the 1957 General Election.

In this election in the Santal Parganas district there were 14 constituencies out of which five were double and nine were single-member constituencies for Legislative Assembly. The average number of villages constituting a constituency in the district was 634. The total number of seats for Legislative Assembly was 19 out of which nine seats were reserved for Scheduled Tribes and one for Scheduled Castes. The total number of valid votes polled for the Legislative Assembly was 6,97,543 which comes to 35.6 per cent of the total number of electors (after doubling the number of electors in double-member constituencies). The political parties that participated in the General Election of 1957 in this district were the Jharkhand, Congress, Praja Socialist, Jansangh, Janta and Communist. The total number of candidates contesting the election for Legislative Assembly was 86 out of which Congress contested 19, Jharkhand 16, P. S. P. 8, Jansangh 3, Janta 2 and Communist 1 seats. In addition to political parties 37 independent candidates also contested 16 seats with no result. The Congress party won 7 seats, Jharkhand 11 and P. S. P. 1 but according to the decision of the Election Tribunal and the High Court in respect of Sarath Constituency a P. S. P. candidate in place of a Congress candidate was later on declared elected and so the final number of persons elected to Legislative Assembly was as follows :—

Congress	6
Jharkhand	11
P.S.P.	2
Total ..	19

The total number of votes obtained by the candidates of the Congress, Jharkhand, P. S. P., Janta, Jansangh, Communist Parties and independent candidates was 2,28,229, 2,84,673, 44,267, 17,485, 13,028, 5,910 and 1,03,951 respectively. The details of constituencies and the results of the 1957 General Election in respect of Legislative Assembly seats in Santal Parganas district have been given at the end of the Chapter.

Parliamentary Election of 1957

For 1957 Parliamentary Election there were three constituencies, namely, Rajmahal, Dumka and Banka. Banka constituency was in common with some parts of Bhagalpur district. Dumka was double-member constituency and the other two were single-member constituencies. Rajmahal constituency was reserved for Scheduled Tribes and one seat of Dumka constituency was also reserved for Scheduled Tribes. Thus out of 4 seats two seats were reserved. 16 candidates contested the Parliamentary election. The political parties that took part in the election were the Jharkhand, Congress and Praja Socialist party. The Congress party contested 4 seats, Jharkhand 4 seats and Praja Socialist party 2 seats. Besides, 6 independent candidates had also contested 4 seats. The Congress won 2 seats and the same number of seats was won by the Jharkhand party. The total number of electors for Parliamentary election was 15,14,071 out of whom 5,89,854 electors exercised their franchise. The total number of votes polled was 9,06,921 out of which 3,79,679, 3,30,917, 74,186 and 1,22,139 votes were cast in favour of the Jharkhand, Congress, P. S. P. and independent candidates respectively.

THE THIRD GENERAL ELECTION OF 1962

In comparison with the last two General Elections the Third General Election of 1962 was well-planned and it also took much less time in completing the poll and in announcing the election results. With the experience of the First and Second General Elections and of the bye-elections in the intervening period a significant change in the method of casting a vote was adopted this time to avoid all probable chances of unfair means. Previously a voter was required to put the ballot paper in the ballot box of the candidate of his choice and there were as many separate ballot boxes (one for each contesting candidate) as many contesting candidates. In the Third General Election of 1962 there was only one common ballot box for all the contesting candidates of a constituency and the elector was to give the seal against the symbol and in the space provided in the ballot paper for the candidate in whose favour he wanted to exercise his franchise.

The ballot papers contained all the symbols of the contesting candidates of a particular constituency and a space was provided against the symbol of each of the candidates for affixing the seal.

The other important change was brought about in double-member constituencies. All the double-member constituencies were converted into single-member constituencies. Generally a double-member constituency was divided into two single-member constituencies and

one such constituency was reserved for Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes in the district of Santal Parganas. This measure affected adversely the non-tribal political leaders working actively in the tribal area of Santal Parganas with the object of contesting election from that area. As the seat in the area was reserved for the Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes such leaders were utterly disappointed and began to show less zeal for work among the Santals.

In the 1962 General Election there were 19 single-member constituencies for Legislative Assembly out of which nine were reserved for Scheduled Tribes and one was reserved for Scheduled Castes. In this election there was a slight increase in the number of electors. The total number of electors in the 1962 General Election for Legislative Assembly was 12,64,454 as compared to 12,03,416 in the 1952 General Election. 88 candidates contested the election for Legislative Assembly out of whom 19,18,11,5,6,2,1, candidates belonged to the Congress, Jharkhand, Swatantra, Praja Socialist Party, Communist, Jansangh and Socialist parties respectively. Besides, 26 independent candidates also contested 14 seats with no success. The Congress Party won 6 seats, Jharkhand 8, Swatantra 3, Praja Socialist Party 1 and Communist 1. The total number of votes polled came to 4,90,566 out of which Congress secured 1,84,350, Jharkhand 1,60,306, Swatantra 67,420, Praja Socialist Party 17,814, Communist 27,066, Jansangh 2,276, Socialist 687 and independents 30,647 votes. The details of constituencies and the results of election have been given at the end of the Chapter.

Parliament.

In the Third General Election of 1962 there were four Parliamentary constituencies, namely, Rajmahal, Godda, Dumka and Banka for the district of Santal Parganas. Dumka and Banka constituencies were in common with some parts of Dhanbad and Bhagalpur districts. Rajmahal and Dumka constituencies were reserved for Scheduled Tribes. This time all these constituencies were single-member constituencies and thus there were four seats in all for Parliamentary election in the district of Santal Parganas. The Congress Party contested all the four seats and won 3 seats. The Jharkhand party also contested 4 seats but could win only one seat. Out of 15,95,289 electors 6,48,651 electors had voted in the election.

Swatantra Party and Communist Party also contested 2 seats and one seat respectively with no success. Besides, 3 independent candidates also contested 3 seats but could not win any seat.

Out of total valid votes of 6,17,591 the Congress obtained 2,72,337, Jharkhand 2,04,227, Swatantra 70,659, Communist 18,680 and independent candidates 51,688. The comparative figures of the last three General Elections have been given in the table that follows :—

PARLIAMENT.

Year in which the election was held.	Total no. of constituency.	Number of—		Number of seats		Total no. of seats.
		Single-member constituency.	Double-member constituency.	General.	Reserved.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1952 ..	2	Nil	2	2	2	4
1957 ..	3	2	1	2	2	4
1962 ..	4	4	Nil	2	2	4

Year in which the election was held.	No. of seats won by each contesting party and independent candidates.	Total no. of electors.	Total no. of electors who voted.	Total no. of valid votes polled.	No. of votes obtained by each party and independent candidates.	No. of contesting candidates party-wise and also the number of independent candidates.
1	8	9	10	11	12	13
1952	.. Congress .. 3 Jharkhand .. 1	14,73,300	6,46,668	12,93,335	Congress .. 6,17,060 Jharkhand .. 2,69,085 Socialist .. 1,06,464 Independent .. 3,00,726	Congress .. 4 Jharkhand .. 2 Socialist .. 2 Independent 4
1957	.. Congress .. 2 .. Jharkhand .. 2	15,14,071	5,89,854	9,06,921	Jharkhand .. 3,79,679 Congress .. 3,30,917 P.S.P. .. 74,186 Independent .. 1,22,139	Congress .. 4 Jharkhand .. 4 P.S.P. .. 2 Independent 6
1962	.. Congress .. 3 Jharkhand .. 1	15,95,289	6,48,651	6,17,591	Congress .. 2,72,337 Jharkhand .. 2,04,227 Swatantra .. 70,659 Communist .. 18,680 Independent .. 51,688	Congress .. 4 Jharkhand .. 4 Swatantra .. 2 Communist 1 Independent 3

ASSEMBLY.

Year in which election was held.	Total no. of constituency.	Number of—		Total no. of seats.	No. of seats reserved for—	
		Single-member constituency.	Double-member constituency.		Scheduled Tribes.	Scheduled Castes.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1952 ..	17	15	2	19	10	1
1957 ..	14	9	5	19	9	1
1962 ..	19	19	Nil	19	9	1

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ASSEMBLY—*contd.*

Year in which election was held.	No. of seats won by each contesting party and independent candidates.	Total no. of electors.	Total no. of electors who voted.	Total no. of valid votes polled.	No. of votes obtained by each contesting party and independent candidates.	Total no. of contesting candidates.	No. of contesting candidates party-wise and also the no. of independent candidates contesting the election.
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1952 ..	Jharkhand .. 11 Congress .. 6 Forward Bloc (Marxist) .. 1 Independent candidate. 1	12,03,416	5,93,926	6,95,028	Jharkhand .. 2,75,659 Congress .. 2,71,747 Socialist .. 32,413 Forward Bloc (Marxist). .. 28,837 K.M.P.P. .. 7,205 Janta .. 6,576 Jansangh .. 590 Independent 72,001	78	Congress .. 19 Jharkhand .. 16 Socialist .. 7 Forward Bloc (Marxist). 3 K.M.P.P. .. 3 Janta .. 2 Jansangh .. 1 Independent 27
1957 ..	Jharkhand .. 11 Congress .. 6 P.S.P. .. 2	12,02,118	4,63,211	6,97,543	Jharkhand .. 2,84,673 Congress .. 2,28,229 P.S.P. .. 44,267 Janta .. 17,485 Jansangh .. 13,028 Communist.. 5,910 Independent 1,03,951	86	Congress .. 19 Jharkhand .. 16 P.S.P. .. 8 Janta .. 2 Communist.. 1 Jansangh .. 3 Independent 37
1962 ..	Jharkhand .. 8 Congress .. 6 Swatantra .. 3 P.S.P. .. 1 Communist 1	12,64,454	5,23,806	4,90,566	Congress .. 1,84,350 Jharkhand .. 1,60,306 Swatantra .. 67,420 P.S.P. .. 17,814 Communist.. 27,066 Jansangh .. 2,276 Socialist .. 687 Independent 30,647	88	Congress .. 19 Jharkhand .. 18 Swatantra .. 11 Communist.. 6 P.S.P. .. 5 Jansangh .. 2 Socialist .. 1 Independent 26

The comparative figures of the last three General Elections as given in the previous table indicate the following trends :—

(1) The number of contesting candidates has been gradually increasing. The number of independent candidates contesting the General Election has decreased.

(2) The total number of votes polled in 1962 General Election for both the Parliamentary and Legislative Assembly seats seems to have decreased in comparison with 1952 and 1957 General Elections. The reason is that in 1952 and 1957 General-Elections in double-member constituencies an elector had to give two votes—one for general and the other for reserve seats and so the total number of votes in double-member constituencies was just the double of the total number of electors. But the double-member constituencies having been abolished in 1962 election, everyone had only one vote in all the constituencies to cast and so naturally the total number of votes decreased in 1962 General Election. The number of electors who exercised the right of franchise has increased in comparison with 1952 and 1957 General Elections in respect of both Parliament and Assembly seats ; it shows that now people are becoming more conscious of the value of election.

(3) The Jharkhand Party seems to be loosing its grip in the district. The number of votes cast in favour of this party has decreased considerably in the 1962 General Election. In the 1952 and 1957 General Elections it polled the highest number of votes but in the 1962 General Election the Congress Party got the highest number of votes though it could win only 6 seats whereas the Jharkhand Party won 8 seats.

(4) In respect of Parliamentary elections it is a fact to be noted that the Congress Party in both 1952 and 1962 General Elections out of 4 seats won three seats and the Jharkhand Party could win only one seat. In 1962 Parliamentary Election the Congress Party polled the highest number of votes and thus it shows that the Congress Party is gradually getting a foot-hold in the land of the Santals and the Jharkhand Party is now on wane.

(5) The vote is not gained on account of the principles of the party or its activities in the area. This is illustrated by the fact that in the 1962 General Election from Dumka

Constituency, Jharkhand Party won the seat for Legislative Assembly and from the same constituency the candidate of the Congress Party was elected for Parliament. It may be safely concluded that the vote is generally governed by the local factors, the personal influence of the contesting candidates, and their work in the area concerned. Further details of the three General Elections follow :—

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1952

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Details of Constituency

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of seats.	No. of seats reserved for—		Jurisdiction of the constituency.
		Scheduled Tribes.	Scheduled Castes.	
1	2	3	4	5
1. Rajmahal Damin ..	1	1	..	Sahibganj Police-station and Banjhi, Borio, Brindaban, Maharajpur, Mandro I, Mandro II, Sakrugarh and Taljhari Damin, Bungalows of Rajmahal Damin of Rajmahal subdivision.
2. Pakaur Damin ..	1	1	..	Pakaur Damin Bungalow of Pakaur subdivision and Dhamini Bokraband I, Bokraband II, Chandana I, Chandana II, Sundarpahari, Rajabhita, Karmatanr I, Karmatanr II, Damin Bungalows of Godda Damin of Godda subdivision.
3. Godda Damin ..	1	1	..	Simra I and Simra II, Telo and Boarijore Damin Bungalows of Godda Damin of Godda subdivision and Kusma, Raksi, Burhait Ranga, Durgapur, Pathna Damin Bungalows of Rajmahal Damin of Rajmahal subdivision.
4. Mahgama ..	1	..	..	Mahgama Police-station of Godda subdivision.
5. Godda ..	1	..	..	Chaukidari Beats I to V of Godda Police-station of Godda subdivision.
6. Porayahat-*cum*-Jarmundi.	2	1	..	Porayahat Police-station and Chaukidari Beats 6 and 7 of Godda Police-station of Godda subdivision and Jarmundi and Sarayahat Police-stations of Dumka Sadar subdivision.

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1952

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Details of Constituency

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of seats.	No. of seats reserved for—		Jurisdiction of the constituency.
		Scheduled Tribes.	Scheduled Castes.	
1	2	3	4	5
7. Ramgarh ..	1	1	..	Ramgarh Police-station and Dumka Damin Bungalows of Dumka Sadar subdivision.
8. Dumka ..	1	1	..	Dumka Town and Dumka Muffasil Police-stations of Dumka Sadar subdivision.
9. Jamtara ..	1	1	..	Jamtara Police-station and Sardani Circles, Dhaohkia, Geria, Tilaki, Kareya and Seyearketia of Nala Police-station of Jamtara subdivision.
10. Masalia ..	1	1	..	Masalia Police-station of Dumka Sadar subdivision and Kundahit Police-station and Sardani Circle, Afjalpur, Kasta and Kuldangal of Nala Police-station of Jamtara subdivision.
11. Shikaripara ..	1	1	..	Shikaripara and Raneshwar Police-stations of Dumka Sadar subdivision.
12. Maheshpur ..	1	1	..	Maheshpur and Pakaur Police-stations of Pakaur subdivision.
13. Pakaur ..	1	..	..	Pakaur and Hiranpur Bazar Police-stations of Pakaur subdivision.
14. Rajmahal ..	1	..	..	Rajmahal and Barharwa Police-stations of Rajmahal subdivision.
15. Deoghar ..	1	..	..	Jasidih, Deoghar and Mohanpur Police-stations of Deoghar subdivision.
16. Madhupur-*cum*-Sarath.	2	..	1	Chaukidari Beats 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9 and Madhupur Municipality of Madhupur Police-station and Sarawan and Sarath Police-stations of Deoghar subdivision.
17. Narainpur ..	1	..	..	Narainpur Police-station of Jamtara subdivision and Chaukidari Beats 1, 2, 3 and 7 of Madhupur Police-station of Deoghar subdivision.

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of seats.	No. of seats reserved for— Scheduled Tribes.	Scheduled Castes.	Jurisdiction of the constituency.
1	2	3	4	5
1. Purnea-*cum*-Santal Parganas.	2	..	1	Katihar, Azamnagar, Manihari and Barari Police-stations of Purnea Sadar Subdivision of Purnea district, Rajmahal Damin Bungalows and Sahibganj Police-stations of Rajmahal subdivision, Pakaur Damin, Bungalows of Pakaur subdivision Godda subdivision and Dumka Sadar subdivision (excluding Masalia, Shikaripara and Raneshwar Police-stations) of the Santal Parganas district.
2. Santal Parganas-*cum*-Hazaribagh.	2	1	..	Masalia, Raneshwar and Shikaripara Police-stations of Dumka Sadar subdivision, Jamtara and Deoghar and Pakaur subdivisions (excluding Pakaur Damin Bungalow), Rajmahal and Barharwa Police-stations of Rajmahal subdivision of the Santal Parganas district and Bengabad, Jamua, Satgaon, Gowan and Deori Police-stations of the Giridih subdivision of Hazaribagh district.

THE RESULTS OF THE 1952 GENERAJ ELECTION IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT.

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors.	Percentage of votes polled to total electorate.	Total no. of valid votes polled.	No. of contesting candidates.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Rajmahal Damin ..	74,728	44.31	33,114	4	Jharkhand ..	17,314	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	12,997	
					Independent ..	2,262	
					Ditto ..	541	
2. Pakaur Damin ..	61,687	44.94	27,728	2	Jharkhand ..	17,586	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	10,142	
3. Godda Damin ..	68,682	44.05	30,256	2	Jharkhand ..	19,681	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	10,575	
4. Mahgama ..	64,572	44.16	28,521	5	Congress ..	11,483	Congress.
					Jharkhand ..	4,351	
					Socialist ..	3,232	
					Independent ..	6,483	
					Ditto ..	2,972	
5. Godda	56,620	50.45	28,565	4	Congress ..	10,849	Congress.
					Socialist ..	8,268	
					Jharkhand ..	8,158	
					Independent ..	1,290	
6. Ramgarh ..	64,402	59.98	38,631	..	Jharkhand ..	24,039	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	13,438	
					Independent ..	1,154	

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THE RESULTS OF THE 1952 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT— *contd.*

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors.	Percentage of votes polled to total. electorate.	Total no. of valid votes polled.	No. of contesting candidates.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7. Poraiyahat-*cum*-Jarmundi	1,23,260	44.77	1,10,371	13	Congress ..	21,160 (General seat)	Congress.
					Jharkhand ..	20,491 (Reserved seat)	Jharkhand.
					Ditto ..	19,162	
					Congress ..	17,606	
					Socialist ..	4,310	
					K.M.P.P. ..	1,287	
					Independent ..	9,497	
					Ditto ..	5,336	
					Ditto ..	3,372	
					Ditto ..	2,799	
					Ditto ..	2,042	
					Ditto ..	1,863	
					Ditto ..	1,446	
8. Dumka	67,885	54.25	36,828	3	Jharkhand ..	20,634	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	15,491	
					Independent ..	703	
9. Jamtara	74,721	66.18	49,455	2	Jharkhand ..	29,128	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	20,327	
10 Masalia	76,676	61.57	47,212	2	Jharkhand ..	25,116	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	22,096	
11. Shikaripara ..	55,189	48.30	26,661	3	Jharkhand ..	15,395	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	10,315	
					Independent ..	951	
12. Maheshpur ..	62,285	50.64	31,547	2	Jharkhand ..	16,891	Jharkhand.
					Congress ..	14,656	

13. Pakaur	52,170	49.34	25,741	5	Congress ..	15,046	Congress.
					Jharkhand ..	7,749	
					Socialist ..	1,617	
					Independent ..	705	
					Ditto ..	624	
14. Rajmahal ..	61,014	35.20	21,481	6	Congress ..	11,309	Congress.
					K.M.P.P. ..	5,401	
					Socialist ..	1,204	
					Jansangh ..	590	
					Independent ..	1,964	
					Ditto ..	1,013	
15. Deoghar	69,922	50.40	35,302	6	Forward Bloc (Marxist)	21,204	Forward Bloc (Marxist).
					Congress ..	10,132	
					Socialist ..	1,851	
					K.M.P.P. ..	517	
					Independent ..	1,034	
					Ditto ..	564	
16. Madhupur-*cum*-Sarath	1,07,025	43.27	91,833	11	Congress(Gen. seat)	20,827	Congress.
					Jharkhand(Res. seat)	15,555	Jharkhand.
					Jharkhand ..	14,409	
					Congress ..	13,216	
					Forward Bloc (Marxist).	4,302	
					Janta ..	3,206	
					Independent ..	3,969	
					Ditto ..	1,728	
					Ditto ..	1,396	
					Ditto ..	1,294	
					Socialist ..	11,931	
17. Narainpur ..	62,578	50.78	31,782	5	Congress ..	10,082	
					Janta ..	3,370	
					Forward Bloc (Marxist).	3,331	
					Independent ..	13,716	Independent.
					Ditto ..	1,283	

NOTE.—The results are based on the Report on the First General Elections in India, 1951-52, Vol. II, pages 246 to 248.

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THE RESULTS OF THE 1952 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT.

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors.	Percentage of votes polled to total electorate.	Total no. of valid votes polled.	No. of contesting candidates.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Purnea-*cum*-Santal P.rganas.	7,52,822	40.5	6,59,217	6	Congress ..	1,66,049	Congress (Gen seat).
					Jharkhand ..	1,47,837	Jharkhand (Res. seat).
					Congress ..	1,47,531	
					Jharkhand ..	1,21,248	
					Socialist ..	53,206	
					Independent ..	23,346	
2. Santal Parganas-*cum*-Hazaribagh.	7,20,478	44.0	6,34,118	6	Congress ..	1,58,325	Congress(Gen. seat).
					Congress ..	1,45,155	Congress (Res. seat).
					Socialist ..	53,258	
					Independent ..	1,34,007	
					Ditto ..	55,175	
					Ditto ..	88,198	

NOTE.—The results are based on the Report on the First General Elections in India, 1951-52, pages 22 and 23.

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1957

DETAILS OF CONSTITUENCY FOR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of seats.	No. of seats reserve for—		Jurisdiction of the constituency.
		Scheduled Tribe.	Scheduled Caste.	
1	2	3	4	5
1. Rajmahal ..	1	..	..	Rajmahal and Sahibganj Police-stations in Rajmahal Subdivision.
2. Dumka ..	2	1	..	Dumka town, Dumka Muffasil and Jarmundi Police-stations in Dumka Subdivision and Sarawan Police-station in Deoghar Subdivision.
3. Borio ..	1	1	..	Borio Police-station in Rajmahal Subdivision and Boarijore Damin Bungalow in Boarijore Police-station in Godda Subdivision.
4. Barh it ..	1	1	..	Barhait Police-station in Rajmahal Subdivision and Boarijore Police-station excluding Boarijore Damin Bungalow in Godda Subdivision.
5. Pakaur ..	2	1	..	Pakaur Subdivision excluding Littipara and Amrapara Police-stations and Barharwa Police-station in Rajmahal Subdivision.
6. Littipara ..	1	1	..	Littipara and Amrapara Police-stations in Pakaur Subdivision and Chandana Police-station in Godda Subdivision.
7. Shikaripara ..	1	1	..	Shikaripara, Katikund and Gopikandar Police-stations in Dumka Subdivision.
8. Nala ..	2	1	..	Raneshwar and Masalia Police-stations in Dumka Subdivision and Kundahit and Nala Police-stations in Jamtara Subdivision.
9. Jamtara ..	1	..	..	Jamtara Police-station excluding Kalajhari Sardari Circle and Narainpur Police-station in Jamtara Subdivision.
10. Sarath ..	1	..	..	Sarath Police-station in Deoghar Subdivision and Kalajhari Sardari Circle in Jamtara Police-station in Jamtara Subdivision.

DETAILS OF CONSTITUENCY FOR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—*concld.*

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of seats.	No. of seats reserved for—		Jurisdiction of the constituency.
		Scheduled Tribe.	Scheduled Caste.	
1	2	3	4	5
11. Deoghar ..	2	..	1	Deoghar, Mohanpur, Jasidih and Madhupur Police-stations in Deoghar Subdivision.
12. Ramgarh ..	1	1	..	Ramgarh and Saraiyahat Police-stations in Dumka Subdivision.
13. Godda ..	2	1	..	Godda and Poraiyahat Police-stations in Godda Subdivision.
14. Mahgama ..	1	..	..	Mahgama Police-station in Godda Subdivision.
PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY FOR 1957 GENERAL ELECTION IN SANTAL PARGANAS.				
1. Rajmahal ..	1	1	..	Rajmahal and Pakaur Subdivisions, Boarijore and Chandana Police-stations in Godda Subdivision.
2. Dumka ..	2	1	..	Dumka and Jamtara Subdivisions, Godda Subdivision excluding Boarijore and Chandana Police-stations, Sarath and Sarawan Police-stations in Deoghar Subdivision of Santal Parganas District, Tundi and Govindpur Police-stations in Dhanbad Sadar Subdivision of Dhanbad District.
3. Banka(*) ..	1			

(*) Deoghar, Madhupur, Mohanpur and Jasidih Police-stations in Deoghar Subdivision formed the jurisdiction of Banka Parliamentary Constituency falling in Bhagalpur District.

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THE RESULTS OF THE 1957 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS OF THE DISTRICT OF SANTAL PARGANAS.

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors.	Total no. of electors who voted.	No. of contesting candidates.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Rajmahal ..	60,227	24,087	8	Congress ..	12,173	Congress.	
				Jansangh ..	1,495		
				Independent ..	240		
				Ditto ..	1,583		
				Ditto ..	2,672		
				Ditto ..	4,768		
				Ditto	694		
				Ditto ..	462		
2. Dumka	1,31,390	56,025	9	Janta ..	5,872		
				Congress ..	15,547		
				Ditto ..	18,052		
				P. S. P. ..	2,718		
				Jharkhand ..	31,099	Jharkhand (General Seat).	
				Ditto ..	25,499	Ditto (Reserved Seat).	
				Independent ..	1,467		
				Ditto ..	2,249		
				Ditto ..	9,627		
3. Borio ..	60,239	18,219	4	Jharkhand ..	12,577	Jharkhand.	
				Independent ..	455		
				Congress ..	4,488		
				Independent ..	709		
4. Barhait	58,346	16,815	5	Jharkhand ..	10,738	Jharkhand.	
				Congress ..	3,804		
				Independent ..	1,422		
				Ditto ..	388		
				Ditto ..	463		

THE RESULTS OF THE 1957 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS OF THE DISTRICT OF SANTAL PARGANAS—*concld.*

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors	Total no. of electors who voted.	No. of contesting candidates.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5. Sarath	62,494	31,672	3	P.S.P. ..	9,373	P.S.P.	According to the decision of the Election Tribunal and the High Court.
				Congress ..	11,389		
				Jharkhand ..	10,910		
6. Littipara	57,990	13,777	6	Jharkhand ..	7,236	Jharkhand.	
				Congress ..	2,353		
				Independent ..	1,404		
				Ditto ..	192		
				Ditto ..	2,244		
				Ditto ..	348		
7. Pakaur	1,36,076	45,874	9	Congress ..	19,445	Congress (Reserved Seat).	
				Ditto ..	22,944	Ditto(General Seat).	
				Jharkhand ..	18,888		
				Ditto ..	16,856		
				P. S. P. ..	1,607		
				Ditto ..	1,864		
				Independent ..	5,805		
				Ditto ..	1,332		
				Ditto ..	2,957		
8. Shikaripara ..	56,396	23,928	4	Jharkhand ..	16,776	Jharkhand.	
				Congress ..	4,735		
				Independent ..	1,480		
				Ditto ..	937		

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9. Nala ..	1,26,421	46,658	8	Jharkhand ..	25,698	Jharkhand (General Seat).
				Ditto ..	23,532	Ditto (Reserved Seat).
				Congress ..	11,311	
				Ditto ..	7,995	
				Independent ..	7,937	
				Ditto ..	6,661	
				Ditto ..	6,328	
				Ditto ..	3,854	
10. Jamtara	73,421	39,048	4	Congress ..	8,734	
				Independent ..	11,000	
				Jharkhand ..	18,177	Jharkhand.
				Independent ..	1,137	
11. Godda	1,15,251	48,904	7	Congress ..	14,262	
				Ditto ..	20,456	
				P. S. P. ..	10,973	
				Ditto ..	6,908	
				Jharkhand ..	19,539	Jharkhand (Reserved Seat).
				Ditto ..	23,612	Ditto. (Gen. Seat).
				Independent ..	2,057	
12. Ramgarh ..	63,019	22,198	2	Jharkhand ..	10,864	
				Congress ..	11,334	Congress.
13. Mahgama ..	63,559	28,653	7	Communist ..	5,910	
				Congress ..	3,198	
				P. S. P. ..	7,012	P. S. P.
				Independent ..	1,145	
				Ditto ..	3,742	
				Ditto ..	4,386	
				Ditto ..	3,260	
14. Deoghar	1,37,289	47,353	10	Janta ..	11,613	
				Congress ..	16,572	
				Ditto ..	19,387	Congress.
				Jansangh ..	6,188	
				P. S. P. ..	3,812	
				Jharkhand ..	12,672	
				Jansangh ..	5,345	
				Independent ..	4,347	
				Ditto ..	1,902	
				Ditto ..	2,307	

NOTE.—The results are based on the figures of the Report on the Second General Election in Bihar, 1956-57 from pages 157 to 160.

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THE RESULTS OF THE 1957 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF PARLIAMENTARY SEATS OF THE DISTRICT OF SANTAL PARGANAS.

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors.	Total no. of electors who voted.	No. of contesting candidates.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Rajmahal ..	3,73,878	1,18,647	4	Jharkhand ..	53,452		
				Congress ..	55,900	Congress.	
				Independent ..	5,854		
				Ditto ..	3,441		
2. Dumka	7,50,384	3,17,068	7	Congress ..	1,04,077		
				Independent ..	47,437		
				P. S. P. ..	54,171		
				Independent ..	34,416		
				Jharkhand ..	1,62,637	Jharkhand (General Seat).	
				Congress ..	93,036		
				Jharkhand ..	1,39,361	Jharkhand (Reserved Seat).	
3. Banka	3,89,809	1,54,139	5	Jharkhand ..	24,229		
				P. S. P. ..	20,015		
				Congress ..	78,904	Congress.	
				Independent ..	15,233		
				Ditto ..	15,758		

The results are based on the Report of the Second General Election in Bihar, 1956-57 at page 131.

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THE DETAILS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT IN THE 1962 GENERAL ELECTION

Name of the constituency.	Seat reserved for—		Jurisdiction of the constituency.
	Scheduled Tribe.	Scheduled Caste.	
1	2	3	4
1. Rajmahal			Rajmahal and Sahibganj P.S. in Rajmahal Subdivision.
2. Borio	1	..	Borio P. S. in Rajmahal Subdivision and Boarijore Damin Bungalow in Godda Subdivision.
3. Littipara		..	Littipara and Amrapara P. S. in Pakaur Subdivision and Chandana P. S. in Godda Subdivision.
4. Barhait	1	..	Barhait and Ranga P. S. in Rajmahal Subdivision and Boarijore P. S. (excluding Boarijore Damin Bungalow) in Godda Subdivision.
5. Pakaur		..	Pakaur P. S. and Hiranpur Bazar P. S. (excluding Chaukidari Union no. 3) in Pakaur Subdivision and Barharwa P. S. in Rajmahal Subdivision.
6. Maheshpur		..	Maheshpur and Pakuria P. S. and Chaukidari Union no. 3 in Hiranpur Bazar P. S. in Pakaur Subdivision.
7. Shikaripara ..	1		Shikaripara, Kathikund and Gopikandar P. S. in Dumka Subdivision.
8. Nala		..	Nala and Kundahit P. S. (excluding Asna and Dhasania Sardari Circles) in Jamtara Subdivision.
9. Raneshwar ..	1	..	Raneshwar and Masalia P. S. in Dumka Subdivision and Asna and Dhasania Sardari Circles in Kundahit P. S. in Jamtara Subdivision.
10. Jamtara	1	..	Jamtara P. S. (excluding Kaljharia Sardari Circle) and Narainpur P. S. in Jamtara Subdivision.
11. Sarath		..	Sarath and Palajori P. S. in Deoghar Subdivision and Kaljharia Sardari Circle in Jamtara P. S. in Jamtara Subdivision.

THE DETAILS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT IN THE 1962 GENERAL ELECTION—*concl'd.*

Name of the constituency.	Seat reserved for—		Jurisdiction of the constituency.
	Scheduled Tribe.	Scheduled Caste.	
1	2	3	4
12. Madhupur ..	..	1	Madhupur and Karon P. S. and Chaukidari Beat no. 3 in Jasidih P. S. in Deoghar Subdivision.
13. Deoghar	.. ..	..	Deoghar, Mohanpur and Jasidih P. S. (excluding Chaukidari Beat no. 3) in Deoghar Subdivision.
14. Jarmundi	.. ..	..	Jarmundi P. S. in Dumka Subdivision and Sarawan P. S. in Deoghar Subdivision.
15. Dumka	1	..	Dumka town, Dumka Muffasil, and Jama P. S. in Dumka Subdivision.
16. Ramgarh	1	..	Ramgarh and Saraiyahat P. S. in Dumka Subdivision.
17. Godda	.. ..	..	Pathargama and Godda P. S. (excluding Chaukidari Beat nos. 1 and 7) in Godda Subdivision.
18. Poraiyahat ..	1	..	Poraiyahat P. S. and Chaukidari Beat nos. 1 and 7 in Godda P. S. in Godda Subdivision.
19. Mahgama	..	..	Mahgama and Maherma P. S. in Godda Subdivision.
PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY.			
1. Rajmahal ..	1	..	Rajmahal, Borio, Barhait, Littipara, Pakaur, Maheshpur.
2. Godda	1	..	Sarath, Jarmundi, Ramgarh, Poraiyahat, Godda, Mahgama.
3. Dumka	1	..	Shikaripara, Raneshwar, Nala, Jamtara, Dumka, Tundi.
4. Banka	1	..	Madhupur, Deoghar, Amarpur, Banka, Belhar, Katoria.

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THE RESULTS OF THE 1962 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT.

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors.	No. of electors who voted.	Percentage of votes polled to total electors.	No. of votes rejected.	No. of candidates nominated.	No. of candidates contesting.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Jarmundi	71,269	40,673	57	2,493	4	4	Congress ..	16,958	Congress.
							Swatantra ..	4,697	
							Jharkhand ..	15,761	
							Independent	764	
2. Pakaur	78,341	37,968	48.24	2,426	4	2	Jharkhand ..	18,429	Jharkhand.
							Congress ..	17,113	
3. Raneshwar	65,674	18,905	29	1,311	7	6	Jharkhand ..	8,278	Jharkhand.
							Congress ..	6,637	
							Independent	252	
							Ditto ..	961	
							Ditto ..	682	
							Ditto ..	784	
4. Borio	86,423	32,671	34.13	1,443	5	3	Jharkhand ..	11,696	Jharkhand.
							Congress ..	8,077	
							Independent	1,455	
5. Barhait	62,326	20,884	33.5	1,234	5	4	Jharkhand ..	12,285	Jharkhand.
							Congress ..	5,679	
							Independent	1,218	
							Ditto ..	468	

THE RESULTS OF THE 1962 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT—*contd.*

Name of the constituency.	Total no. of electors.	No. of electors who voted.	Percentage of votes polled to total electors.	No. of votes rejected.	No. of candidates nominated.	No. of candidates contesting.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. Sarath	68,940	36,655	53	2,054	7	5	P.S.P. ..	13,829	P.S.P.
							Jharkhand ..	11,234	
							Swatantra ..	1,473	
							Communist ..	879	
							Congress ..	7,186	
7. Nala	64,536	21,861	33.9	1,783	5	3	Communist ..	12,287	Communist.
							Jharkhand ..	3,586	
							Congress ..	4,205	
8. Littipara	53,763	13,885	26	1,479	6	5	Jharkhand ..	7,302	Jharkhand.
							Congress ..	2,235	
							Communist ..	1,172	
							Independent	952	
							Ditto ..	745	
9. Rajmahal	62,513	34,310	52.6	1,383	6	6	Jharkhand ..	501	
							Congress ..	19,312	Congress.
							Swatantra	11,832	
							Jansangh ..	727	
							Independent	365	
							Ditto ..	190	

10. Ramgarh	64,384	26,093	40.52	1,651	5	4	Swatantra ..	1,619		
							Jharkhand ..	11,741	Jharkhand.	
							Congress ..	9,332		
							Independent	1,750		
11. Dumka	73,430	35,044	47.72	1,902	5	4	Jharkhand ..	16,927	Jharkhand.	
							Congress ..	13,852		
							Independent	1,363		
							Ditto ..	1,000		
12. Shikaripara	57,574	20,296	35.25	1,011	6	6	Independent	662		
							Communist	1,599		
							Congress ..	4,697		
							Independent	1,282		
							Jharkhand ..	10,559	Jharkhand.	
							Independent	486		
13. Jamtara	75,038	27,928	37.2	1,944	8	4	Congress ..	6,788		
							Independent	6,980		
							Ditto ..	2,388		
							Swatantra ..	9,828	Swatantra.	
14. Maheshpur	65,955	19,702	30	1,586	6	5	Congress ..	3,413		
							Jharkhand ..	6,594		
							Swatantra	7,252	Swatantra.	
							Independent	587		
							Ditto ..	270		
15. Poraiyahat	60,832	27,138	42.3	1,376	6	5	Independent	800		
							Congress ..	12,514	Congress.	
							Swatantra ..	1,897		
							P.S.P. ..	509		
							Jharkhand ..	10,042		
16. Mahgama	68,986	33,807	49	2,178	8	6	Communist	8,908		
							Swatantra ..	2,017		
							Jharkhand ..	4,584		
							Congress ..	14,950	Congress	
							Socialist ..	687		
							P.S.P. ..	483		

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THE RESULTS OF THE 1962 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SEATS OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT—*contd.*

Name of the constituency	Total no. of electors	No. of electors who voted.	Percentage of votes polled to total electors.	No. of votes rejected.	No. of candidates nominated.	No. of candidates contesting.	Party affiliation.	No. of votes obtained by each candidate.	Party won.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
17. Godda	61,037	30,744	44.88	1,671	8	7	Independent	810	
							Congress ..	9,481	Congress.
							Swatantra ..	4,047	
							Communist ..	2,221	
							Independent	2,905	
							P.S.P. ..	2,225	
							Jharkhand ..	5,710	
18. Madhupur	73,833	24,212	32.78	1,358	4	3	Swatantra ..	12,058	Swatantra.
							Congress ..	8,378	
							Jharkhand ..	2,418	
19. Deoghar	69,600	31,068	44.59	1,322	6	6	Swatantra ..	10,700	
							Jharkhand ..	2,659	
							P.S.P. ..	768	
							Congress ..	13,543	Congress.
							Jansangh ..	1,549	
							Independent	528	

THE RESULTS OF THE 1962 GENERAL ELECTION IN RESPECT OF PARLIAMENTARY SEATS OF SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT.

1. Rajmahal	3,88,972	1,49,409	38.5	8,032	4	3	Independent	10,721	
							Jharkhand ..	74,666	Jharkhand.
							Congress ..	55,990	

2. Godda	..	..	3,95,091	1,93,437	49	9,433	8	5	Jharkhand	58,973	
									Independent	7,099	
									Communist..	18,680	
									Swatantra ..	20,694	
									Congress ..	78,558	Congress.
3. Dumka	..	..	3,99,218	1,40,848	35.27	7,205	3	3	Independent	33,868	
									Congress ..	50,430	Congress.
									Jharkhand ..	49,345	
4. Banka	..	..	4,12,008	1,64,957	40.07	6,390	4	3	Jharkhand ..	21,243	
									Congress ..	87,359	Congress.
									Swatantra ..	49,965	

N.B.—(1) The results of 1962 General Election in respect of both Legislative Assembly and Parliamentary Seats are based on the reports of the Returning Officers. The final figures are still under compilation (September, 1962).

(2) The abbreviations used in the results of the last three General Elections are as follows:—

P.S.P. .. Praja Socialist Party.

K.M.P.P. .. Kishan Majdoor Praja Party.

Res. .. Reserve.

Gen. .. General.

CHAPTER XVI

PLACES OF INTEREST

Alubera

Situated at a distance of about eight miles westward from Amrapara, this village is the headquarters of the Grampanchayat of the same name and has a Damin Inspection Bungalow, a middle school, a health and field veterinary sub-centre. There is also a Paharia Welfare Graingola.

Alubera offers a rich field for the study for mineralogical, geological and paleo-botanical researches. There is also a coal mine at Chilgo near Alubera and it is expected a good number of coal mines will be leased in the near future. The area of the village is 1,405 acres with 116 houses and a population of 564 souls.*

Ambar

"A *pargana* in the north-east of the Pakaur subdivision. The estate comprising this *pargana* has long been held by a family of Kanauj Brahmans, whose tradition of origin is as follows :—

It is said that during the reign of Akbar a pestilence broke out in Kanauj, and a number of its inhabitants, both Hindus and Muhammadans, migrated to this part of the country, which was then covered with dense forest, and brought it under cultivation. When Raja Pratapaditya of the Sundarbans rose in rebellion and Man Singh was sent against him in command of the imperial troops, one of the ancestors of the present proprietors assisted Man Singh with a body of aborigines. As a reward for his services he was given a grant of this *pargana* in *jagir*, and the tract was called Ambar after the province of Ambar in Rajputana, the home of Man Singh. The *pargana* originally stretched across the Rajmahal Hills, and its Rajas were the overlords of the Maler of Saurpal or Sumarpal. The latter tract in course of time became a separate *tappa* and was included by Cleveland in the Damin-i-koh; while the plains portion of the estate, which retained the name of Ambar and was in possession of the Brahman proprietors, was transferred at Cleveland's instance from the Rajshahi district to Bhagalpur in

*The population figures where not specifically mentioned were taken from the Block Development Office concerned in 1961.

1781. At the time of Buchanan Hamilton (1809) the estate was held by Pirthi Chand Sahi, who is still remembered as a Sanskrit scholar, poet, essayist and builder of temples. It was during his time (in 1793) that the permanent settlement of Ambar was concluded. He was succeeded in 1834 by his son Raja Ram Chandra who was renowned for his charity. Ram Chandra died in 1845 and was succeeded by his minor son Krista Chandra Sahi, who lived for two years only. Ram Chandra's widow Rani Khema Sundari Devi then succeeded and held it till her death in 1895. The estate was managed by her son-in-law Babu Gopi Lal Pande, who established the Pakaur school and a charitable dispensary. His second son Sitesh Chandra Pande succeeded the Rani in 1895. His first and third sons Taresh Chandra and Kulesh Chandra had died before the Rani, Taresh leaving behind two sons Satyendra and Pratapendra and Kulesh one son Ganendra. Sitesh Chandra Pande had the title of Raja conferred on him in 1891 in recognition of his liberality and charity. He died in 1900 and was succeeded by his son Kumar Kalidas Pande during whose minority the estate was under the management of the Court of Wards from 20th January 1902 to 13th December 1915. He died in 1920 and was succeeded by his widow Srimati Jyotirmoyee Debi who is the present proprietress of the estate.

"Raja Sitesh Chandra made provision for his three nephews Satyendra, Pratapendra and Ganendra by granting Patni tenures yielding an annual income of Rs. 20,000 to each. Satyendra died leaving a childless widow and Pratapendra died in 1929 leaving two sons Binoyendra and Amarendra. Amarendra was murdered through injection of plague bacilii at the instance of Binoyendra who has been convicted for the offence and sentenced to transportation for life.'*,

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 21-LR/ZAN, dated 19th May 1952, published on 22nd May 1952.

Amrapara

Situated on the Dumka-Pakaur P. W. D. road this place is the headquarters of a Community Development-*cum*-Anchal office and has the offices of a Subdivisional Officer of Public Works Department, an Inspector of Police, a tassar seed distribution centre and also a cocoon purchasing centre. There are several schools including a high school and a well-located Damin Inspection bungalow.

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*District Gazetteer Santal Parganas (1938), pp. 362-363.

Amrapara is a large village populated by *Mahajans* known as *Bhagats*, a business-minded community migrated from the Bhojpur area of Bihar. Amrapara is mainly important for its bi-weekly *hat* particularly Saturday *hat* when the turnover in a single day in the busy season occasionally amounts to almost a lakh of rupees. This *hat* is important for the export of poultry, agriculture and vegetable products which are supplied to Calcutta and other markets. The area of the village is 903 acres with 145 houses and a population of 657 people. The village has a picturesque surrounding. Tourism could be developed.

Arol

Arol is a small village situated 7 miles south-west of Maheshpur, the block and thana headquarters, and is inhabited partly by the aboriginals and partly by the backward classes of Hindu and Muslim communities. It has an area of 799 acres with a population of 500 people and contains 109 occupied houses. It has assumed significance of late due to the establishment of a Joint Co-operative Farm, first of its kind in the whole of Santal Parganas district, comprising of 54 families as its members and with a total area of 54.84 acres.

Barkop

"A *tappa* in the Godda subdivision, with an area of about 20 square miles, situated between *pargana* Godda on the south and *tappa* Patsunda on the north. It is said to have derived its name from an old village of the same name containing twelve ancient wells (*barah-kup*). According to local tradition, the estate was formerly held by Nat Rajas, but during the reign of Akbar came into the possession of a Khetauri family. The head of the family was one Deb Barm, a Khetauri chief of Kharagpur (in Monghyr), who, being driven out of that tract by Rajput invaders, settled in Patsunda, having obtained a grant of Patsunda and Barkop from the Mughal Viceroy. In 1687 the estate was divided between two of his descendants, Mani Barm retaining Barkop, while Patsunda was handed over to his younger brother, Chandra Barm. The proprietor at the time of the Permanent Settlement was one Ujit Barm, who died without male issue in 1835, leaving two widows, Lilabati and Bhulanbati. After the death of Lilabati, Bhulanbati adopted Chandra Dayal Barm, of the Patsunda family, in 1875. She died shortly afterwards, and the estate came under the Court of Wards. The validity of the adoption was disputed by the sons of Lilabati's daughter, who had married into the Handwe family. A compromise was effected by Mr. Barlow, the Commissioner, according to which the proprietary right was split up among the rival claimants. The estate was encumbered with debts and 12-annas 7 gandas 2 karas interest of the estate has passed into the

hands of purchasers, the balance 3 annas 12 gandas 2 karas now remains with the original proprietors Babu Sashi Bhushan Singh and others.

"There are a few places of interest in the estate which may suitably be mentioned here. In the village of Bastara there is a large tank, said to date from time immemorial. It is held sacred by Hindus, who come in large numbers to bathe in it during the Sankranti festival of Chait, the festival being the occasion for a fair. A legend connected with the tank is that formerly people requiring cooking or other utensils for marriages or other social ceremonies had only to ask for them and they appeared miraculously from the waters of the tank. They were bound to return them to the tank when they were no longer wanted, and he who did not do so was visited by some calamity or misfortune. In course of time the people, growing dishonest, did not give back the articles they had borrowed, and the supply stopped for ever. It is also believed that no one has ever been able to cross the tank from one end to another whether by swimming, on an elephant or in a boat; if any one ventured to make the attempt he would find mysterious chains encircling his feet and dragging him down to a watery grave. This property the tank is believed to retain even now, and nobody ever thinks of crossing it. At Kurma there is an old building which is said to have been built by the Viceroy Shah Shuja, a brother of Aurangzeb, as a *shikargah* or hunting lodge, and at Bodra, about 4 miles from Barkop, there is an old stone temple dedicated to Mahadeva. Shalput, 6 miles north of Barkop, contains the *dargah* or tomb of Pir Sagona Shah, who is regarded by the Muhammadans of the locality as a great saint. He is said to have performed his devotions on the top of Saurari hill, where some ruins mark his retreat. Within the premises of the house occupied by the descendants of Raja Ajit Barm there is an old building, said to have belonged to the Nat Rajas, one room in which is believed to be haunted and is not used by the present owners. At Kapaita, 6 miles from Barkop, there are the ruins of another building, which is said to have belonged to one of the same Rajas."*

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 56-LR/ZAN, dated the 6th November 1957, published on the 12th November 1951.

Basukinath

A village under Jarmundi Police Station in the Sadar subdivision situated at about 16 miles west of Dumka. It has a magnificent temple of Lord Shiva. This temple attracts a large number of

*District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas (1938), pp. 363-364.

Hindu pilgrims throughout the year, particularly during the months of *Srawan*, *Asin* and *Phalgun*. This place is situated at a distance of about 27 miles east of Deoghar where there is a Baidyanath temple of great celebrity. A Hindu, who visits Deoghar, usually comes to Basukinath to offer oblation to Lord Shiva. The place is connected by a one-mile long metalled road with Dumka-Deoghar road. This crossing is at 15 miles west of Dumka and 27 miles east of Deoghar. A bus coming either from Deoghar and Dumka passes through Basukinath village.

The village has taken its name after Lord Shiva in a temple. The temple is the chief source of the livelihood of about 50 families of *pandas* who live here. There are five *dharamshalas* for the accommodation of the pilgrims. There is a middle school and a water tank. The *mela* area has pipe water supply and electricity.

According to the census of 1951, its area is 333 acres with 145 occupied houses and a population of 729 souls. The population has now risen to about one thousand.

The Block office of Jarmundi Block is located here in a rented building.

An Inspection Bungalow appears necessary for the tourists and pilgrims who want better type of accommodation. The *Pandas* here are very helpful.

Belpatta

"A *tappa* in the south of the Dumka subdivision. This *tappa* formerly was held by the Rajas of Birbhum, but was transferred to Bhagalpur in 1781 on the recommendation of Cleveland, who brought it under the hill system. It is now broken up into numerous estates, and has passed into the hands of purchasers who have nothing to do with the original family of proprietors. It includes three *taluks*, viz., Uparbahal, Sapchala and Amgachi."*

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 17-LR/ZAN, dated the 19th May, 1952, published in the Extraordinary Gazette, dated 22nd May, 1952.

Bindabansini Temple

It is located about 2 miles south of Barharwa on a hill in village Jhiktia in Pathna Anchal. It is said that the person will

*District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas (1938), pp. 364-365.

have his desire fulfilled if he ties a piece of rock or earth in a tree just by the side of the temple. A mela is held on the occasion of Ramnavmi which lasts for three days.

Birkitti

Birkitti also known as "Birkheti" is an ancient village situated 6 miles south of Maheshpur. It is also one of the Extension and Halka Centre of the Block where a community hall and a Health Sub-centre building was constructed by the public on Government subsidy.

Ruins of a fort of a Rajput chief named Raja Uday Narayan Singh are seen to the west of the village. The Raja is said to have fought a battle with Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan of Murshidabad in a battle field which is called "*Mundmal Danga.*"

Burahi

A village situated by the side of the Patro river. This village is in Madhupur block at a distance of about 14 miles from Madhupur by road (10 miles pucca and 4 miles kutcha). It is the headquarters of the Ghatwal of Burahi estate. On the northern side of the river, there is a hill in which a Kali image is installed known as Burheshwari. The hill presents a picturesque sight. The rock is of a peculiar character and being one solid block provides numerous caves where food is cooked and the pilgrims stay during *Newan* Mela which is held in the month of *Agrahayan.* The place is considered holy and particularly for those who believe in *Tantras.* Students of geology, especially of the Calcutta University often visit the village for the study of the rock.

Damin-i-Koh

"A Government estate in the north-east of the district extending over 1,338 square miles and including portions of the Rajmahal, Pakaur, Godda and Dumka subdivisions. The name is a Persian one, meaning the skirts of the hills, but the estate comprises not only, as might be supposed from the name, the country lying at the foot or on the slopes of the Rajmahal Hills, but almost the whole range between the Ganges on the north and the Brahmani river on the south. The tract it covers consists of hills surrounded by flat country, with fertile valleys lying, in some instances, between parallel ranges. The average altitude is from 200 to 1,500 feet, and on the tops of the hills, especially towards the south, there are extensive tablelands suitable for plough cultivation. The valleys lying at the foot of the hills are well-watered by streams,

and are cultivated and inhabited for the most part by Santals. The latter are comparatively recent immigrants the Damin-i-Koh having been formerly inhabited only by the Paharias, who were chiefly known and feared as freebooters and cattle-lifters. The Muhammadan rulers seem to have made no attempt to subjugate and civilize these caterans, and beyond granting *jagirs* or *ghatwalis* to the zamindars of the neighbouring tracts, in order that they might entertain a militia to keep the hillmen within bounds, they seem to have left them alone.

"After the disruption of the Mughal Government the raids of the Paharias increased to such an extent that the zamindars of the neighbouring tracts were unable to keep them in check. In 1772 a corps of light infantry was raised by the British Government to check their raids, this corps being placed under the command of Captain Brooke, who was succeeded by Captain Browne in 1774. Both these officers led successful expeditions through the Damin-i-Koh, and the latter devised a scheme of police posts at important points for the pacification of the hillmen. It was left, however, to Augustus Cleveland, who became Collector of Bhagalpur in 1779, to bring the hillmen really under subjection. Seeing that the the police posts were insufficient, many of them having been abandoned he took steps to re-establish them and to complete the *chaukibandi* or line of posts round the hills. He also realized that if the Paharias were really to be pacified they must be conciliated. With this object he proposed to pay 26 Paharia chiefs monthly stipends of Rs. 10 each and 58 deputy chiefs Rs. 5 each in consideration of their performing the duties of police in the hills and preventing incursions into the plains. Government agreed to this proposal and also sanctioned, in 1781, a scheme put forward by Cleveland for raising a corps of archers which would preserve the peace in the hills and punish marauders. Notwithstanding the raising of this corps, the stipends continued to be paid to the chiefs and deputies, as well as a stipend of Rs. 2 per mensem to the headmen of each hill that supplied a man to the corps. Cleveland also had the hill people removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; and, by a special order of Government, a council of hill chiefs, presided over by Cleveland himself, tried all cases in which the hillmen were concerned. This system proved successful, crimes of violence being reduced to a minimum; but after Cleveland's death in 1784, the administration of his system was practically left in the hands of a corrupt native officer, Abdul Rasul Khan, who was known as the *Sazawal* of the hills.

"At this time there was a broad belt of country at the base of the hills, devoid of cultivation and covered with forests. When Cleveland removed the hill area from the ordinary jurisdiction, he

also removed from the jurisdiction of the zamindars this tract of forest, which he named the Damin-i-Koh or skirts of the hills. He held that it was the property of the hillmen, and it was a part of his scheme to induce them to leave their hills, and establish themselves in the plains, by assigning to them freehold grants of land on condition that they cleared and cultivated them on long leases. The area that he proposed to allot for cultivation was not demarcated, but was roughly taken to be all the forest and waste land at the foot of the hills. The Paharias, however, failed to cultivate the area set apart for them and allowed the Santals to enter upon their reservation, cut down the forests and bring the land under the plough.

"In 1818 Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhagalpur, was deputed to make an enquiry regarding the administration of the hills and the lands adjoining them. He recommended in 1819 that Government should declare its exclusive rights as proprietor of the hills generally occupied by the hill people, and also of the country at the foot of the hills which was not held by zamindars. Government accepted his recommendation, and in a resolutition, dated the 17th July, 1823, declared that the hill people had become the direct ryots of Government and that all the rights that might at any previous time have attached to the zamindars and others over the hills and contiguous tracts of land occupied by the Paharias must be regarded as having ceased. It held that the settlement of this point, was merely of importance as clearing the way to a proper understanding of the question to whom the adjacent forests were to be assigned. In other respects it was of little moment, as "Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possessions of the hill people in the mountains or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil".

"The resolution went on as follows :—"There seems from what is stated by Mr. Sutherland to be abundant reason to conclude that, on introducing the system adopted in 1780 for the pacification of the hills, it was the intention of Government to take both the hills and adjacent forests into its own direct management. The reason was :—(1) The *Sazawal* was always designated *Sazawal* of the hills and of the Damin-i-Koh or skirts of the hills, (2) Both Captain Browne and Mr. Cleveland made many appropriations of lands in the forests and skirts of the hills as well to *ghatwals* and invalids as to different persons willing to clear and cultivate them, and this they did without reference to the claims of the adjoining Rajas and zamindars. (3) It was a part of the projected system to settle the hillmen in the forest and thus to promote both their civilization and their improvement of the country at the same time.

This plan was specially submitted to and approved by Government, which sufficiently proves that the forests were considered to be exclusively at its disposal, (4) The *sanads* granted to the *ghatwals* have a clause authorizing them to assign land in the forest to any hill people who might be desirous of settling them without any advertence to the consent of the zamindar, (5) The zamindars have no title to urge to the Damin-i-koh that would not, if admitted, include the hills also, for the two do not appear to have to have been ever separated before. Hence, at the pacification of the hills was made by resuming their interests and excluding their influence from the tract, it would seem naturally to follow that their seignorial rights over both were annulled at the same time."

"The result of this resolution was that in 1824 Mr. J. P. Ward was directed to assert the right of Government to the hilly tract, or Damin-i-Koh, on the exterior range, to define the extent of it, and to lay down such permanent boundary marks as might allow of it, being easily retraced. He was also required to report, after consulting with the Magistrate, whether it would be advisable to assign the tract, when defined, to the hill people in *jagir* tenure or to dispose of it in any other mode. In compliance with these orders Mr. Ward made a demarcation of the Damin-i-Koh between 1824 and 1833, and erected masonry pillars in a ring-fence round the outer margin of the hills which hem in the Damin-i-Koh. This boundary is practically that which exists at the present day. The demarcation was carried out with the express object of reserving the Damin-i-Koh for the Paharias alone, and granting its fertile valleys as lands to be cultivated by them and their descendants free of rent for ever. In the course of his demarcation Mr. Ward made two discoveries. He found that the Paharias would not come down from their hills, as was expected, nor engage in tillage; while on the borders, and even inside the demarcated tract, he found a tribe of immigrants newly come from Singhbhum, whom he called Sontars, and who were clearing the forests and reclaiming the waste lands. In many cases the hill *sardars* were taking rent from them for their newly settled villages; and in reporting the fact to the Board of Revenue Mr. Ward asked how these usurpations were to be dealt with. He also proposed to introduce the Santals into the Damin-i-Koh as there was no prospect of the hillmen ever undertaking its cultivation, and the Santals were "an industrious race of people, who require only good treatment to make them useful and profitable ryots."

"The Board of Revenue answered this reference by desiring Mr. Ward to resume the settlements usurped by the hillmen and forwarded his proposal to form Santal settlements to the Government, with a strong recommendation that it should be sanctioned. The

Government, however, true to the traditional policy of reserving this tract for the hillmen, refused to accede to it and were in favour of assigning the Paharias one-half of the cultivated land included within the demarcated line, under free-hold grants on condition that they cultivated it within a specified period. The areas of the grants were to be graduated according to the rank of the grantee, e.g., *sardar, naib* or simple *manjhi*. A large number of such grants were made by Mr. Ward and subsequently by Mr. Pontet, who was appointed Superintendent of the Damin-i-Koh in 1837. A very few of these grants still exist; the remainder were speedily forfeited, as the grantees either made no attempts to clear them or at once assigned them to Santal settlers, from whom they took rents. In spite of this Government still insisted that the demarcated area should be reserved for the benefit of the hillmen, and there is no record that this prohibition was ever formally removed. In 1837, however, when Mr. Dunbar, the then Collector of Bhagalpur after a personal conference with the Board of Revenue and with the Government, obtained sanction to the appointment of Mr. Pontet as Superintendent of the Damin-i-Koh, the latter was directed, in order to make the estate productive, to give every encouragement to Santals in the work of clearing jungle.

"Mr. Pontet, who is still remembered as Ponteen Saheb, remained in charge of the Damin-i-Koh till after the Santal insurrection of 1855. He had his headquarters at Bhagalpur and used to tour in the estate during the cold season and collect the rents. He opened it up by means of roads, settled bazars and *hats* and established inspection bungalows; most of the existing roads in the tract follow the alignment made by him. While he was thus developing the estate the stream of Santal immigration continued. The Santals were treated for some years under the special Regulation (I of 1827) framed for the Paharias and, when its application to them was stopped, with great liberality as regards their holdings and assessments. In spite of this the Santals settled in the Damin-i-Koh rose in rebellion in 1855, in order to free themselves from the oppression of their Hindustani and Bengali money-lenders and of the local police, and partly also, there is reason to believe, in order to make good their claim that what they had reclaimed belonged to themselves alone. When the rebellion was quelled, the administration of the estate was continued on the same exclusive principles, and the old restrictions which closed the hillmen's country against members of other races were enforced for the Santals. Their assessment at low rates and with favourable conditions was continued and under this system the Damin-i-Koh has remained ever since.

Under the management of Mr. Pontet rents were assessed by a rough computation of the cultivated area known as the *rekbandi*

system, and the rental of the estate rose from Rs. 2,611 in 1836-37 to Rs. 58,033 in 1854-55, owing to the immigration of Santals. The first regular settlement of the estate was made in 1857-58, when the rental was fixed at Rs. 55,050; and in 1858 another settlement was made by Mr. Blumhardt for six years (subsequently extended for five years more), which increased the demand to Rs. 1,00,165. The basis of assessment in both these settlements was the number of ploughs in each village, and it was not till the settlement made by Mr. Browne Wood, in 1878-79, that the village boundaries were surveyed by chain and compass. A lump assessment was made for the whole village and distributed by *panchayats* among the ryots, the result being to increase the revenue of the estate to Rs. 1,67,191. The term of this settlement was 10 years; but on its expiry Government decided that resettlement should be deferred, as it might unsettle the Santals without producing any large increase of revenue. A resettlement and survey were finally sanctioned in 1899 and were carried to a conclusion by Mr. H. McPherson in 1905. Altogether 1,082 square miles came under survey and settlement, and one square mile in the town of Sahibganj under survey only. The remaining 255 square miles consisted of 212 square miles of unsurveyed and unsettled Paharia country and 43 square miles previously settled in the Pakaur Damin. Of the area under settlement 375,267 acres or 55 per cent were found to be under cultivation, as compared with 27,629 acres at the settlement of 1879. Owing to this large extension of cultivation there was a considerable increase in the assessment, the rents settled by Mr. McPherson being Rs. 2,48,858 for the first five years and Rs. 2,67,929 from the sixth year upwards, representing annas 10-9 and annas 11 and pies 6 per acre respectively. The 212 square miles of unsettled Sauria Paharia hills of Godda and Rajmahal were settled by Mr. S. S. Day in 1912—16 resulting in a net revenue to Government amounting to Rs. 6,624-1-0. During the third revision settlement of 1922—35, the whole of the Damin-i-Koh (excluding the 212 acres of Sauria Paharia hills settled by Mr. Day) was resettled and the rent settled amounted to Rs. 3,80,578.

"According to the census of 1901 the population of the Damin-i-Koh was 358,294, of whom no less than 226,540 were Santals, and according to the 1931 census, the total population of the Damin-i-Koh is 411,677 of whom 242,647 are Santals who chiefly occupy the valleys and level portions of the estate. The next most numerous race consist of the Paharias, of whom there are two branches, the Maler and the Mal Paharias. The former are found in the northern half of the estate in Rajmahal, the northern hills of Pakaur and in Godda north of the Bokrabandh Bungalow. The latter occupy the Dumka portion of the Damin-i-Koh, the Bokrabandh Bungalow of Godda and South Pakaur. The Paharia villages

are usually situated on the tops of the ridges, and round the homesteads are the village *bari* lands extending to the brow of the hill. This area of homestead and cultivation is cut off from the lands, which the Santals occupy, by steep declivities, on portions of which the Paharias usually practise *kurao* cultivation.

"The Damin-i-Koh has always been regarded by Government as a reserve for the aboriginal races of the district; and the intrusion of non-aborigines or foreigners, called *Dikkus*, has always been kept within the narrowest limits. It is, therefore, laid down that foreigners must not ordinarily be permitted to hold land within the boundaries of the Damin, and any one who may be improperly admitted is liable to be evicted, unless there is good cause to the contrary. In the course of Mr. McPherson's settlement it was found that the average *Dikku* holding was 4.47 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 5-4-0, while the average non-*Dikku* holding was 6.89 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 4-4-9. Headmen to the number of 1,991 had holdings averaging 18 acres with a rent of Rs. 11-11-0 and 1,009 headmen had, in addition, official holdings averaging 3.73 acres with a rent of Rs. 3-10-0.*

Under the notification no. 9-LR/ZAN, dated 19th May, 1952 published on 21st May, 1952, the Damin area merged with the other zamindaries taken over by the Land Reforms Establishment with effect from 1st September, 1955. Prior to that rent, etc., of Damin area was collected by the Subdivisional Officers, Dumka, Godda, Pakaur and Rajmahal. This work was transferred after merger to the following Circle Officers :—

Circle Officer, Kathikund ..	Dumka Damin.
,, ,, Gopikandar ..	
,, ,, Boarijore ..	Godda Damin
,, ,, Sundarpahari ..	
Circle Officer, Amrapara ..	Pakur Damin.
,, ,, Litipara	
,, ,, Barhait ..	Rajmahal Damin.
,, ,, Borio	
,, ,, Taljhari ..	
,, ,, Pathna	

*District Gazetteer Santal Parganas (1938), pp. 365—371.

The system of collection of rent from raiyats through *Pradhans*, Manjhis and *Bazar Choudhuries* continues and they get the usual commission as before.

Debinagar

An ancient village situated about 10 miles south-west of Maheshpur where the ruins of the residence of a local raja Uday Narayan Singh are still in existence. There are remnants of a tunnel which is said to connect this village with village Birkitti. The area of the village is 564 acres with 96 houses and there is a population of 485 people.

Deoghar

"*Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated 4 miles south-east of the Jasidih Junction station on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, with which it is connected by a small branch line of the East Indian Railway and the Railway station at Deoghar is called "Baidyanath Dham Railway station". To the north of the town is a wood called the Data Jungal, after a *fakir* whose descendants own the land ; on the north-west is a low hill called Nandan Pahar ; a fine range of hills known as Tiur or Trikutparvata lies 10 miles to the east ; to the south-east, south and south-west are more hills, all within 12 miles of the town. Immediately to the west there is a small rivulet named Yamunajor, and about half a mile further west is the river Dharua, which, making a bend, runs about a mile to the south of the town. The space between Deoghar and this river belongs to the *ghatwali* estate of Rohini, the village of Rohini being situated about three miles to the west of the river. The situation of the town is picturesque, as viewed from the train as it approaches the bridge over the Dharua. In the foreground is the river, and beyond it lies the town surrounded by large trees covered with thick foliage, from the centre of which rise the pinnacles of the sacred temples of Baidynath. In the distance lies a cluster of hills forming a background of blue-green. The country around Deoghar is also picturesque, being undulating and interspersed with numerous water courses and small hills, some of which are covered with brush-wood, while others are destitute of vegetation. The climate is dry and healthy, the soil is particularly light and porous ; and there is comparatively little malarial fever, or other diseases prevalent in damp places.

"The population of Deoghar, according to the census, 1901, was 8,838. According to the census of 1931, it is 14,217 but the permanent population of the town is very largely augmented by pilgrims at all times of the year, especially during the three important fairs, viz., (1) the Shripanchami mela (held in January lasting for about 4 days), (2) the Shivaratri mela (held in March and lasting for

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* *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) p. 371.

nearly a week) and the Bhadra Purnima mela (held in September for about 4 days). Of these, the Shivaratri mela is the biggest. It is estimated that a total of about 20,000 to 25,000 pilgrims visit the town during these fairs. For the accommodation of pilgrims there are 80 lodging houses, but many of them do not resort to them but camp out under trees or in open spaces. The pilgrims, moreover, do not, as a rule, stay at Deoghar for more than 10 or 12 hours. The town contains the usual offices and buildings common in a subdivisional headquarters, a good dispensary and a leper asylum (the Raj Kumari Leper Asylum). It was constituted a municipality in 1869, and the area within municipal limits is 3½ square miles. The place has a reputation as a sanatorium among the Indian community, and the numerous houses springing up on its outskirts testify to its popularity among those who can afford to maintain country houses.

"The real fame of Deoghar rests upon the sanctity of its temples and its importance as a place of pilgrimage*. Its renown for sanctity is testified by the thousands of pilgrims who resort to it every year, and its antiquity is carried back in some of the Puranas to the Treta Yuga or second age of the world. According to the Siva Purana, it was in the Treta Yuga that the demon Ravana, King of Lanka (Ceylon) feeling that his capital would not be perfect without the presence of Mahadeva, repaired to the Kailasa mountain and besought the god to make it his permanent home. Mahadeva did not accede to this prayer, but told Ravana that one of the twelve emblems of this divinity (*Jyotirlinga*) would be quite as effective, and that he might take it away on the condition that the transfer should be effected without a break in the journey. Should the lingam be deposited anywhere on the earth in course of the journey it would remain fixed on that spot for ever. Ravana, thereupon, took the lingam and began his journey back to Lanka.

"The gods dreaded the effect of the lingam being established in the kingdom of their most powerful enemy, for if Mahadeva were to be the protector of the demon's metropolis they would have no means left to overthrow him. They accordingly sat in solemn conclave, and devised a plan for outwitting their enemy. Varuna, the regent of the waters, entered the belly of Ravana, with the result that the demon had to descend to earth to relieve himself. There Vishnu, in the garb of a decrepit old Brahman, appeared before him and began to converse with him. Unconscious of the plot that had been laid, Ravana begged the Brahman to help him by holding the sacred emblem for a few minutes, a request which was

*The subsequent account is derived almost entirely from *The Temples of Deoghar, by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, J.A.S.B., Part I., 1883.*

readily acceded to. Ravana then made over the lingam to him, and retired to ease himself. When he came back the Brahman had disappeared, and the lingam was lying on the ground at a considerable distance from the place where he had descended to earth. Ravana tried hard to remove lingam from the spot where it had been placed, but without success. Growing desperate he used violence, but he only succeeded in breaking a piece of the top of the lingam. Realizing his folly he prostrated himself before the lingam and begged for pardon. Further, to atone for his sacrilegious violence, he came aily to the place and worshipped the divinity with libations of sacred water brought from the source of the Ganges in the Himalayas. This latter duty was afterwards rended unnecessary by the excavation of a well, in which the waters of all the sacred pools on the face of the earth were stored. The spot where Ravana came down to earth is identified with the present Harlajuri, about four miles north of Deoghar ; the place where the lingam was deposited is now Deoghar ; and the lingam itself is known as Baidyanath.

"According to the Padma Purana the Brahman to whom Ravana entrusted the lingam deposited it in due form, consecrated it with water from a neighbouring tank, repeated his prayers and then departed. A Bhil who was present when this was done recieved instructions from the Brahman as to how the worship of the emblem should be conducted, but having no vessel at hand, brought the water required for libations in his mouth. When Ravana at last returned, the Bhil related all that had happened, and pointed out that the Brahman was no other than Vishnu himself. Ravana then excavated a well with an arrow and brought into it the waters of all sacred pools on earth for the fitting worship of the god. According to other traditions, not noticed in any Purana, the lingam lay neglected after the death of Ravana until it was noticed by a rude hunter, Baiju by name, who accepted it as his god and worshipped it daily, proclaiming it to the world as the lord of Baiju (Baidyanath). Before this occurrence the lingam was known by its original name of Jyotirlinga (the lingam of light) or by the name it derived from its transfer, viz., Ravaneswar.

"Sri William Hunter in the *Annals of Rural Bengal* relates the Santhal tradition of Baidyanath as follows : "In the olden time a band of Brahmans settled on the banks of the beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands. Around them there was nothing but the forest and mountains, in which dwelt the black races. The Brahmans placed the symbol of their god Siva near the lake and did sacrifice to it ; but the black tribes would not sacrifice to it, but came as before to the three great stones which their fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day. The Brahmans, moreover,

ploughed the land, and brought water from the lake to nourish the soil ; but the hillmen hunted and fished as of old, or tended their herds, while the women tilled little patches of Indian corn. But in process of time the Brahmans, finding the land good, became slothful, giving themselves up to lust and seldom calling on their god Siva. This the black tribes, who came to worship the great stones, saw and wondered at more and more, till at last one of them, by name Baiju, a man of a mighty arm and rich in all sorts of cattle, became wrath at the lies and wantonness of the Brahmans, and vowed he would beat the symbol of their god Siva with his club every day before touching food. This he did : but one morning his cattle strayed into the forest, and after seeking them all day he came home hungry and weary, and, having hastily bathed in the lake, sat down to his supper. Just as he stretched out his hand to take the food he called to mind his vow ; and worn out as he was, he got up, limped painfully to the Brahmans' idol on the margin of the lake, and beat it with his club. Then suddenly a splendid form, sparkling with jewels, rose from the waters, and said—'Behold the man who forgets his hunger and his weariness to beat me, while my priests sleep with their concubines at home, and neither give me to eat nor to drink. Let him ask of me what he will, and it shall be given. Baiju answered I am strong of arm and rich of cattle. I am a leader of my people : what want I more ? Thou art called Nath (Lord). Let me too be called lord, and let thy temple go by my name.' 'Amen' replied the deity ; 'hence forth thou art not Baiju but Baijnath, and my temple shall be called by thy name'. Romantically as this story has been narrated by the writer, it is valueless for any historical inference. It cannot be more than 300 years old, and it is probably of a much more recent date. The tomb to the north of the road, in which the mortal remains of Baiju are said to be deposited, is not more than 200 years old ; and the name itself is applied in the Puranas to the lingam of Siva in distant parts of India.

"Some of the Puranas ascribe the advent of Baidyanath at Deoghar to the Satya Yuga, or the first age of the world, when Sati, the wife of Siva and daughter of Daksha, committed suicide in consequence of the discourtesy shown to her husband by Daksha. Overpowered by grief Siva, in a fit of frenzy, stuck the corpse of his wife on the point of his trident and roamed about like a madman, till Vishnu cut the body with his discus into 52 parts, which fell at different places in India. The heart, it is said, fell at Deoghar (Baidyanath), and hence that place attained its sanctity. There is, however, no shrine or spot at Deoghar to commemorate this occurrence as at the other 51 places. Another legend is that in the first age of the world Siva manifested himself as lingams of light at 12 different places under different names, Baidyanath being one of

these 12 places. The emblem was worshipped by Sati, who appeared in the form of a pandanus flower on the top of the lingam and dwelt for a long time in a grove close by in order to worship it. Hence the place was called Ketakivana or the pandanus grove.

"The temple of Baidyanath, which shelters the lingam and is dedicated to Mahadeva, stands in a stone-paved quadrangular courtyard. The east side faces the public road, and at the southern end is a large arched gateway surmounted by a *naubatkhana*. The *naubatkhana* is, however, not much used, a separate two-storied building having been provided close by for musicians. Near the north-east corner of the courtyard there is a large gateway, over which a room has been constructed by Raja Padmanand Singh of Banaili. This is the principal entrance to the temple enclosure. At the north end of the courtyard is the private residence of the *Sardar Panda* or head priest, known as the *bhitarkhanda*. The temple, which faces the east, is a plain stone structure surmounted by a pyramidal tower which rises from a square base to a height of 72 feet from the ground. On the east side of the northern verandah of the temple is a masonry vat, into which flow the water and milk used for the ablution of the lingam. This water is regarded as very sacred, and every pilgrim is expected to taste a few drops of it and to carry some of it away in a phial. The lingam is of a cylindrical form, about 5 inches in diameter, and projects about 4 inches from the centre of a large slab of basalt. As it is fixed firmly in this slab it is not possible to ascretain how much of the lingam is buried. The top is broken and has an even surface, one side being a little higher than the other. The fracture is attributed by the Hindu legend to the assault of Ravana and by the Santal legend to that of the forester Baiju. The cell which shelters the divine emblem is very dark, and upon entering it, after passing through the courtyard of the temple in the glare of the midday sun, the pilgrim can at first see nothing ; two *ghi*-fed lamps are all that are provided to enable pilgrims to behold the manifestation of the god.

"The lobby in front of the cell is, like the cell itself, paved with flags of basalt, but it contains nothing in the way of furniture or fixtures. The second porch has in front a row of pillars spanned by blocks of basalt, and on the right side there is a sandstone image of a bull, which is by some dignified with the name of Srijuta or 'His Excellency'. Near it there are some small bovine images, and bells hang down from the ceiling. Pilgrims entering by the front door are supposed to pull the bell-rope to announce their approach to the divinity, but in most cases the priests do this for them. The courtyard contains 11 other temples, smaller in size and of less importance than that of Baidyanath. The following is a list of all the 12 temples and of their dedicators, with the years in

which they were dedicated, as ascertained by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra :—

Name	Dedicator	Date
1. Baidyanath ..	Puran Mal ..	1596
2. Lakshmi-Narayan	Vamadeva ..	circa 1630-40
3. Savitri (Tara) ..	Kshemakarna ..	1692
4. Parvati ..	Ratnapani ..	circa 1701-10
5. Kali ..	Jayanaryana ..	1712
6. Ganesa ..	Tikarama ..	1762
7. Surja ..	Rama Datta ..	circa 1782-93
8. Saraswati ..	Rama Datta ..	circa 1782-93
9. Ramchandra ..	Rama Datta ..	circa 1782-93
10. Vagala Devi ..	Rama Datta ..	circa 1782-93
11. Annapurna ..	Rama Datta ..	1782
12. Ananda Bhairva..	Commenced by Ananda Datta, completed by Sarvananda.	circa 1810-23

"The name of the temple last mentioned means the temple of Bhairva set up by Ananda, an ancestor of the present *Sardar Panda.* Besides the temples mentioned by Dr. Mitra, there is a shrine of Dudhnath Mahadeva, which is presumably a later erection. It contained a silver *panchmukhi* lingam, the gift of Sailajananda Ojha, but the original lingam is said to have been stolen. The shrine of Manasa Devi, the snake goddess, in the south-western corner of the courtyard also appears to have been built since Dr. Mitra published his account of Deoghar. All the temples are comparatively modern and of little archaeological interest, the only ancient remains being three Buddhist statues. One, a small Lokanatha, is worshipped as Kartikeya and another as Surjya ; while a Budha serves as an image of Kala Bhairva. Ancient, however, as these statues are, it would be obviously unwise to conclude that the place originally belonged to the Buddhists, as the images may have been brought here from some other place.

"All the persons mentioned in the preceding list were high priests of the Baidyanath temple with the exception of Puran Mal, who was an ancestor of the Maharaja Gidhaur and one of the leading Zamindars of Bihar during the reign of Akbar. An inscription on the Baidyanath temple states that he built it at the request of Raghunath, and tradition relates that the inscription was forcibly put up by Puran Mal, after he had had the temple repaired,

to mark his ownership of the surrounding land, which he had taken from its roprietors. The priest Raghunath Ojha was displeased with the inscription, but was unable to resist Puran Mal. He therefore bided his time, and, when the chief was gone, had the porch erected and therein set up his own inscription. Legend states that the priest fasted for some days at the gate of Baidyanath, who revealed to him in a dream that he should build a new porch and set up an inscription ; but claims the credit of having erected the temple.

"Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra is of opinion that there must have been a temple here at a very early date. 'A place of great sanctity, highly eulogised in the Puranas, and strongly recommended as a place of pilgrimage, could not have remained in the form of a stump of four inches on the bare earth in an open field for centuries without a covering during the Hindu period after the downfall of Buddhism ; some pilgrim or other would have soon provided it with a temple.' He also disbelieves that the present temple ; replaced an old one. 'That might at first sight appear probable ; but the belief of the Hindus is that it is a sacrilege to pull down a Siva temple and rebuild it, and the denunciations in the Smritis are dire against such sacrilege. Rebuilding of temples is permitted in all cases where movable images are concerned ; but in the case of lingams which are fixed to earth the pulling down of the temple is equal to the desecretion of the lingam itself, which from that moment ceases to be adorable, and must at once be cast into a river. I cannot, therefore, believe that Puran Mal knocked down an old temple and erected a new one in its place. No Hindu remaining Hindu, and claiming religious merit by the act, could have done such a thing. It is obvious to me, therefore, that the tradition which holds the temple to be old, and ascribes to Puran Mal only the lobby, is correct, and that having defrayed the cost of the lobby which became a part, and an integral part of the temple, he claimed credit for the whole. The inscription, moreover, is placed within the lobby, and its purview need not extend beyond the boundary of that apartment. The same may be said of the inscription of Raghunatha. That worthy defrayed the cost of the porch, which put to shade the work of an oppressive superior and conqueror, and by a figure of speech took to himself the credit of building the whole of the temple and a great many other things which probably never existed. The rivalry of the priest and the potenate can be explained by accepting the truth of this tradition.'

"One other inscription calls for notice. This is an inscription over the entrance of the temple of Baidyanath, written in Bengali characters and purporting to be an extract of a Sanskrit work on the Mandara Hill in the Bhagalpur district. It says that Adityasena

with his queen, Koshadevi, who had come from the Chola country near Madura in Southern India, built a temple of Vishnu, and that one Balabhadra put up an image of the boar—incarnation of Vishnu. An inscription on the Mandara Hill shows that Konadevi was the actual name of Adityasena's queen, and she had a tank excavated there, which is still in existence ; while the lines referring to the boar statue are engraved in characters of the seventh century A.D., which is also the date of Adityasena according to the hill inscription. The temple inscription therefore contains some historical facts, but, remarks Dr. Bloch, 'the statement that Adityasena came from the Chola country can hardly be credited, as the names of his family, all ending in Gupta, connect him with the Imperial Gupta family. It has no connection with Baidyanath, and it is not clear for what reason it was put up here."*

"In front of the main entrance of the courtyard is a sacred well, called Chandrakupa, which is held to be the repository of the holy water of all the sacred pools on earth and is said to have been excavated by Ravana to save himself the trouble of bringing water for worship from the Himalayas. To the south-west of the temple courtyard, on the south side of the main road, is a more interesting monument—a masonry platform about 6 feet in height and 20 feet square, supporting three huge monoliths of contorted gneiss rock. Two are vertical, and the third is laid upon the heads of two uprights like a horizontal beam. The uprights are 12 feet high and quadrilateral in form, each face being 1½ foot broad; while the cross piece is 13 feet long, and 1¾ foot broad on each side. There is a faint attempt at sculpture at each end of the vertical faces of the horizontal beam, representing crocodiles' heads These stones, according to Sir William Hunter, were formerly worshipped by the Santals, but Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra has pointed out that they are a frame for swinging the image of Krishna during the Dol Jatra (Holi) festival. 'This gallows-like structure' he writes, 'is not peculiar to this place, nor has it any connection with the Santals, who do not now worship it, nor is there any reason to suppose that they ever did so. There is nothing to show that the Santals were in the habit of worshipping a stone scaffold like the one under notice, and certain it is that in no part of Santalia, indeed in no part of India inhabited by the black races, is there a stone gallows to be seen, which would justify the assumption that such a structure was ever an object of worship. Had any religious sanctity been attached to it, would have been seen much more abundantly than what appears to be the case. The terrace in front of the temple, however, settles the question as to the use of the gallows.

*Repart, Arch Surv., Bengal Circle for 1902-1903.

In every part of India where the Krishna cults has found access, such gallows are invariably seen in close proximity to ancient temples. Of course, where stone is scarce, wood is generally used to make the scaffolding, but where stone is available it is always preferred. A remarkably handsome structure of this kind is regularly used at Bhubaneswar for the purpose of setting up a swing during the swing festivals. At Puri there is a similar structure to the north of the great temple, and used for the same purpose. Innumerable other instances may be easily cited, but they are, I think, not wanted.

"The road leading from the northern gate of the great temple passes along the western edge of a large tank or lake called Sivaganga, which measures about 900 feet by 600 feet. It forms part of a natural depression, the western portion of which has been cut off by an embankment, on the top of which runs a road. According to Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra : 'This embankment must have been put up by Maharaja Man Singh, the great general of Akbar, who came to this place on his way to Orissa, as I find his name is associated with the western portion, which is called Manasarovara.' This portion has silted up greatly, and, except during the rains, remains dry. It is connected with the lake by a small rivulet, named Karmanasa, which is said to be the spot where Ravana eased himself : on account of this connection, the water of the lake is held to be impure.

"The ritual of worship is simple enough, the *mantras* being few, and the offerings limited. Pouring water on the lingam, smearing it with sandal paste, and offering flowers and a few grains of rice constitute the worship. This is followed by the offering of money in silver or gold, no copper being allowed to be brought into contact with the divinity. Rich people offer horses, cattle, *palkis*, gold ornaments and other valuables, and sometimes, rent-free land in support of the daily worship. The title-deed in such cases is ordinarily a *bel* leaf, on which the donation is written and which is swept out in the evening. This simple deed, however, is faithfully respected. It is said that the god delights in water, *bel* leaves, sandal and flowers, and they are all that are necessary for his worship. He is, however, very particular about the quality of the leaves and the water. The former has to be brought from the Trikuta (Tiur) hill. For ordinary use the water of the sacred well excavated by Ravana is held sufficient, but water from the sources of the Ganges on the Himalayas near Badrinath, or from the Manasarovara lake in Tibet, is highly prized. Pilgrims, mostly hermits, bring it from those distant places, as well as from the Ganges near the Jahangira rock ; while the priests keep a supply of sacred water in phials to help such pilgrims as come without a supply. A few

drops of this water are sprinkled on the flowers which the worshipper offers to the divinity.

"The verandahs on the north, west and south of the temple are reserved for pilgrims who desire special blessings. Ordinarily men ask for the cure of diseases, and women for offspring or for the restoration of health to sick children. The ordinary pilgrim's round is as follows. The pilgrim bathe in the Sivaganga tank in the morning, worships the lingam, and then lies down on the bare pavement of the verandah till next morning. He or she then rises, performs his or her worship, drinks a mouthful of water from the vat on the north side, and then lies down again. These practices are continued for three days and three nights. During this period the pleasure of the divinity is generally communicated in a dream to the pilgrim in such words as 'Go away, you are cured,' or 'Go and do such and such things, and you will be cured", or "Your wish will be fulfilled within such and such a time'. Should no dream come, it is understood that the person is so sinful as to be unworthy of the god's mercy. Formerly the pilgrim's fast sometimes continued for seven to nine days, and dreams came on after such protracted fasting : but some deaths having taken place from starvation the priest do not now permit a fast to last more than three days.

"Deoghar, 'the home of the gods,' is a modern name. In Sanskrit works we find in its place Hardapitha, Ravana-vana, Ketaki-vana, Haritaki-vana and Vaidyanatha. In Bengal the place is generally known as Baidyanath. The sanctity of Baidyanath is mentioned in several authentic works on pilgrimages dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries A.D. Authentic portions of the Puranas also refer to it, and as they are unquestionably anterior to the tenth century, Baidyanath must even in their time have attained considerable celebrity. Coming to more modern times there is an interesting account of the pilgrimage to Baidyanath in the *Khulasatu-t-twarikh** written between 1695 and 1699 A.D. It runs : 'In the district Monghyr on the skirts of the hill, there is a place named the Jharkhand of Baijnath (Baidyanath) sacred to Mahadeva. Here a miraculous manifestation puzzles those who behold only the outside of things. That is to say, in this temple there is a *pipal* tree, of which nobody knows the origin. If any one of the attendants of the temple is in need of the money necessary for his expenses, he abstains from food and drink, sits under the tree, and offers prayers to Mahadeva for the fulfilment of his desire. After two or three days the tree puts forth a leaf covered with lines in the Hindi

*Jadunath Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, 1901.

character, written by an invisible pen, and containing an order on a certain inhabitant of any of the parts of the world for the payment of a certain sum to the person who had prayed for it. Although his residence may be 500 leagues from Baidyanath, the names of that man and his children, wife, father and grandfather, his quarter, country, home and other correct details about him are known from the writing on the leaf. The high priest, writing agreeably to it on a separate piece of paper, gives (it to that attendant of the temple). This is called the *hundi* (cheque) of Baijnath. The suppliant, having taken this cheque, goes to the place named on it, according to the directions contained in it. The man upon whom the cheque has been drawn pays the money without attempting evasion or guile. A Brahman once brought a *hundi* of Baijnath to the very writer of this book and he knowing it to be a bringer of good fortune, paid the money and satisfied the Brahman. More wonderful than this is a cave at this holy place. The high priest enters into the cave once a year, on the day of the Siva-barta, and having brought some earth out of it, gives a little to each of the ministers of the temple. Through the power of the Truly Powerful, this earth becomes turned into gold, in proportion to the degree of merit of each man."

"Under the Muhammadan Government the chief priest appears to have paid a fixed rent to the Rajas of Birbhum, and the administration of the temple seems to have been left entirely in the hands of the priest. When the British rule began, it was decided to take over the management of the temple, and with this object an establishment of priests, collectors and watchmen was organized in 1787 at Government expense. The revenue soon fell off, as the chief priest beset the avenues to the temples with emissaries, who induced the pilgrims to make their offerings before approaching the shrine. The result was that, though there were 50,000 pilgrims in 1789, the receipts only amounted to Rs. 4,084. Next year the Collector of Birbhum, Mr. Keating, appointed an establishment of 120 armed policemen with 15 officers in order to improve the collections, with the result that they increased to Rs. 8,463. He himself visited Deoghar in 1791 in order to superintend the collections personally and stop the speculations of the police. His report gives an interesting account of the difficulties under which the pilgrims laboured at that time. 'Of wealth among any of them there was no appearance. No more than five families had any conveyance or hired house to reside in. About a hundred had simply a blanket drawn over a bamboo as a protection from the weather ; and the rest—varying from fifteen to fifty thousand, according to the season—took up their abode under the adjacent trees with no kind of convenience whatever. There was too general an appearance of poverty to suppose that the temple could profit much from the oblations of

its devotees, and little could be expected from wretches who seemed in want of every necessary of life."*

"In 1791 Government relinquished its claim to a share of the offerings, and entrusted the management of the shrine to the *Ojha*, or head priest, on his executing an agreement to keep the temples in repair and to perform all the usual ceremonies. He was also bound on pain of dismissal to keep order and not exact the offerings from the pilgrims. The post of *Ojha* was held to be hereditary, but the appointment was made by Government and the priest was to be over 40 years of age. According to Mr. Keating, the income of the temple in 1791 consisted of the offerings and of the proceeds of 32 villages and 108 *bighas* of land, which he estimated at Rs. 2,000 a year ; some years later we find the total income estimated at Rs. 25,000 a year. Under this system the mismanagement of the temple was a source of constant complaint. The temple and *ghats* were frequently out of repair, and the *Ojha* was charged with alienating villages from the temple and treating 'his situation as a means of enriching himself and his family'. On his death in 1820, a dispute over the succession arose between an uncle and his nephew, and the Collector, in his position as Local Agent, had to go to Deoghar to hold an enquiry. The nephew Nityanand was eventually appointed, but neglected to carry out the terms of his appointment, for it was soon reported that the 'whole place and environs were a scene of dirt and stench', and only a quarter of the income (estimated at Rs. 1,50,000 annually) was spent on the temple. Finally, Nityanand was charged with malversation of the funds, and the uncle, Sarbanand, was in 1823 appointed *Ojha* in his stead, a yearly provision being made for his nephew.

"There was a faction which was opposed to Sarbanand's retention in office and asked for Government interference in the internal management of the temple. In 1835 Government declined all interference in the matter and the parties were left to have recourse to the established courts of law. Sarbanand died in 1837 and on his death the property was attached till a successor could be appointed by Government after taking the opinion of Brahmans.† Iswaranund Ojha, son of Sarbanand Ojha, was subsquently elected *Sardar Panda*. Iswaranund was succeeded by his grandson Sailajanund Ojha. As Act XX of 1863, debarred Government from interfering in the internal management of the temple, disputes between the high priest and the *pandas* regarding the control of the temple were

*Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 281.

†Sir W. W. Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal, pp.278—85. E. G. Drake Brockman, Notes on the Early Administration of Birbhum (1898). pp. 32-33.

frequent and in civil suit no. 18 of 1897 in the Court of the Additional Judge of Burdwan, Sailajanund Ojha was dismissed by the order of the Court as he by his conduct and behaviour and by causing loss to the Debattar properties rendered himself unfit and disqualified to hold the post of *Sardar Panda* and trustee of the temple of Baidyanath. It was further ordered by the Additional Judge in the decree granted by him on 15th July 1901 that some fit person be elected as *Sardar Panda* by the *pandas* of the temple and that the affairs of the temple should be managed by a scheme which was framed by the Additional Judge and formed a part of the decree. Under this scheme, three persons are to be appointed to look after the temple and its properties and for the proper administration of the same. Of these three persons, one is to be a member of the family of the Maharaja of Gidhore or the Raja of Khaira. Either the Maharaja of Gidhore or the Raja of Khaira can be one ; another is to be selected from amongst the descendants of Ram Dutt Jha, but he must be at the same time *mushrif* and *Panda* and the third is to be selected from among the *pandas* of the temple of Baidyanath. The scheme also set forth the duties of the *Sardar Panda.* After this Umeshanund Dutt Jha, second son of Iswaranund Jha was elected *Sardar Panda.* On the death of Umeshanund Dutt Jha, Bhaba Pritanund Ojha has been appointed *Sardar Panda.* Bhaba Pritanund is the grandson of Sailajanund Ojha.

"About 300 families of *pandas,* who belong to a branch of Maithil Brahmans, are attached to the temple, and earn a livelihood by assisting pilgrims in performing the various ceremonies connected with the worship of the god. They have their own chief, who is designated the *Sardar Panda* or high priest, and of recent years this office has vested in members of one family. In accordance with a recent decree of the courts the administration of the temple is now vested in a council of trustees, which includes the high priest and other *pandas* as well as laymen*".

The quotation from the last *District Gazetter of Santal Parganas* can be supplemented by further reference to the original article of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in Volume LII, Part I (1883) of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Dr. Mitra had not only gone into the question of the antiquity of the great temple but he had given some account of the other sanctuaries only twelve of which have been mentioned in the quotation where the dedicators are identified. Dr. Mitra had mentioned 23 sanctuaries including the *naubatkhana.* Dr. Mitra had also given the genealogy of the *Sardar Panda.* According to him "The tradition is that the *lingam* of

*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938) p. 371 to p. 386.

Vaidyanatha was in charge of hermits who had worshiped it for ages, but that in the 16th century, twelve Brahmanas, all householders, came from Mithila and took part in the worship, and officiated as priests for pilgrims who could not themselves consecrate their offerings. This was but natural. Indian hermits are mostly illiterate men, and in a contest for supremacy in religious ministrations it is hospeles for them to get the better of clever Brahman householders and men of the world. In time one of the twelve was so far successful as to become the leader of the band, and to wheedle Mukunda, the Sannyasi who had then charge of the *lingam*, out of that charge, and make himself the owner and master of the sacred shrine. His name as given me by the Head Priest, was Judan Ojha ; but Babu Bholanath Chunder, in his article in the Mookerjee Magazine calls him Chandra Muni, and the party from whom he got the *lingam*, *Chiku*, a disciple of Mukunda ; but according to my information Chiku was the grandson of Judan Ojha, unless we assume two Chikus. The surname Ojha, is a corruption of Upadhyaya, and that would suggest the idea that the Brahman was a professor of Sanskrit learning. When he came to Deoghar is not known, but from what follows it will be seen that he must have come in the second half of the sixteenth century".*

After the first *Sardar Panda* the other *Sardar Pandas* mentioned by Dr. Mitra were Raghunatha, Chiku, Ojha, Manu Ojha, Vamadeva, Kshemakarna, Sadananda, Chandramohan Ojha, Ratnapani Ojha, Jayanarayana, Yadunandana, Tikarama, Devakinandana, Narayandatta, Ramadatta, Anandadatta, Paramananda, Sarvananda, Isvarinandan and then Sailajanandana Ojha.

It may also be mentioned that although Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra dismissed the theory of Beglar that this was the site of a Buddhist temple before he thought that the presiding divinity is named Surya or the sun-god in a small temple built by Ramadatta Ojha was that of a Buddhist *Padmapani*. The inscription with the words *Deva Dharmoyam* in the *Kutila* character left no doubt to him as to the personage the image was originally intended to represent. He mentioned that there were various instances of the adoration of a Buddhist image under a Hindu name. Mr. Mitra also thought that the image of Kala-bhairava, a form of Siva would have been taken by him for a *Dhyani Buddha* if he had seen it in a Buddhist temple. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra further observes while discussing the Beglar's theory which he rejects :—

"Nor does the presence of the Buddhist statues in any way militate against spontaneous fame. The temples in which the statues occur are of very recent dates. Anandabhairava's temple dates from A.D. 1823, that of Surya from 1790, and that of Savitri

*For further details see Dr. D. R. Patil's the *Antiquarian remains in Bihar* (Patna, 1963), PP. 103—107.

from 1692, and we have nothing to justify the belief that Buddhist sanctuaries existed at the place till such recent dates side by side with Vaidyanatha. I feel certain that even Mr. Beglar would not admit that there was a Buddhist temple at Deoghar in the third decade of this century, from the sanctuary of which the image of Anandabhairva was removed in 1823. The temples of Lakshminarayana, Parvati, and Annapurna have images which, I have shown above, have been brought from old temples elsewhere ; if we accept the local theory we must believe, by parity of reasoning, that they too thrived side by side with Buddhism. This would be absurd, and the most obvious conclusion would be to assume that the Buddhist, as well as the Hindu, images have been brought from elsewhere, and set up from time to time according to circumstances. Nor is it necessary to assume that they have been brought from one place, and a near place. They are of such a character as to admit of their being easily conveyed from very distant places. The inscription no. 3 is from Mandar, and some of the images may have likewise come from that place."

Deoghar is one of the important towns in the State now and the largest in this district. The sanitation of the town is the responsibility of the Deoghar Municipality which was constituted in 1869. The population of the town in 1951 was 25,510 which rose to 30,813 in 1961. There is always a floating population of the pilgrims which may even go up to fifty thousand persons a day. Minabazar, Bara Bazar and Jhasgarh mohallas are the thickly populated areas of the town. Some of the mohallas have been named after the name of the Subdivisional Officers of Deoghar. They are William's town, Carstairs town and Bompas town. The salubrious climate of Deoghar attracts a large number of changers, especially from West Bengal, during the winter season. The piped water is available in the town area. The town has electricity.

Deoghar has a degree college, a training college, several higher secondary schools and a number of high schools and other educational institutions. A college for women has recently been started. It has a subdivisional hospital, post and telegraph and telephone exchange. There are two well-stocked libraries. Deoghar is one of the chief business centres of Santal Parganas. There are several rice and oil mills, soap and other factories. The Baidyanathdham Iron and Steel Factory in Jasidih and the Daburgram concern for the manufacture of the Ayurvedic medicines are growing into prominence.

Besides the headquarters of the Subdivisional Officer, several offices of both Central and State have grown up at Deoghar. In judicial side there is one Assistant Subordinate Judge at Deoghar

who is also in charge of the Godda and Jamtara subdivisions. The Assistant Subordinate Judge is assisted by two Sub-Judges. The Deputy Superintendent of Police with his headquarters at Deoghar is also in charge of police work of Jamtara subdivision. The Income-Tax Officer of Santal Parganas is stationed at Deoghar. The Executive Engineer, Roads and Buildings of the Deoghar Division which consists of Deoghar, Jamtara and Godda subdivisions has his headquarters at Deoghar. The District Mining Officer, Deoghar is in charge of not only Santal Parganas but also some parts of the Bhagalpur district. The Superintendent of commercial taxes of the district has his headquarters at Deoghar. Besides there are offices of Waste Land Reclamation, Sub-Registry, Assistant Engineer of the Unified Minor Irrigation, Assistant Engineer of C.D. and N.E.S., Deoghar, Subdivisional Animal Husbandry Officer, Subdivisional Education Officer and the Assistant Registrar of the Co-operative Society. There is also a sub-jail.

Some Institutions at Deoghar

Sree Sree Balanand Ashram, Karnibad

A Yogic Sadhu of the Maharastrian origin, Shree Balanand Brahmachari who hailed from Ujjain established himself at Tapoban, a hillock at the outskirts of Deoghar. In the sylvan setting of this beauty spot a heaven of peace on earth, he did 'Sadhana' for self-realisation and became a legendary figure and drew crowds of devotees from far and near. Sometime afterwards at the insistance of one his nearest disciples, he transferred his activities to the neighbouring Karnibad portion of Deoghar town itself in 1906, where he lived and worked till he left his mortal coils in June, 1937. His is a saga of life based on Gita, highlighted by its slant on 'Karma' (Action). Around him grew up, in course of years, institutions now controlled by the Shree Baleshwari Trust. They comprise the charitable hospitals, ayurvedic, allopathic and homoeopathic besides a maternity clinic and a child welfare centre lately added. The trust also runs a Mahavidyalaya for the Sanskrit studies, which is admittedly one of the best institutions of its kind in the State as and also owns a well-stocked library. There are two temples in the campus of Shree Shree Baleshwar Mahadev and Shree Shree Baleshwari Devi named after the Guru, which draw crowds of pilgrims all round the year. At Tapoban itself a charitable homoeopathic dispensary is maintained, also a free M. V. school. Endeavours are being made to upgrade this to the Higher Secondary standard. In Calcutta and its suburbs number of institutions are being run largely for administering relief to the suffering humanity.

Sishu Niketan.

Under the auspices of the Deoghar Mahila Sahayog Samiti a nursery school Sishu Niketan for children up to six years has been started. The institution has been rendering very useful work.

Baidyanath Mahila Mahavidyalaya

Considering the prevailing aversion of the general public for co-education and the difficulty of inter-city transport to take the girls for their studies to the Deoghar College, which is at one end of the township, a separate college for women has been sponsored. Baidyanath Mahila Mahavidyalaya is held in the premises of the local Dinabandhu School for the present, which is centrally situated at the heart of the town.

The Ramkrishna Mission Vidyapith, Deoghar

On the ideals set by Swami Vivekananda that real education must mean life-building, man-making, character-making, assimilation of ideas and must be on national lines, through national methods as far as practicable, Swami Turiyananda, a close disciple of Shri Ramkrishna, was very keen about giving Swami Vivekananda's ideas of real education in a practical shape. A few monks headed by Swami Sadbhavananda made a beginning by founding a small institution at Mihijam in the year 1922. It was soon realised that Mihijam was too small a place to allow a big venture to thrive. Hence the venue was shifted to Deoghar in 1923. A plot of land was soon acquired, through the munificence of Kumar Arun Sinha of Paikpara. Gradually the buildings were put up and the Deoghar Vidyapith took its present shape. Situated on a-33 acre plot of land the Deoghar Vidyapith has the look of the traditional ancient universities of India.

Here boys aged between 8 and 13 receive their education and training under a band of monastic workers assisted by lay teachers who also are imbued with idealism and spirit of service. Under these teachers the boys learn not only the three R's but receive practical training for a disciplined and well-ordered life in an atmosphere of calmness and serenity far away from the bustle and tumult of city life.

At present there are 216 students at Deoghar. The institution has ample provision for supplementary education in the form of various extra-curricular activities, such as, drill, physical exercise,

music, fine arts, gardening, banking, literary work, elocution and recitation, tailoring, management of co-operative stores, teaching in night school, etc.

The Vidyapith has large playgrounds where games are played regularly. First aid classes and examination for Physical Training Certificate are held.

Dev Sangh Math at Deoghar

The Math of Dev Sangh was established in 1945 at an old and delapidated house purchased in Bompas Town, Deoghar. Necessary repairs were made afterwards to make it habitable. The new temple as seen now was erected in 1953. Formerly, the *math* had been at a remote and serene village of Khalipur on the bank of the river Shital-Laksha, police-station Kaliganj, district Dacca and at present in East Pakistan. The founder of the *math*, Sri Sri Baba Narendra Nath Brahmmachari was born in that village and renounced the world at the age of 18 or 19 while prosecuting studies in a college.

The main deity of the temple is Shri Shri Haimabati. In the room left to Haimabati is the image of Shri Krishna. In the right-hand-side room are the images of Shri Shri Annapurna and Maheswar. There is a huge covered portico in front of the deities where the disciples of the *math* from different States of India assemble at the time of various Puja celebrations during the year.

Jubilee Gardens (Bawanbigha)

The Santal Parganas district is the land of roses and Deoghar is proud to own the largest rosarium in India today. The late Pundit Panchanan Bhattacharji was a rose-fancier. He was originally an *acharyya* of an educational institution at Calcutta and used to grow roses, for the love of it, since 1891. Subsequently Pundit Panchanan acquired an extensive plot of land in Baidyanath-Deoghar where he established a rose growing establishment which is popularly known as "*Bawan Bigha*". The only son of Pundit Panchanan, who commercialised the establishment under the style "P. BHATCHARJI & SONS", is the brain behind the creation of many new varieties of roses of outstanding merit and has entrusted the commercial side of the concern to his sons. An International Rose Conference is held every 30 years in London. During the last conference in 1958 roses of different countries as also Bhattacharji's productions were exhibited in London and stimulated considerable interest. The garden is well worth a visit by all lovers of flowers. The mail trains used to stop at Jasidih

Junction station previously to have morning flowers collected for the Viceregal lodge then in Calcutta.

The rosarium has been able to produce a large number of varieties by grafting and inter-breeding. The range of colour of the flowers in this garden is magnificent.

Arunachal Mission at Lila Mandir

The mission called Lila Mandir is situated at a distance of 3 miles from Deoghar on the Deoghar-Dumka Road. It was established in 1921 by Thakur Daya Nand Deo. There is a *samadhi* containing the ashes of the founder. *Kirtans* (devotional songs) and preachings are held regularly in a hall which is constructed through public subscriptions.

The mission is managed by Pandit Aloka Nand Mahabharati of Calcutta, who is the President of this mission. The mission has seven acres of land including its surrounding garden as well. *Pujas* are arranged on the *Poush Sankranti* and in the *Jeth* which attract a large number of visitors. The mission has 20 to 25 disciples at Deoghar *ashram*.

Satsang Ashram

The founder of the mission is Shri Anukul Chandra Thakur who has a large number of followers. Satsang has a colony for the accommodation of the disciples. It has a printing press and a library. It runs a high school at Tapoban and a charitable dispensary. The mission has a large income in shape of public subscription. A number of foreigners have become disciples of Shri Thakur. The Satsang has made liberal donation to Deoghar College and other public institutions. Its aims and objects are to follow the spiritual amity irrespective of caste, creed, colour, sex and nationality. The annual meetings are attended by thousands of persons.

Tapoban

A small hill situated about 6 miles from Deoghar. There is a temple of Lord Siva which attracts a large number of pilgrims. Shri Balanand Brahmchari stayed on the hill for spiritual salvation. There are caves which have been plastered. The place has picturesque sight. There are high and middle schools.

Deoghar Subdivision

A subdivision in the south-west of the district lying between 24° 3′ and 24° 38′ N. and between 86° 26′ and 87° 4′ E. with an area of 951 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts; on the south by the Jamtara subdivision;

on the west by the Monghyr and Hazaribagh districts; and on the east by the Dumka and Godda subdivisions of this district. The subdivision contains several clusters of rocky hills covered with jungles, but its general aspect is that of a rolling series of long ridges with intervening depressions. Most of these rolling uplands have been denuded of the forest with which they were once covered, and are cultivated with highland crops, while the depressions, which are exceedingly fertile, yield winter rice. The population of the subdivision was 3,46,946 in 1931, 400,651 in 1941, 422,824 in 1951 and 482,110 in 1961. It has 2,454 villages and two towns, viz., Deoghar and Madhupur. Jasidih, which is in the town group of Deoghar has been raised to the status of town in 1961 census.

The subdivision has 7 Blocks, viz., Deoghar, Sarath, Palajori, Karon, Sarawan, Madhupur, and Mohanpur. The main rivers of the subdivision are, the Mor, Ajaiya and Patro. The hot springs have already been covered elsewhere. The main hills of the subdivision are Phuljori, Dighania, Pathardaha and Trikut hill, etc.

The civil administration of the subdivision is under the Subdivisional Officer with his headquarters at Deoghar. Other offices have been covered elsewhere.

Dumka

The following extract from the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas by Shri S. C. Mukherji* (1938, P. 386-387), describes Dumka town as it then existed:—

"*Dumka* (*or Naya Dumka*).—Headquarters of the district, situated in 24° 16′ N. and 87° 15′ E. Dumka is one of the oldest British stations in Bengal, being shown on the map of 1769 as "Duncaw", a fact which lends colour to the idea that the original name was Dumkoh, *koh* being a common termination to names of villages in the Santal Parganas. It was then a *ghatwali* police-post in the Birbhum jurisdiction, but in 1795 was transferred to Bhagalpur and made the site of one of the four Kohisthani police thanas for the regulation of the Rajmahal Hills. The name frequently occurs in old correspondence as Dumka or Doomka till 1855, when the station was first called Naya Dumka, in contradistinction to the old village of Dumka (Purana Dumka), by the officer commanding a detachment of troops stationed here during the Santal rebellion. It is only occasionally called Naya Dumka, except in official reports. In 1855 Dumka was made the headquarters of the Santal Parganas district, but soon afterwards the headquarters were removed and it was left as the headquarters of Dumka sub-district only. In 1872 the sub-districts of the Santal Parganas were constituted

subdivisions, and Dumka again became the headquarters of the whole district.

"Situated on rising ground, which slopes down to the river Mor, and with a far-flung girdle of hills in the background, Dumka is one of the most picturesque stations in Bengal. It contains a pretty creeper-clad English church, close to which is a small lake called Phutta Bandh. On a mound in the lake, which is connected with the tank by a small bridge, is stone pillar erected in honour of Dr. Kelley, formerly Civil Surgeon, who had the lake excavated. The town, which forms part of the property of Mr. Maling Grant, had a population of 5,326 persons in 1901 and was constitued a municipality in 1902. According to the 1931 Census, the population of the town was 9,471. It is somewhat difficult of access, being 39 miles from the Rampur Hat station on the Loop Line, and 42 miles from Deoghar. Prior to 1920 travellers used to do the journey from Rampur Hat in *thika garis*, for which previous arrangement had to be made, as they had to be brought in from Dumka. Motor cars and motor buses as public conveyance have come into existence since 1920 and a number of motor buses regularly ply between Dumka and Bhagalpur, Mandar Hill, Godda, Jesidih, Deoghar, Pakaur, Rajmahal and Suri."

Since the publication of that Gazetteer there have been a number of changes in the condition of the town as reported therein. "The pretty creeper clad English Church", is no longer creeper clad but is rather ill-maintained and is surrounded by jungle of recent growth. The bridge mentioned in the Gazetteer (1938) does not exist now. The only signs of the bridge are its broken pillars which still exist in a delapidated condition. The mound with the stone pillar is still intact. Dumka town has a municipality which was created in 1902.

The population within the municipal area according to 1961 census is 18,720 as compared with 9,471 according to 1931 census and 13,582 in 1951 census.

Dumka Municipality consists of 8 wards with a total of 2,380 holdings and has an area of 1.59 square miles. There are 45 tanks within the municipal area. All of which, except nearly 8, dry up in summer season. Of these tanks, two belong to Government and one to the municipality and the rest are attached to private houses. The tanks are not well kept although they are largely used. There are 1,250 wells in the town. Within the municipality there are two high schools, one of which is the Zila Higher Secondary School and the other a girls' high school and there are 9 primary schools. Besides these, there is one agricultural school.

Just outside the municipal limits there is one degree college, one high school, one technicl school and one *Khadi Gramodyog Sangh.* There are two cinema houses in the town. There is a Government hospital and the usual Government offices found at a district headquarters. The municipal area is well served with municipal roads. Besides these, P.W.D. pitched roads run through the municipal area connecting it with its subdivisional headquarters and also with Bhagalpur and Rampur Hat a subdivisional town of West Bengal, Suri and Sainthia. Details of Dumka Municipality have been covered in the 'Local Self-Government' text.

The source of piped water-supply to Dumka town is from the Water Tower on the Hijla Hill which draws its supply from Mayurakshi river. The town is supplied with electricity from the Power House at Masanjore. A *mela* with an Industrial and Agricultural exhibition is held every year at an attractive site between the Hijla Hill and the Mayurakshi river. This is known as Hijla *mela* and is held in the winter months, i.e., January or February. It is a very old and popular *mela.* A *hat* is held bi-weekly (Mondays and Fridays) in the town and is well attended even by villagers coming from interior to make purchases and to sell their produce. There is also a daily market.

The means of communication within the town are rickshaws, buses, cycles and bullock carts. The town is connected with places within and outside the district by State Transport and private buses, details of which are given in the "Communications" Chapter.

The town has an attractive townscape with undulations, tall trees, terraced cultivation and a number of transdistrict roads. The town has headquarters of several Christian Missions that have been working for generations and a number of social institutions like Ram Krishna Mission, etc. The middle classes consisting of lawyers, teachers, doctors have given the leadership. The town has been the centre of grain and timber trade but owing to the distance from a railway station has suffered from a handicap. In the last one decade there have been additions to the town area and buildings are growing up on all the sides. There has been, however, a lop-sided growth of the town and there has not been much of planning. The town has still a peaceful and somewhat somnolent environs with very fine arboriculture, avifauna, paucity of modes of conveyance and smiling Adibasi pedestrians.

Dumka Subdivision

The Sadar subdivision of Dumka has a total area of 1,474 square miles according to 1951 census. Central subdivision of the District lying between 23° 59′ and 24° 39′ N. and between 86° 54′ and

87° 42′ E. It is bounded on the north by the Godda and Pakaur subdivisions of the district, on the south by Jamtara subdivison and district of Birbhum, on the east by Rampurhat subdivision of Birbhum district and Pakaur subdivision of this district and on the west by Deoghar and Jamtara subdivisions of the district. The total number of villages is 2,687. Dumka is the only town in the subdivision.

The total population of the subdivision according to the last two census are:—

Year	Total population	Males	Females	Urban	Rural
1	2	3	4	5	6
1951	5,37,200	2,70,629	2,66,571	13,582	5,23,618
1961	6,11,683	3,08,306	3,03,377	18,746	5,92,937

The increase in the population in one decade is 14 per cent. There are altogether 11 thanas in the Sadar subdivision including Dumka Town Police Station. Two thanas, namely, Katikund and Gopikandar fall within the Damin-i-Koh area, which is mostly inhabited by the tribal population. The area is mostly hilly tracts and jungle.

The Subdivisional Officer is the head of the Civil Administration of the Sadar subdivision and he is directly under the administrative control of the Deputy Commissioner. The headquarters of the Sadar subdivision is located at Dumka which is also the district headquarters.

The Sadar subdivision has got 10 *anchals*. The *anchal* is a unit for revenue administration and for implementing development work. Each *anchal* has been placed under a Gazetted Officer who is called Block Development Officer-*cum*-Circle Officer. Except one *anchal* all the *anchals* have been covered by the National Extension Service Blocks. The Block Development Officer or the Circle Officer is normally of the rank of a Sub-Deputy Collector or a Deputy Collector. The Block Development Officer-*cum*-Circle Officer has to do all revenue and development work of an *anchal*. He is the head of his office and works under the control of the Subdivisional Officer and the Deputy Commissioner. He is both the drawing and disbursing officer of the funds of his *anchal*. He has got both supervisory and ministerial staff to look after the revenue and development work.

There are two principal ranges of hills running south from the Pakaur and Godda subdivisions. They run parallel to each other

and passing through the Damin area and terminate in the Nangal Bhanga Hill. To the south-east there is another hill called Ramgarh Hill. The scenery of these hills near Narganj and Sillingi is very picturesque covering dense forests that stretch far away. Further west, two parallel ranges of hills stretch in an easterly direction from Masanjore to Ranibahal. They represent a landscape of considerable beauty. The Canada Dam has been constructed there in between these two hills at Masanjore. There are several hillocks, the important ones amongst them being Lagwa Hill near Nonihat, Hijla Hill near Dumka and Sapchala hill. There are several hot springs which have been covered in the chapter 'General.'

The major portion of the subdivision is inhabited by people who are mostly of aboriginal and semi-aboriginal origin. The non-aboriginals form a very small proportion of the population. The aboriginals mainly consist of three tribes, viz., Santals, Paharias and Mahulis. Special efforts are made for the amelioration of the aboriginals and the semi-aboriginals. They have been indicated separately.

The main sources of irrigation in this subdivision is the left bank canal of the Canada Dam which is about 12½ miles long. It irrigates most parts of Ranishwar police station specially the lands of the displaced persons who have been resettled in Ranishwar police station. There are several medium irrigation schemes in the subdivision the most important of which is Dighal *bandh* scheme in Ranishwar police station. There is also a forest res house at Dighalbandh.

The Subdivisional Magistrate and his assistants hold their court at Dumka. Ordinary law applies but with modifications as there are special Santal Parganas Regulation. In the Damin area there is a Damin Magistrate who looks after the administration of the Damin area. He mainly deals with cases concerning Damin area and keeps contact with the *Parganaits* and the *Pradhans* of the Damin. The collection of revenue in the Damin area is done through the agency of the *Pradhans* and *parganaits* for which they get commission. In other parts of the subdivision collection of revenue is done through the agency of the Karmacharis, Gram Panchayats and also by *pradhans* in respect of the *pradhani* villages.

Paddy is the principal crop which is grown in the subdivision. People have now started growing wheat in selected areas. Maize is also grown in the subdivision which is the principal food of the aboriginals during the months of July and August.

Godda

Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situated 46 miles north of Dumka. It has been enumerated as a town in 1961, the population being 7,518. The nearest railway stations are

Mandar Hill (Bausi) 15 miles to the west and Ghogha on the Loop Line, 31 miles to the north. It contains the public offices usually found at the subdivisional headquarters. It has a degree college, Godda Multi-purpose School and other educational institutions and the post and telegraph offices. Godda is well connected by road with Dumka, the district headquarters and with Bhagalpur, the Divisional headquarters.

Godda has an Inspection Bungalow, a Christian Mission Centres and a small market. It has a cinema house. Godda has a good supply of milk and milk products.

Godda Subdivision

It is bounded on the north by Sahibganj subdivision, on the south Dumka subdivision, on the west Bhagalpur district and on the east by Sahibganj and Pakaur subdivisions of this district. The total population of this subdivision according to last two census is indicated below:—

Year	Total population	Males	Females	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6
1951	4,47,976	2,23,969	2,24,007	4,47,976	..
1961	4,96,943	2,49,625	2,47,318	4,89,425	7,518

The seven police thanas in this subdivision are Godda, Poreyahat, Pathargama, Mahgama and Meharma in the non-Damin and Sundarpahari and Boarijore in the Damin. The Damin area is mostly inhabited by the tribal population of Santal origin. Geographically this area is an undulating one consisting of hilly tracts and jungles. The climate of the Damin area is relatively unhealthy and abounds in wild fauna such as leopards, etc. The scenery is on the whole picturesque, specially so in the valley of Boarijore. The non-Damin areas are typical of the lowest plateaux. The soil is mostly reddish and becomes very sticky when wet. There is a small population of the Paharias also in the regions bordering on Sahibganj and Pakaur subdivisions. Bauris, Bhuyans, Ghatwals and Kols may be described to be semi-aboriginal people.

The principal crop in this subdivision is paddy. The staple diet of the people of this subdivision is rice. The production of paddy in this subdivision is normally sufficient to meet the needs of consumption by the population, Maize, *kurthi*, *rahar*, *kalai*, wheat, barley, gram, *masur*, peas, *mung*, and sugarcane are grown in varying quantities according to season.

The means of communication in this subdivision are poor. There are no railway lines. Most of the roads fare unsurfaced and owing to the nature of the soil present greatest difficulty to movement. The total length of metalled roads in this subdivision would be about 5 miles for an area of 854 square miles. Buses have increased in number since 1947 and are progressively increasing. Their growth was hampered by the absence of bridges on the main rivers. These rivers are four, namely, Kajiha, Harna, Sundar and Doi. The rivers have now been bridged. A steep rise in vehicular traffic is now expected. Although all Anchal headquarters can now be reached even in the rainy season, most of the interior becomes inaccessible from the later part of June to the earlier part of October.

The subdivision is in the charge of a Subdivisional Officer who is the head of the administration in this subdivision and works directly under the administrative control of the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas. There are seven Anchal-*cum*-Blocks in this subdivision each in the charge of a Circle Officer-*cum*-Block Development Officer for the purposes of Revenue Administration and Development. Anchals are now geographically almost coterminus with police thanas. The Circle Officer-*cum*-Block Development Officer is a gazetted officer.

For the Damin area there is a Resident Magistrate-*cum*-Deputy Superintendent of Damin-i-Koh who is in charge of the law and order in that area. In the old times when the Damin area had no police administration, the Damin Magistrate had to rely on the Parganaits who were appointed by the Deputy Commissioner and enjoy police powers. After the opening of police-stations in the Damin area, the functions of the Parganaits have shrunk. In fact, they do not appear to be serving any useful purpose now. The revenue is collected villagewise through the agency of *pradhans*.

Handwa

"A *pargana* in the north of Dumka subdivision. There are 22 *taluks* included in the *pargana*. Nine *taluks* Beldaha, Ensinga, Jhopa, Karma Saharamahara, Kamardiha, Kherwa Bengama Khurd and Kesri are *ghatwali* tenures subordinate to the Kharagpur Estate. While 13 *taluks*, Kendwa, Kasba, Siltha Sarmi, Danro, Amrapahari, Dudhwa Nawada, Phuljhari, Jartal, Baje Burgo and Nowdiha belong to the descendants of Raja Subhas Singh and are known as the Handwe Raj. Being a Government *ghatwali* heritable, inalienable and indivisible the property is in relation to the Kharagpur zamindari, a dependent *taluk* in the sense in

which the expression has been used in section 14 of Regulation I of 1801. The Kharagpur Estate is entitled as superior landlords to realise a sum of Rs. 2,171 as rent *plus* such cesses as may from time to time be chargeable to the estate. The rent is not liable to be enhanced. The Government, however, can dismiss the *ghatwal* for any misconduct in relation to his office. Raja Subhas Singh was succeeded by his son Jhabhan Singh who was succeeded by his son Madho Singh. Madho Singh's son was Udit Narain Singh. On the death of Udit Narain Singh, the Handwe Raj was held by the Rani Kesobati Kumari who adopted Kumar Satya Narain Singh of the Barkope family as her heir. Kumar Satya Narain Singh died in 1924 and has been succeeded by Srimati Sonabati Kumari who is the present *ghatwalin* of the estate. Its headquarters are at Nonihat, two miles from which, under the Lagwa hill, is the ancestral home of the Khetauri proprietress. The income of the estate is Rs. 1,49,000. It is now under a Receiver appointed by the Hon'ble High Court to clear off the arrears of rent due to the Banaili Raj, which has taken the place of the Kharagpur Raj".*

When the Bihar Land Reforms Act was passed in 1950, the owner of Handwa Estate which is a Government Ghatwali Estate, filed a suit before the Subordinate Judge, Dumka, for declaration that the Bihar Land Reforms Act did not apply to the Ghatwali Estate of Handwa and obtained an order of injunction against the State of Bihar that the Bihar Land Reforms Act should not be applied to the Handwa Estate till decision of the suit. The notification bearing no. 9/LR/ZAN, dated 11th May, 1952 was, however, issued under section 3(*i*) of the Act in *Bihar Gazette*, Extraordinary, dated 21st May, 1952. The owner of the Estate moved the Court for starting a Contempt of Court proceeding which was done and the State of Bihar was ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 5,000 which was upheld by High Court and the Supreme Court. The application of Bihar Land Reforms Act to Ghatwali estate of Handwa was declared by the Supreme Court to be legal and the notification issued under section 3(*i*) of the Bihar Land Reforms Act was also held to be valid and the State Government was authorised in 1961 to take possession of the Estate.

The owner of the Estate, Smt. Rani Sonabati Kumari was appointed Receiver of the Estate by the High Court during the period the litigation remained pending in the Supreme Court. The Rani died sometime in 1962. The High Court has now been moved to direct the successor of the Rani to hand over charge

**District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 389—390.

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of the Estate. Rani Anandbati Kumari, the legal heir and successor of the deceased Rani Sonabati Kumari handed over the charge of the papers through her authorised Agent to the State of Bihar on the 10th May, 1963.

Hiranpur

The headquarters of a police station of the same name in the Pakaur subdivision. It is in the north-eastern corner of the district. A very large cattle market sponsored by the State is held here on every Thursday. Hiranpur cattle market has been in existence since long. People from beyond the State of Bihar come to make purchases or sell the cattle. It is the headquarters of a Community Development Block. There is a dyeing factory. Hiranpur has a Christian Mission. A popular hospital run by the Mission has been doing great humanitarian work since a long time.

It has one high school, two middle schools (one for boys and other for girls) and a residential school for the Paharias which provides free meal and lodging.

Ishaqpur

It is within a mile from Pakaur town towards the north. There is a place named Dargatala where Hindus and Muslims go for pilgrimage. The area of the village is 521 acres with 94 houses and a population of 499 souls.

Jagdishpur (Siktia)

A village with a railway station of the Madhupur-Giridih line of the Eastern Railway is a health resort. It falls in Madhupur police-station. There are a few buildings owned by the rich people of West Bengal who come here for change. There are a number of rose gardens. It has a forest bungalow. The place is connected by rail and metalled road and is about 8 miles from Madhupur and 16 miles from Giridih. Cut flowers (roses and Chrysanthemums and seedlings are daily sent from this place to Calcutta.

Jamtara

Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated on the main line of the Eastern Railway. It has a population of 6,722 in 1961. It contains the public offices usually found at a subdivisional headquarters. It has a sub-jail, post and telegraph offices and several educational institutions. It was formerly a place for changers owing to its salubrious climate. There are still several

residential houses constructed by the rich men of Calcutta for change. But now most of the houses remain out of use. A Union Committee has recently been constituted at Jamtara. *Rash* mela is held in the month of Aghahan (November-December) and attracts a large number of people.

Jamtara has a salubrious climate and a number of Bengali families have settled down here. There is a private zoo maintained by a Calcutta resident who owns a fine house at Jamtara. The *hat* is well attended. The *chura* and *murhi* of Jamtara have a big sale.

Due to its proximity to Chittaranjan and availability of vast tracts of land, the place may be the site for some large-scale industries.

Jamtara Subdivision

The subdivision lies between 23° 49′ N. and 24° 10′ N. and between 86° 30′ and 87° 18′ E., with an area of 692 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Dumka Sadar and Deoghar subdivisions; on the east by the district of Birbhum (West Bengal) and the Dumka Sadar subdivision; on the south by the districts of Dhanbad, Burdwan and Birbhum (both in West Bengal); and on the west by the district of Hazaribagh. The subdivision, which is bounded on the south by the Barakar and is intersected by the Ajai river, is a rolling upland country with long ridges and intervening depressions.

The chief mineral products of economic value are coal, building stone, road materials, lime and fire-clay. In the south-eastern part of Jamtara subdivision there are Kasta coalfied and Parihairpur collieries. Some important Companies which operate these collieries are Bihar Colliery, Jorekori Colliery, Tewari's Beldanga Colliery and Barakar Colliery. The coal found in this subdivision is of inferior quality and is mostly hauled by bullock carts for local use.

Building stone and road metal are supplied by Soor Company, Calcutta from near Kasitanr Railway station by extracting from the nearby hills. There are other small contractors who collect these materials locally in Mihijam, Jamtara, etc., and despatch outside.

The main line of the Eastern Railways passes through Jamtara subdivision dividing it almost into two equal parts. The Railway stations are Jamtara, Bodma, Chittaranjan, Rupnarayanpur, Karmatanr, Kasitanr and Madankata. Chittaranjan Railway station was formerly known as Mihijam Railway station but after the opening

of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works near about in 1950, the railway station although situated in Mihijam (in Jamtara subdivision) has been re-named as Chittaranjan Railway station.

Besides there is Kasta coalfied railway which connects the eastern part of Jamtara subdivision with Andal-Sainthia line.

The road system of this subdivision was poorly developed until Independence in 1947. Roadways have since developed. Many roads were metalled during the First and Second Five-Year Plans. The distance of the Jamtara subdivisional town from Dumka which is the District headquarters is 53 miles connected by metalled roads *via* Palajori and Jama. The road connecting Jamtara to Rupnarayanpur *via* Mihijam is also metalled and measures 13 miles. This road goes to Asansol meeting the Grand Trunk Road at Niamatpur and is the main thoroughfare for vehicular traffic between Calcutta and Darjeeling.

The river Ajai which was unbridged up to 1947 has since been bridged. The old route from Jamtara to Dumka was *via* Fatehpur which was 44 miles in length. It is, however, still *kutcha* but has been included in the Third Five-Year Plan and the bridge on the river Sila near Fatehpur is also under construction.

Jamtara-Dhanbad road is 50 miles of metalled road *via* Mihijam and Maithon Dam meeting the Grand Trunk road at Chirkunda on 24th mile stone. There is a proposal to connect Dhanbad with Jamtara *via* Birgon. There is already *kutcha* road in existence which requires metalling and a bridge on the river Barakar beyond village Birgon. After this road is completed the distance from Jamtara to Dhanbad will be reduced to about 32 miles only.

Jamtara-Deoghar road is 75 miles *via* Palajori, and is metalled all through. There is a much shorter route from Jamtara to Deoghar *via* Madhupur and Jasidih but the road is *kutcha* with a few unbridged streams.

Jamtara-Kundahit road is a *kutcha* road 34 miles in length from Jamtara to Kundahit *via* Nala having five unbridged streams. There is another *kutcha* road between Jamtara to Kundahit *via* Sokhabagdaha and Murgabani. There are no streams crossing this road.

The population of this subdivision according to the census of 1961 is 3,24,506 as against 2,90,056 in 1951. This shows rise of approximately 11 per cent in the population during the last ten years. It contains 1,722 villages.

The subdivision is divided into four *Anchals* which are units of Revenue Administration and Development work. Each *Anchal* is in charge of a Deputy Collector or Sub-Deputy Collector who is called the Block Development Officer. Nala and Jamtara, the Community Development stage II are under the Block Development Officers who are Sub-Deputy Collectors. In Kundahit there is a Multi-purpose Tribal Pilot Project under a Deputy Collector who is designated as the Project Executive Officer. Narayanpur is a pre-extension block under a Sub-Deputy Collector. The Block Development Officers and Project Executive Officer are under the administrative control of the Deputy Commissioner, Dumka and the Subdivisional Officer, Jamtara.

After vesting of the estates under the Land Reforms Act, 1950, the land revenue of the subdivision has increased manifold. The land revenue of 1961-62 for this subdivision was Rs. 2,14,678. The realisation of the land revenue is done with the help of Government employees named as *Karamchari* under the supervision of Circle Inspectors, Block Development Officers and Land Reforms Deputy Collector. The Land Reforms Deputy Collector has not so far been posted to this subdivision. Recently the collection of revenue has been entrusted to the majority of the *Gram Panchayats*.

After passing of the Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 1957 (Act VII of 1958) village system of administration has undergone a radical change. The *Gram Panchayats* have been constituted consisting of voters between one thousand to three thousands. The *Gram Panchayats* have three-fold functions firstly, they have to deal with the criminal administration in their jurisdiction and can try petty cases which are within the purview of the Third Class Magistrates. Secondly, they have to deal with the petty civil suits within their jurisdiction. Their essential procedure in the trial of cases is that of compromise between the parties and to take up regular trial only after the parties fail to arrive at an amicable compromise. Thirdly, it is the duty of the *panchayat* to safeguard public property, assist administration and report to the proper authorities regarding any apprehension of the breach of the peace, etc. There are 85 *Gram Panchayats* in this subdivision. Recently, they have also been entrusted with rent collection work and 60 *panchayats* have already taken up the work of rent collection so far.

There is no separation of judicial and executive functions of a Magistrate. The Subdivisional Officer is the head of the Civil and Criminal Administration of the subdivision. He is assisted by the Second Officer who is a Sub-Deputy Collector. The sanctioned strength of the Magistrate in this subdivision is that of one

Deputy Collector who is the Subdivisional Officer and one Sub-Deputy Collector who is the Second Officer. The sanctioned strength is the same from the time the subdivision was created near about 1873.

Jasidih

A railway station of the main line of the Eastern Railway. A branch line from here (Jasidih-Baidhyanathdham) connects Deoghar. It has a population of 4,292 in 1961 and is raised to the status of the town. It has a bracing climate. It has a large number of buildings owned by the changers of Calcutta, among them Hill view, Kailash pahar and Birla sanatorium are worthy of mention. It has a State dispensary. There is a women teaching training school. The Baidhyanathdham iron steel factory and the Deoghar Block Office are located here. Earthen *surahi* (water pitcher) of Jasidih has gained prominence and is exported from here. The sanitation work is under a notified area committee which has been constituted recently.

Kanaiyasthan

This village is under the jurisdiction of Rajmahal Community Development Block.

The village is situated at a distance of 8 miles from Rajmahal town in the north-west direction on the bank of the river Ganga. A *kutcha* road connects. The nearest railway station is Rajmahal. The village is important because it lies in the China Clay belt of Rajmahal. A factory for purifying the China clay from crude condition is under construction.

The name Kanaiyasthan is associated with the Vaisnava saint Chaitanya Mahaprabhu. There is an attractive temple at the top of the village where the foot prints of Sri Chaitanya are enshrined. A marble table has been fixed on the wall of the temple with the following words:—

> "Foot prints of Chaitanya Deva who visited Kanai Nat Shala in 1505 A. D. Installed by Goswami Bhakti Sidhanta Saraswati at the expense of Rai Saheb Upendra Nath Mandal in 443 Chaitanya Era." It is doubtful if the present temple is the original one as the temple is about 300 years old. The tablet is a recent addition.

The total area of the village is 67.53 acres with 115 number of occupied houses. The total population of the village as in the

Block Office is 652 persons, i.e., males 356 and females 296. The Post Office and Panchayat are at Sarkanda.

The river Ganga flows very close to the village and inundates in the rainy season. The high situation of the village is a protection. The topography has a slope from south to north.

The main castes in the village are Chain Mandal, Rabidas, Bania, Barhi and Dhobi and the main language is Hindi.

There is one Upper Primary school in the village. There is also an old *Dargah* on the top of a hillock in the village. The *Dargah* is said to have been constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Kanchangarh

It is a small hillock on the Dumka-Pakur road, about 8 miles from the village Chitlo.

The place has its historical importance. It is said that in very ancient days it was a fort. Even now the signs of the fort are visible at several places. The hillock is of oval shape and hollow. If one strikes the hill top with a stick a peculiar sound is produced. There are some caves which are now the abode of wild animals.

Kankjol

A *pargana* in the south of the Rajmahal Subdivision. It is mentioned in Todar Mal's rent-roll as a *mahal* in *Sarkar* Audamber or Tandah, and there is also a *pargana* of the same name north of the Ganga in the Purnea District. General Cunningham is of opinion that the name is derived from Kankjol, a village 16 miles south of Rajmahal. "Kankjol is an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rajmahal, and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank. Even at the present day this tract is still recorded as belonging to Kankjol; and I was, therefore, not surprised to hear the zamindars of Inayatpur and the surrounding villages to the east of the Ganges say that their lands were in Kankjol. The simple explanation is that the Ganges has changed its course. At the time of the Muhammadan occupation it flowed under the walls of Gaur in the channel of the present Bhagirathi river. Part of the trans-Gangetic Kankjol is in the Puraniya district bounded by Akbarpur, and part in the Malda district bounded by Malda proper.*"**

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*Reports, Arch. Surv, Ind., XV, p. 37.

***District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 391.

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 1-LR/ZAN., dated the 5th January, 1953, published on 27th January, 1953.

Karmatanr

A village with a railway station of the Eastern Railway in the Jamtara subdivision is a health resort. In the past some of the great personalities like Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee had their houses here.

It is famous for gardens and flowers such as roses, chrysanthemums, carnations, etc., are sent to Calcutta throughout the year. It is a business centre, chiefly in corn. Rice mills, oil mill, tannery, shoe-making and carpentry have developed in this area. A weekly market is held. There are two Christian Missions near it and there are some Anglo-Indians in Karmatanr. Total population is about 1,891.

Karmdaha

This village, under Jamtara Subdivision, is situated about ten miles south of Narayanpur on the bank of the river Barakar against the pictorial background of Tundi hills. The road approaching to this village is in a bad condition. A *mela* is held annually on the occasion of *Paus Sankranti.*

Katghar

An ancient village situated at a distance of 9 miles from Rajmahal town under Rajmahal Police station and Rajmahal C. D. Block. The village is divided into three *tolas*, viz., Burhan *tola*, Kurmi *tola* and Katghar *tola*. The different *tolas* of the village are scattered. It has got an area of 1,697.95 acres with 72 number of occupied houses. It has got a total population of 430 persons, i.e., 233 males and 197 females.

There is one upper primary school and an old well known as *Mansingh ka Kuan*. It is said that Man Singh, the Viceroy of Akbar in Bengal had constructed this well.

A striking feature is that there are scattered small pieces of stones in different shapes like rice, peas, mustard, pulse, seeds of different fruits, etc., near a tank. It is said that in ancient times there was one famous Bania Jagat Seth by name who had hoarded huge quantity of grain. One day a *sadhu* or a beggar came to his place and asked for alms. He said that he had nothing to give

him. The beggar referred to the hoarded grains. Jagat Seth replied that there was nothing excepting stones. On this the *sadhu* cursed him and all the hoarded grains turned into stone.

Paddy cultivation is the main occupation. The main castes in the village are Santals, Kurmis, Pasis, Rajputs, Gwalas and Rai Bhuiya Ghatwars.

Khardighi

The village is situated at a distance of 5 miles from Rajmahal town in southern direction and about 122 miles from the district headquarters and is on the National Highway. The main *mouza* is known as Jamnagar and Khardighi is a part of it. Its post office is at Udhua under Rajmahal Community Development Block.

The total area of the village is 1,189.58 acres with about 400 number of occupied houses. The total population of the village (taken from the Block Office) is about 3,120 persons, i.e., 1,600 males and 1,520 females. The incidence of literacy is very low. The thana number of the village is 172.

To the east of the village is village Bairbanna Khardighi, to the west, a lake near Tinpahar, to the north Mangsigha village and to the south, Babu *tola* (a *tola* of village Udhua).

The village is divided into four *tolas*, viz., Mahajan *tola*, Badal *tola*, Pran *tola* and Mija Biswas *tola*.

About fifty years back the river Ganga changed its course and now lies at a distance of 4½ miles. Prior to the change in the course of the river, the village had some importance for trade by river.

There are four tanks in the village. People rear fish in these tanks for personal use as well as for exporting it to Calcutta. Bamboo, mango, lemon, *lichi* and jute are the main products of the village. Bamboos are used for thatching purposes and are also sent to Rajmahal where they are used for preparing baskets, winnowing fans, etc. Fishing nets are made in the village. Jute is exported to Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Dhulian and Pharakka. The making of rope and shoes are carried on in the village. There are some carpenters who make furniture and oilmen to extract oil.

About 25 per cent of the total population are displaced persons. About 50 per cent of the total population are agricultural labourers,

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35 per cent cultivators, businessmen, and fihshermen, 10 per cent Mahajans and 5 per cent service holders.

Hindi and Bengali are the main languages. There is one *thakurbari*. The village has got three mosques, one upper primary, one middle and three lower primary schools. There is a cattle *hat* at Jamnagar which was very important when the river Ganga was flowing close to the village. The said *hat* still exists. The weekly *hat* is held on every Tuesday where articles of daily use and cattle are sold.

People are *mela*-minded and they enjoy the *melas* held at various places during Durga Puja, Lakshmi Puja, Sury *mela* during the month of *Magh*, Saraswati *puja* during *Phalgun* and Bhola *puja* during *Chaitra*. *Alkaf Naach* (*Videsiya naach*) is very popular.

Madhupur

Madhupur, a town in the Deoghar subdivision situated at a distance of 157 miles east from Patna and 183 miles west from Calcutta on the main line of the Eastern Railway. It is an important junction of the Eastern Railway. A branch line, Madhupur-Giridih section connects Madhupur with Giridih in Hazaribagh District. It has a municipality which was constituted in 1909. The area of the municipality is 4.79 square miles containing a population of 19,519 according to 1961 census.

Some hold that the place was named after one Madhu Goala, who had a large herd of cattle in this area which was more of wilderness. The place was then full of forests and affords good pasturage for his cattle. Some, however, think that honey (*madhu*) was procured in abundance from the jungles and brought to the villages and for that the place is called Madhupur.

Madhupur is situated about 820 feet above the sea level and is a fine health resort. A large number of Bengali gentlemen of Calcutta have built their houses in Madhupur where they come for a change of air. Sri Narain Kundu, a railway contractor appears to have been the first Bengali who came here near about 1871. It is said that the water of Madhupur cured his chronic stomach trouble. The salubrious climate of the place impressed him so much that he purchased 5 *bighas* of land from Sri Banwarilal Singh of Lalgarh estate on an annual rental of Rs. 8-12. Later on the Lalgarh estate went over to the Pathrole estate by a Title suit no. 19 of 1885. In 1885 Kundu also purchased the *mul-raiyati mauza*, Sheikhpura from Mr. Monier on Rs. 900. Monier appears to have been a Railway Official or a Railway contractor. Monier left

राज्य अभिलेखागार, बिहार ऐतिहासिक शाखा पटना

a large number of houses in Madhupur and is now remembered by a small lane known as the Monier lane.

Amdiha and two other *mauzas* were also purchased. Sri Kundu was followed by other eminent Bengali families of Calcutta like Sir Ashutosh Mukherji who purchased 9 *bighas* of land in village Sheikhpura from Mr. Kundu on an annual rental of Rs. 90 and built a palatial building there in 1912. Later Sir Gurudas Banerjee, Sir Deva Prasad Sarbadhikary, Rai Bahadur T. N. Sadhu, Rai Bahadur Khagendra Nath Mitra and others built their houses in Madhupur. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji induced a large number of highly placed Bengalees in Calcutta to have their houses in Madhupur. A number of retired Anglo-Indian and Jew families have also settled down in Madhupur. It is understood that there was a much larger number a few years before.

On a local investigation from a number of people who have settled down in Madhupur over 40 years before some interesting facts came to light. One Vidyadhar Misra, a Pandit of Arrah had been at Madhupur for 59 years and gave out that when he came first most of the areas of Madhupur were full of forests and the *hatia* (market) lasted only for three to four hours. The Santals were fond of calling the outsiders as *bongas* and trusted them implicitly. They had no idea of the value of money and living was so cheap that a labourer or servant would go home in noon for food walking two miles either way than get a free meal at his master's place. A mason worked for six annas a day. Foodgrains were cheap and a man could live almost on a couple of pice to an anna a day. According to him the infiltration of outsiders that had started about 50 to 60 years back was responsible for the general rise in prices of land and living.

The easy train communication with Calcutta and the salubrious climate coupled with cheap living and easy availability of servants on a very low wages encouraged a continuous flow of the middle-class Bengali settlers till about 1940. After the outbreak of the Second World War prices started soaring high and the inflow of visitors and settlers from Bengal in particular seasons like Pujah or summer vacations started declining. At first there was no after-math on the Bengali settlers due to the fact that Madhupur along with Santal Parganas had been placed in the Province of Bihar. On the other hand the people remembered Lord Sinha, the first Governor of Bihar and Orissa, who was very fond of Madhupur and encouraged middle classes coming to Madhupur and places of Santal Parganas either for a change in particular seasons or for settling down. The Inspection Bungalow of the Public Works Department of Madhupur was built at the instance of Lord Sinha.

The well constructed in the premises of the bungalow was reputed to have excellent water of digestive mineral properties and Lord Sinha liked the water very much.

The main important *mahallas* are Patharchapti, Bawanbigha, Kushmaha, Lalgarh, Khalaji *mahalla*, Machhuatanr and Sheikhpura. Bawanbigha is by far the best locality of Madhupur. In Bawanbigha *mahalla* the oldest house is said to be the Therso House built in 1900. The *Kapilamath* which was founded in 1918 by Hariharanand Arnaya has added beauty to this *maha la*. A discussion on the *Sankhya Yoga* philosophy is regularly held. The *math* is maintained by public donation. There is also a wing for the ladies. Two houses Viram and Krishnabash are allotted to the ladies lay disciples. Shri Hariharanand Arnaya was a great *Sankhya* Yoga philosopher and a saint and he obtained his *Samadhi* here. The head now is Dharma Megha Arnaya.

The lack of road development has affected Madhupur. There is still no direct road route with Calcutta or Patna through Deoghar. The gentries of Calcutta having cars now prefer motoring up in the holidays and thus Madhupur has to be cut off from their programme. Very recently Giridih has been connected with Madhupur by road, but from Calcutta to Madhupur via Giridih follows a circuitous route.

Unfortunately Madhupur has become somewhat notorious for theft. This has also deterred many people from coming to Madhupur. At the moment the price level of the food stuff in Madhupur is almost like that of Calcutta or Patna or even dearer than that of the latter. In September, 1963 fish is sold at Rs. 4 to Rs. 4.50, meat at Rs. 3 per seer while chickens at Rs. 3 for one. This is in great contrast and is at least six to eight times more than the prices that had obtained thirty years back. Rice and vegetable are sold at the same price at Patna or Calcutta. The result now is that there are hundreds of substantial houses falling into ruins and are sold. For Rs. 8,000 to 10,000 a fairly large house with six to seven rooms and a compound of one to two *bighas* could easily be purchased. There are any number of houses immediately available for sale.

It is pertinent to observe that there are hardly any middle class Bihari gentlemen settling down in Madhupur. An enquiry was made as to why Madhpur is not treated as the paradise for the retired people as it was to the Bengalis or Anglo-Indians. It was pointed out that the Bihari middle class men have a greater attachment for their own villages and for their district headquarters. Moreover, in Madhupur there is no facility for higher education and

no industry where employment could be found. It was understood that an extensive property and a palatial house with 24 *bighas* of land belonging to a Bengali family of Calcutta had been offered for the starting of a college but the proposal has not yet been materialised.

Madhupur has a block which was started in 1961. There has been a slight spurt by the starting of the block and the location of a few more government offices. It was suggested to the investigator that if a few branches of Government and particularly some Directorates attached to the Secretariat are removed to Madhupur and an industry started, Madhupur will thrive again. In eptember, 1963 the investigator found great commotion among the people against the proposal of starting a Leper Asylum or an institute for constructive surgery for the lepers at the instance of the Paharia Seva Mandal. Some people think that the starting of the asylum will badly affect the prospects of the development of Madhupur and visitors will be detracted.

Instead of the development of floriculture for which Madhupur was famous some of the concerns growing flowers and selling in Calcutta have closed down. The famous Chatterji nursery is an instance. It is true that there are still some con cerns growing roses and chrysanthemum have started but they are small. The Bawan-bigha (52 bighas) roses have died out. The possibility of sponsoring industries to utilise the locally available minerals or silk may be examined. The Madhupur town has electricity. There is a Municipality now put under a Special Officer deputed by the Government. The roads have been improved. The lighting system has also been improved. The Special Officer has done some good to the town.

Besides the railway station traffic staff, there is a loco-shed employing a large number of men. There is an office of the Assistant Engineer of the Railway and a railway technical school under a Railway Engineer of the District Engineer rank.

Besides block and municipal office there are offices of the Sub-divisional Officer of the Electricity, Assistant Engineer in charge of irrigation (Ajaya scheme), Malaria Control Officer of the Anti-Malaria unit, Police station and a Handicraft union. Among the educational institutions the Edward George High School which was started in 1911 is important. Recently one proposed high school has been started. There is an Anchhi Devi Girls' Middle School and a Mount Carmel School for both boys and girls started by the Roman Catholic Christian nuns. Besides, there are a Roman Catholic Church, a Protestant Church and a Kali Mandir, at Pathrol. Besides railway hospital, there is one State Aided Dutta charitable

dispensary opened by the Governor of Bengal in 1900. The dispensary owes its origin to a Trust. For a place like Madhupur, the hospital is ill-equipped and small.

Manihari Tappa.

"A *tappa* in the north of the Godda subdivision. It was formerly held by a family of Khetauris, of whom Buchanan Hamilton has given the following account. A Nat Raja called Dariyar Singh was chief of the northern hillmen and lived in the Manjhw valley, where he built and occupied a fort called Lakragarh. A Khetauri called Kalyan entered his service, and Kalyan's son Rupkaran became commandant of the fort. In 1600 A.D. Man Singh was sent by Akbar to settle the affairs of Bengal, and was opposed by a chief called Subhan Singh. The Nat Raja favoured Subhan but Rupkaran, deserting his master, expelled him from the fort and helped Man Singh to force the defiles. 'He then advanced with Man Singh to Bengal, and his family entirely attributed to his prowess the overthrow of Subhan. It would appear, indeed, that he rendered essential service, as his rewards were considerable. In the first place he obtained in *mansab jagir*, free of rent and in perpetuity, five *parganas*, viz., Dursaraf in Puraniya (Purnea), Yamuni (Jamuni) and Akbarnagar in Rajmahal, and Manjuya (Manjhwe) and Kangyiyala (Kanjiala) comprising the valley included by the hills of the mountaineers. Besides this he procured, as a zamindari *tappa*, Manihari, a part of the Bhagalpur *pargana*, Man Singh conferred the title of Raja on his favourite, who enjoyed these estates until the Fasli year 1015 (A. D. 1608).' When Buchanan Hamilton wrote his account, a descendant of Rupkaran named Raja Gajraj Singh, son of Sujan Singh, held the estate.

"A local tradition which agreed more or less with this account runs as follows:—The *tappa* was formerly held by seven Nat brothers, who lived at seven different places, but Majmai (in the Damin-i-Koh near Burio Hat) was their capital, at which they met during the Durga Puja festivals. They were overthrown by a Khetauri named Rupkaran Singh, the son of Kalyan Singh, who was marked for future greatness by a miraculous occurrence, for one day, while he was reposing under the shade of a tree, he fell asleep, and a serpent sheltered him from the sun by spreading its hood over him like an umbrella. Rupkaran entered into a conspiracy to kill the Nat Rajas, to whom the Khetauris used to supply fuel at the time of the Pujas. During one of these festivals, when the Nat brothers were intoxicated, he and his fellows rose up against them, and having killed them established the Khetauri Raj. Rupkaran Singh reigned from 1008 to 1015 (F.), and one of his descendants received the title of Raja and *tappas* Jamuni and

Chitaulia as *jagir* from the Emperor of Delhi between 1067 and 1075 (F.). The next Raja, Kishori Singh, having become a convert to Islam and married a member of the family of Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal, obtained several more *jagirs* but his nephews, Harichand Singh and others, enraged at his apostasy, assassinated him. His burial place at Majmai used to be looked upon as a holy place, and even now his descendants offer sweetmeats there in his name. Coming to later times, the raids of the Paharias forced Raja Sujan Singh to grant *jagirs* in order to prevent their incursions, and in this way 36,000 *bighas* were assigned to *Jagirdars*. During his time (1163 to 1187 F.) a fire broke out in Majmai, and the residence of the Rajas was burnt down.

"The subsequent history of the family may be briefly told. In 1792 A.D., during the time of Gajraj Singh, *tappa* Manihari was permanently settled at a *jama* of Rs. 8,192. Gajraj Singh became insane and his property was managed by the Court of Wards from 1804 till his death in 1838, when he was succeeded by his two sons, Raja Bhagwan Singh and Kumar Chandan Singh. In 1836 suits were brought by Government for the resumption of the *mansab jagir* and of the Manihari *ghatwali jagir;* and a decree was given in favour of Government in 1838. In that year the zamindari of Manihari was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased for Rs. 15,500 by Babu Ananda Narayan Ghose (son of the *diwan* of Lady Hastings) of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, whose family are still in possession. The last proprietor was Heramba Chandra Ghose, grandson of Ananda Narayan, who died in 1907 without issue and was succeeded by his widow, Srimati Paritoshini Dasi. Paritoshini Dasi has been succeeded by Amarendra Nath Dey and Sudhirendra Nath Dey by a decree of the Hon'ble High Court of Calcutta, dated the 1st August 1916 in suit no. 302 of 1910.

"Between 1836 and 1841 Chandan Singh was convicted of murder and was sentenced to imprisonment for life; while Bhagwan Singh developed insanity and his property was managed by his wife Rani Dularbati till 1840, when Mr. Pontet, on the strength of the resumption decree, took possession of the inner valleys of the Rajmahal Damin. The Manihari *jagir* and those portions of the *mansab jagir* which lay outside the Damin-i-Koh were settled after resumption with the Manihari family or their successors in interest. Between 1838 and her death in 1888 Rani Dularbati, who was in receipt of a pension from Government, gradually parted with all the family property.

"During the resettlement operations of 1898—1910, Nahal Singh and Sib Narayan Singh, descendants of Mahatab Singh, a brother of Raja Gajraj Singh, aided by certain pleaders of Bhagalpur to

whom they had transferred a nine annas interest in their rights, brought numerous suits, as reversionary heirs of Rani Dularbati, against the present owners of the resumed *jagir* villages, claiming restitution on the ground that the Rani could not alienate more than her life interest in the estate. The suits were mostly withdrawn on compromise. In 1900 a suit was brought against Government by Nahal Singh, Sib Narayan Singh and three pleaders of Bhagalpur for the restoration of the inner valleys in the northern half of the Damin-i-Koh, i.e. *pargana* Bara Kanjiali, *tappa* Payer and Haveli Manjhwe. The suit was eventually compr mised, Government agreeing to give the two descendants of the Manihari Rajas a fixed hereditary pension of Rs. 50 each a month and to pay a lump sum of Rs. 20,000 to the other three plaintiffs, in return for which they abandoned their claims.

"*Tappa* Manihari now comprises two portions, viz., *mal* and *Jagirdari* villages. The latter account for one-third of the area and are held by a number of different persons; while the former are the property of Amarendra Nath Dey and Sudhirendra Nath Dey of Pathuriaghata. The *tappa* is divided into eight subdivisions called *divis*, viz., Gobindpur, Bajitpur, Doe, Madhura, Chanda, Dumaria, Phulbaria and Chaijora. It contains a few places of interest. In Gobindpur there is a village now called Kasba, and formerly Manihari, from which the *tappa* has taken its name. It contains several large tanks, at present silted up, from the beds of which, as well as from other places in the village, images carved in stone and other architectural remains have been obtained. Bricks of large dimensions are also found as well as engraved slabs of black stone. Mangarh, a *mauza* contiguous to Kasba, is associated with the memory of Akbar's general Man Singh. The story current among the people of the place is that when Man Singh came to conquer Bengal he encamped at Manihari and built a fort, which was called Mangarh after him. Legend also relates that his son Jagat Singh, married the daughter of Birendra Singh, the chieftain of the *tappa*, without his father's permission. Bikram Kita is said to have been the capital of Birendra Singh, and there are still remains of a fortress there called Bimligarh after Bimala, his wife and the step-mother of Jagat Singh's bride. Close by are two images carved out of the rock, which, it has been suggested, may be images of Budha The people believe that every one passing by these images should throw stones at them, otherwise evil will befall upon them. On a hillock called Maha-Paharia in the north-east of the *tappa* there are remains of a stone fortress."*

**District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 392—395.

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 20-L.R./ZAN, dated the 6th November, 1951, published on 22nd May 1952.

Masanjore

Masanjore, situated at a distance of 19 miles south-east of Dumka, is a place of great importance due to the construction of the Mayurakshi dam here. The site of the dam is picturesque. The details of the dam have been given in the chapter on "Agriculture and Irrigation". The dam is in connection with a big river valley project executed by Government of West Bengal for irrigation. The Mayurakshi left bank canal which irrigates the land in Santal Parganas is fed by the two sluices on the left of the dam.

There are two rest-houses—one built by the Government of West Bengal and the other by the Government of Bihar. The site of these two rest-houses on hillocks is picturesque. A visitor can have the whole view of the dam from both the rest-houses. The garden maintained in the West Bengal rest-house is very attractive. There is a youth hostel also nearby.

The Mayurakshi Power House at the same place supplies electricity to Dumka and other places of Santal Parganas. There is a colony of officers and workers working in the power-house and in the dam. A few shops have sprung up to cater the needs of the workers there. A weekly *hat* is held on Sundays in which agricultural produce, cloth and other necessities of life have brisk sale. There is a police outpost and a post office there.

Masanjore is a place of beauty and now easily approachable by road either from Siuri or Bolpur (Shanti-Niketan) in West Bengal and from Dumka. But the facilities afford to the tourists are very inadequate. Accommodation in the two State bungalows is difficult to get and without prior reservation accommodation is usually refused. There are no dormitories suitable for the common tourist. The Bus services could also be improved.

Mihijam

A township in Jamtara subdivision situated on the main line of the Eastern Railway has a total population of 5,431 souls, i.e., males 3,144 and females 2,287 according to the census of 1961. Originally it had the railway station of the same name but it has now changed to Chittaranjan due to the growth of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory in its immediate neighbourhood. This place is famous for rose and Chrysanthemum. Many holiday

seekers come to this place as the climate is salubrious. There is a Notified Area Committee with the Subdivisional Officer, Jamtara as its *ex officio* Chairman. Previously changers used to come to Mihijam throughout the year from Calcutta side. It is a pity that there should be very few visitors now. There is no accommodation available in a Dormitory or a Dak Bungalow.

Mirza Chowki

The village Mirza Chowki, bordering the district of Bhagalpur lies in the district of Santal Parganas at a distance of 105 miles, from the district headquarters Dumka. It is under the jurisdiction of Rajmahal subdivision and is under Borio Community Development Block. Borio is about 30 miles from here *via* Sahibganj and about 40 miles *via* hills. It has got a railway station of the same name, on the loop line of the Eastern Railway. It is the first railway station within the district from Bhagalpur side.

It covers an area of one square mile and the present total population is about 1,500, i.e., males 900 and females 600. The incidence of literacy is very low. The houses are very congested.

It is a small but picturesque place with hills on the eastern and southern sides. These hills belong to the Rajmahal ranges. To the east there are three hills, i.e., Sunder Pahar, Pakaria and Teliagarhi, and four villages, i.e., Tetaria, Mirza Chowki Santhalia, Loharvira and Baskola; to the west villages Shahabad and Dubauli in the Bhagalpur district; to the south Belbhadri, Murli and Bhutaha hills of the same ranges and villages Neemgachhi, Mahadevavarn and Baratalla; and to the north are villages Rajgaon or Hajipur and river Ganga which flows at a distance of three miles but during the rains it comes nearer and flows at a distance of one mile only.

There is only one lake known as Simartalla which is about 1½ miles from the railway station. This lake is noted for game birds in the winter and attracts sportsmen. The lake is also utilised for the rearing of fish.

The lake is connected with Ganga river through channels. Portions of the bed of the lake when dry are cultivated for *rabi* crops.

The slope of the land is towards the south. China clay is found in the hills. There are four quarries under four different proprietors. The stone chips are sent outside. *Sabai* grass and *kendu* leaves for making *bidis* are other important produce. *Sabai* grass cultivation is under the management of the State Government and details of this industry have been given elsewhere. The

making of *sabai* grass rope is the main cottage industry of the village and there are only two *atta chakkis* in the village.

Wild animals like leopards, bear, deer and blue-bulls are common and they damage the crops and attack the cattle also. The Santals and occasionally sportsmen shoot the wild animals.

About fifty years back there was a village known as Mirza Chowki Santali at a distance of about one mile from the present railway station and Mirza Chowki *Bazar*. That village still exists with its original inhabitants, the Santals. Previously people belonging to different castes and communities used to live in that village but after the establishment of the railway station and *bazar* in 1912 or 1913 the other people left the old village excluding the Santals. Prior to the establishment of the Mirza Chowki railway station people used to get down at Pirpainty railway station and from there they had to cover a distance of five miles on foot to this village.

During 1857 insurrection, people from Shahabad district came and settled down at Mirza Chowki Santali village and later shifted to the present Mirza Chowki village. An important fort Teliagarhi lies at a distance of three miles from here. Visitors visiting Teliagarhi fort and the Christian mission at Gokhla, 3 miles away get down at the Mirza Chowki railway station and cover the distance either on foot or bullock-carts. The road from the railway station is jeepable.

The main languages of the place are Santali, Hindi (Bhojpuri) and Bengali. There is only one displaced family from East Pakistan. There are families of about 500 Santals, 150 Paharias, 100 Banias and 50 Harijans here.

There are about 100 acres of land for agriculture. There is no arrangement for irrigation and people have to depend on the rains. There are three kinds of soil, i.e., red, black or alluvial and white. Red soil yields a very low crop. Alluvial soil yields crop like paddy, etc., and the white soil yields *rabi* crop and sugar-cane. Various fruits like mango, jackfruit, custard-apple, *kend* and papayas grow in abundance. Bamboo has a luxuriant growth. The village also grows various kinds of vegetables.

The place is famous for milk and milk products such as *ghee*, *chhena*, butter, etc. These milk products are sent outside to Bolpur, Asansol, Burdwan and Calcutta. *Hat* is held on two days in the week.

There is a grain *gola* under the Welfare Department for the welfare of the Paharias. There are two Credit Co-operative Societies, two fair price shops, one community hall, one godown for grains,

one lower primary school and a Health Sub-Centre. There is a *Gram Panchayat* and a *Gram Kutchery*. It has got a post office also.

About 70 per cent of the total population are agriculturists and landless labourers. The landless labourers work in the field on *batai* system and on daily wages. They are paid both in cash and kind. The Lohars and carpenters carry out their own traditional occupation. Banias are mostly engaged in business and about 25 per cent of the total population are engaged in business and about 5 per cent are servicemen.

The place is on the border of three districts, i.e., Purnea, Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas and criminals are said to meet and operate in this area. There is a police outpost (*Phandi*).

From the railway station figures of passengers from January, 1962 to September, 1962 were collected. There were 1,09,800 outward passengers and 1,08,051 inward passengers. The statement below gives the quantity of goods and parcels handled from January, 1962 to September, 1962 :—

Month	Goods				Parcel			
	Outward	Variety of goods.	Inward	Variety of goods	Out-ward	Variety of goods	Inward	Variety of goods
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Quintals		Quintals		Quin-tals		Quin-tals	
January ..	23,157	Stone chips.	1,069	Salt	318	*Chhena*	180	Cocoon.
February ..	25,966		1,070	Sand	381	*Ghee*	140	*Kachcha* thread, etc.
March ..	36,749	*Kendu* leaves, etc.	1,210	Cement	301	Butter	105	
April ..	26,992		1,100	Iron	210	Fowl	110	
May ..	34,730		1,050	Grains	720	and other miscellaneous goods	240	
June ..	21,888		1,180	Pulses and	320	..	115	
July ..	28,947	..	1,270	other miscellaneous goods	410	..	250	
August ..	23,764	..	1,010	..	420	..	195	
September ..	26,335	..	1,240	..	430	..	210	

The following is the statement for smalls from January, 1962 to September, 1962 :—

Month	Smalls			
	Outward	Variety of goods	Inward	Variety of goods
1	2	3	4	5
	Quintals		Quintals	
January	327	K.Oil, Petrol, Wheat, Rice, etc.	430	K. Oil, Petrol, Wheat, Rice, etc.
February	480	..	300	
March	520	..	325	
April	950	..	750	
May	1,140	..	650	
June	850	..	450	
July	340	..	502	
August	840	..	980	
September	320	..	420	

Moti Jharna

It is a beautiful water-fall at a distance of about 3 miles from Maharajpur Railway Station and is approachable by foot. The fall has a height of 50 feet and is surrounded on three sides by hills. There is a deep cave at the foot of the fall but has partly silted up. There is a *Siva Linga.*

Every year on the occasion of *Shiva Ratri,* people from surrounding areas come for pilgrimage. A fair named "*Moti Jharna Mela*" is held on this occasion at Maharajpur. There is also a Santali village named "*Moti Jharna*" nearby.

This *Moti Jharna* is a place of pilgrimage and of sight-seeing as well. People from outside often come to visit the fall and enjoy picnic there. Absence of an approachable road is the chief handicap for the tourist.

There are historical records to show that ice prepared at this *jharna* was favourite of the Mughal Subedars of Bengal during the

eighteenth century. Ice was reported to be not only prepared but stored for the entire year at this place. Remains of devices of preparation of ice are still extant near the fall.

Muhammadabad

"A pargana in the south of the Dumka subdivision with an area of 133½ square miles. It was formerly held by the Rajas of Nagar in Birbhum, but in 1851 was purchased at a Civil Court sale by Madhusudan Mukherji of Kendulia, who sold the property eight years later to Babu Krishna Chandra Chakravarti, father of Raja Ram Ranjan Chakravarti Bahadur of Hetampur, whose heirs and successors are the present proprietors. The *pargana* is separated from the rest of the Dumka subdivision by the Lakhanpur Hills on the north-west and the Ramgarh Hills on the north-east. The river Mor cuts through a narrow gorge between these two ranges and runs for about 10 miles through the *pargana* before passing into the Birbhum district."*

It has been taken over by Government of Bihar under Notification no. 77-LR-ZAN, dated the 22nd May, 1952, published on 30th May 1952.

Pakaur

Pakaur is the subdivisional headquarters of the subdivision bearing the same name. The Subdivisional Magistrate, other Magistrates, Police and other officers at the subdivision level have their offices here. The town is of growing importance and has active trade relation with West Bengal.

The Pakaur Raj family is an old well-known family. Several institutions in the subdivision owe their origin to the generosity of this family. The town is about 3 miles from the railway station.

The town has a tower named Martello tower, 30 feet high and 20 feet in diameter, which was built in 1855 for the protection of the railway officers and their bungalows. It is loop-holed for musketry and has room on the top for one or two light guns. This tower afforded protection to the railway officers and some officers of a sepoy regiment when a company of mutineers passed through the place in 1857. From the top of it, there is a fine view of the Rajmahal hills, and Jangipur 15 miles to the east is also visible.

During the Santal rebellion of 1855 the town was destroyed by the Santals who came in thousands and plundered the bungalows and the Rani's Palace. They resorted to loot and arson and carried away many valuables.

**District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 395-396.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, traders came to settle and started stone crushing which has since developed into a large scale industry giving employment to thousand of labourers. Another industry which has helped the development and prosperity of the town is the lac industry. There are also general merchants who deal in foodgrains, cloth, medicine, etc. Due to slump in market and invention of a substitute, lac industry has become almost extinct in course of the last decade.

The town has an area of 3 square miles and is situated on the loop-line of the Eastern Railway. The soil is rocky and the water of the wells dries up on the advent of summer causing considerable distress to the growing population. According to the census of 1961 the total population of the town was 11,745.

Pakaur is an important railway station. The station handles a large traffic, goods and passengers. The principal export of this station is stone chips. About one hundred wagons of stone chips are daily exported from this station. The railway station handles about 500 to 600 passengers a day.

The town has two high schools for girls, one higher secondary school, six middle schools (three for girls and three for boys), one upper primary, one lower primary and one lower primary *madarsa*. There are two libraries and one club in the town. There are also a *natya parishad* for staging dramas and a railway recreation club.

For sanitation purpose, there is a Notified Area Committee in the town. It was established in 1960 with 13 members.

As regards communication, a metalled road passes through the town and goes up to Dhulian (West Bengal). Besides there are also other roads which connect Pakaur town with Dumka, Patna, Calcutta etc.

Pakaur Subdivision

Pakaur Subdivision has a total area of 696.21 square miles. It lies on the eastern side of the district between 87.25 and 87.55 east longitude and between 24.10 and 24.48 north latitude. It is bounded on the north by the district of Murshidabad and the subdivisions of Godda and Rajmahal, on the south by the district of Birbhum and the Sadar Subdivision of Dumka, on the east by the districts of Murshidabad and Birbhum and on the west by the subdivisions of Godda and Dumka. The total number of villages in this subdivision is 2,287. Pakaur is the only town of the subdivision. It is on a rail-head. The city of Calcutta is at a distance of 169 miles from this place by rail.

The total population of the subdivision during the last two censuses are given below :—

Year.	Total population			Rural	Urban
	Persons	Males	Females		
1951 ..	2,77,421	1,39,448	1,37,973	2,71,391	6,030
1961 ..	3,44,587	1,73,458	1,71,129	3,32,822	11,765

There are six police stations in this subdivision Litipara and Amrapara fall within the Damin-i-Koh area which are mostly inhabited by the tribal population. These two police stations comprise mostly of hilly tracts and jungle areas.

The Subdivisional Officer is the head of the civil administration of the subdivision. He is under the administraive control of the Deputy Commissioner. There has been no separation of the Judiciary. The Magistrates try civil cases also. The subdivision has been divided into six *anchals* for revenue administration. Each *anchal* is in charge of a Gazetted Officer of the rank of the Sub-Deputy Collector or Deputy Collector, who is designated as the Block Development Officer-*cum*-Circle Officer.

The Block Development Officers-*cum*-Circle Officers have to look after the revenue administration as well as development works in their respective *anchals*. They are also vested with second class magisterial powers. The offices of the Block Development Officers-*cum*-Circle Officers are located at the Thana headquarters, except in the case of Litipara. The Block Development Office-*cum*-Circle Office of Litipara is at present functioning at Hiranpur as the office buildings at Litipara are still under construction. There is also an office of the Superintendent of Government Cattle Market-*cum*-Damin Magistrate at Hiranpur.

There is a Notified Area Committee for the urban area of Pakaur.

The following are the places of interest in this subdivision The interior of Litipara police station is full of picturesque scenes. At village Kunjbona which is at a distance of 26 miles from the thana headquarters, there is a terrace situated on the hill, stretching half a mile on all the sides. The legend is that the terrace was constructed by Emperor Akbar's General Raja Man Singh when he had come to this district. The general belief is that underneath

this terrace, there are tanks and edifices. The entire area is surrounded by hills and covered with thick jungles and wild plants. There is a hill path leading to this place from Simlong which is on the Dharampur-Godda road. It is about 8 miles from Simlong.

Amrapara is a village situated on the bank of river Bansloi, 32 miles from Dumka as well as from Pakaur. The Thana as well as the Block headquarters are located here. The Bansloi river emerges from a hill called Banspahar in the Godda Subdivision and flows in the eastern direction forming the northern boundary of the Dumka Subdivision. It leaves the Pakaur Damin near Amarapara and flowing east through Maheshpur enters into the district of Birbhum and crosses the Eastern Railway line near Bansloi bridge railway Station and finally merges into the Ganga. At Amrapara the water of the river falls down from a rock about 6 feet high. The site is rendered beautiful due to the situation of Amrapara Damin Bungalow just on the eastern side of the river. The water of the river rushes down the rocks with a roaring sound in the rainy season and offers a charming sight. There is a State dispensary as well as a high school at Amrapara.

Martello tower is in Pakaur town itself, just behind the residence of the Subdivisional Officer. It has been described earlier under Pakaur town.

All the Thana headquarters and the Anchal headquarters are connected with pitched roads. The roadway traffic is quite heavy. The major portion of this subdivision is inhabited by people who are mostly aboriginals and semi-aboriginals.

Religion and castes.—The Santals and the Paharias of this subdivision are classed as scheduled tribe. They are mainly worshippers of nature and they believe in supernatural powers. The Santals and the Paharias, however, worship goddesses Durga and Kali and take part in Durga Puja and Kali Puja celebrations. In frenzy excitement, men and women, adorn with flowers on their hairs and dance before the images of Durga and Kali. These people also take part in the Rathajatra and Saraswati Puja celebrations. On these occasions, there is generally an assemblage of 10,000 to 15,000 Santals and Paharias. The Hindus and the Muslims follow their own religious belief. An important religious function of the Santals is the *Bandana* which is observed at the end of the harvest season. During this period the Santals indulge in merry making and in dances, feasts and in drinks. The Santals observe the *Sohrai* and *Baha* festivals with great pomp. The Paharias also celebrate the *Baha* festival. Both males and females take part in dances. The Paharias mostly live on hill tops.

Recently efforts were made to make them settle on the plains. Colonies were established at Parerkola in Amrapara Police station and at Amladahi in Maheshpur Police station but the Paharias were reluctant to leave their original places of abode.

The Christian Missionaries have always remained active in this part. The Missionaries have been successful in converting a good number of Santals to Christianity.

The main source of irrigation in this subdivision is tanks and wells. When there is no adequate rainfall in any year, the crop fails. During the summer season the wells generally dry up with the result that on occasions there is acute scarcity of water in Pakaur town as well as in the interior villages.

In the Damin area, there is a Damin Magistrate who looks after the administration of the Damin area. He mainly deals with cases concerning the Damin area and keeps contact with *Parganaits* and the *Pradhans* of the Damin area.

The collection of revenue in the Damin area is done through the agency of the *Pradhans* and *Parganaits*. In the other parts of the subdivision, the collection of revenue is done through the agency of the Gram Panchayats and also by Government Karamcharis.

Paddy is the principal crop of this subdivision. Gram, *rahar*, barley, maize and *bazra* are also grown in the subdivision. Wheat is grown in very small quantity. Jute is grown mainly in Pakaur. Pakaur is famous for black stone. At present there are nearly 40 quarries in Pakaur Police station where stone chips are made of various sizes for use in buildings, roads and other purposes. These stone quarries are located at Kulapahari, Malpahari, Majurkola, Khaprajola and at other isolated *Halkas*, all within the radius of 5 to 6 miles from Pakaur town. Most of these quarries are served by railways at Pakaur. The Sindhi Community is mostly engaged in this business.

Parerkola

A typical Santal village situated on the 39th mile of Dumka-Pakaur road, it has a Damin Inspection Bungalow, a health sub-centre, a field veterinary centre, a middle school and one Ayurvedic dispensary run by the Paharia Welfare Department. The weekly *hat* of Parerkola is a large market for vegetables and forest products like *mahua*. The area of the village is 1,861 acres with 168 houses and a population of 874 souls.

PATSUNDA

"A tappa in the Godda subdivision, bounded on the north by Manihari and on the south by Barkop. As mentioned in the article on Barkop, Patsunda originally formed one estate with Barkop under a Khetauri family, but was separated from it. Up to 1903 it was held by a descendant of Deb Barm, the founder of the Khetauri family, but it was sold in January, 1904 for debt and purchased by some *mahajans* of Bhagalpur."*

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 3141-LR/ZAN, dated the 23rd August, 1954, published on the 16th December, 1954.

Radhanagar.—A small village on the bank of the river Ganga in Rajmahal Police station situated at a distance of 16 miles by road and 25 miles by boat from Rajmahal. The nearest railway station is Pharakka (in Murshidabad District of West Bengal) situated at a distance of 5 miles. The area is 313.36 acres with 372 occupied houses. Its population in 1961 as gathered in the Block Office was 2,160 souls (1,123 males and 1,037 females).

It has one Middle School, a Library, a Literacy Centre, a Gram Panchayat, a Post Office, a Multi-purpose Co-operative Society, a Mahila Mandal, a Youth Club and a Health Centre.

Erosion from Ganga is acute. Every year the river is eroding its bank and the houses on the bank are being washed away. The persons on the bank are shifting every year in the interior parts of the village. In 1962 several houses were washed away and owners of these houses have been rehabilitated in another corner of the village. This rehabilitated area is known as Rajendra Colony.

This is purely an agricultural village. Jute, paddy and onion are the main agricultural products and they are sent to various places such as Barharwa, Begumganj, etc. Fish is procured in huge quantity and are exported to Calcutta, Dhulian, Pharakka, Barharwa and Rajmahal. A weekly *hat* is held on every Friday. The Cottage Industries are oilpressing, preparing *chura* and Jute *durries*.

†*Rajmahal.*—The last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has an excellent account of the old remains of Rajmahal. The account substantially remains correct excepting that some of the relics have further deteriorated through passage of time and vandalism. The account is quoted *extenso* :—

"The remains of the old Muhammadan City, buried in rank jungle, extend for about 4 miles to the west of the modern town,

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*District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas (1938), p. 397.

†The railway tickets are, however, printed as Rajmehal and not Rajmahal.

but most of the buildings have fallen into ruins or have been destroyed in order to provide ballast for the railway. The following is an account of the remains which are still extant.

"On the east of the Sub-registry office are the ruins of a temple of Siva, and on the west is an old and large well, which the Railway Company used for pumping water for their engines. It is said that when Shah Shuja was defeated the ladies of his zanana threw into this well whatever jewellery they had. West of the well is a building known as the Holil, the upper part of which is modern, being built by the Railway Company, but the lower part consists of old arched halls and rooms in good preservation. Western half of the upper part is now used as police station and the eastern half as Police Inspector's quarters. The ruins of a building known as the Hammam or bath are found on the west of this building; imbedded in the walls of its rooms are the remains of pipes, which were used to convey water from a big well, a short distance to the north. West of this stands the *cutchery* building, the verandahs on both sides of which were built by the Railway Company. The interior walls, with the exception of a few partition walls also built by the Company, are old and unusually thick. Below this building are underground rooms which were closed up by the Railway Company. On the west of the *cutchery* building is the old cemetery. There are 11 tombs in it, of which three have inscriptions dating back to 1847, 1848 and 1859.

"On the west of the cemetery is the *Sangdalan* or marble hall, said to have been built by Man Singh and popularly known as Man Singh's *Sangdalan*. At present it consists of three rooms, of which the centre one has an arched roof supported by six stone pillars, all finely polished. Some beams projecting on the river side which are not in existence now, pointed to the existence of underground rooms. This building, which was being repaired and maintained by the East Indian Railway authorities, has now been transferred to the Archaeological Department with necessary land and pathway 10 feet wide from the nearest public road. About 50 yards from the *Sangdalan* is an old mosque in good preservation. It belonged to the Railway Company and was being used as a charitable dispensary up till 1912 when on relinquishment by the Railway authorities it was handed over to the Muhammadan community and the dispensary was removed to a new building constructed for the purpose in front of the sub-registry office. It is said that it was built in two months to enable the Emperor Akbar to perform his worship when he visited Rajmahal in connection with the building of the Juma Masjid described later.

"On the east of the road leading south from the southern bazar is another mosque still used by the local Muhammadans. On the west of this road is the tomb of Maina Bibi and also a tank known as Maina *Talao*. The tomb is a picturesque one and is carved inside, but is overgrown with jungle. The tank is about 90 feet square, with *pakka* masonry work and *ghats* on each side; it is full of weeds and dries up in the hot weather. Both the tank and the tomb belong to the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad. About 300 yards to the south is the cemetery now in use, on the east of which is a fine mosque in ruins belonging to Panchan Khan of Kotwali Malda: there is a tank with a *pakka ghat* to the east of it. On the west of the cemetery is the *jhil* known as Anant Sarobar or Anna Sarobar. About 20 years ago the *jhil* used to have water in it all the year round, but since then it has been drained by Government. In this *jhil* there are the ruins of a structure said to have been built as a pavilion from which spectators could watch the regattas held in the lake in the time of Shah Shuja. On the southern outskirts of the *jhil*, about 200 yards south-west of the cemetery, are the ruins of the *Phulbari* and the zanana buildings of Shaha Shuja. The floor of these buildings is visible in some places, and there are underground rooms with pipes in them, by which water was brought from a reservoir connected with the lake. A portion of a bridge about 6 feet high is still standing: it probably extended across the *jhil*, as another portion may be seen a considerable distance to the west. On the south-west of these ruins the *jhil* stretches towards Udhua Nullah: opposite the Phulbari it is flanked by a thick parapet wall. On the south of this wall is a piece of high land containing an Idgah, where the Muhammadans congregate during the *Bakr-Id*. About 2 miles south-east of the Idgah is the Nageswar Bagh, in which the only remains of a garden are a few mango trees and two wells, which supply excellent drinking water to the people of the locality.

"About 600 yards west of the Akbar Sahi mosque where the charitable dispensary was located up to 1912 is Mr. Hennessy's bungalow, an old building with a thick parapet wall towards the river. This wall extended about 2 miles to the west as far as Jagat Seth's house in Nawab Deori, but it is now broken owing to its bricks having been removed for building purposes. Adjacent to the bungalow compound on the south is a building known as the Baradwari from the fact that it has 12 doorways (three on each side); in the middle is an arched room where *darbars* used to be held. It is said that this building belonged to Fateh Jang Khan, a rich Muhammadan zamindar. According to local tradition, he incurred the displeasure of Man Singh for having sent word to Akbar that Man Singh was building a palace for himself when the foundations of what is now the Juma Masjid were being laid. On this account,

it is said, Man Singh had his house blown up with gunpowder. This story finds some corroboration from the state of the ruins of the buttresses and a portion of the parapet wall on the north.

"About half a mile west of the Rajmahal bazar and on the south of the Rajmahal-Taljhari road is the tomb of Miran, son of Mir Jafar Khan, Nawab of Bengal (*see* Chapter II). The tomb, which stands in a mango garden with walls on three sides, is made of brick and is unassuming in appearance ; on the north towards the road are the ruins of buildings probably intended for the accommodation of visitors. The Jafarganj Nawab, a descendant of Mir Jafar, is in charge of the tomb. About 400 yards west of it, and on the north of the Rajmahal-Taljhari road, are the ruins of a building known as the Pathargarh or stone house. It had a hall in the middle with two storied rooms on each side ; up to a height of about 6 feet the wall was made of stone and above that of polished bricks ; the doorways were all of stone. This building has been demolished, and only the bare walls are left. Some say it was formerly a mint where Jagat Seth, the banker and financier of Murshidabad, used to coin money ; but others simply say that it belonged to a rich merchant. West of this is an old temple of Siva at a place known as Mahadebthan, and three *samadhis* or tombs of Vaishnava *Sadhus*. At Nawab Deori west of this temple is the site on which Jagat Seth's palace stood. Thirty-eight years ago there were two structures here known as the *naubatkhana*, but now nothing remains except a parapet wall. About 400 yards to the west were the houses of the Nawab family of Murshidabad and a fine Imambara, which was in existence till about 48 years ago. Close by there are two mosques, one of which, known as Raushan Masjid, is in fairly good preservation.

"About two miles west of Nawab *Deori* and south of the Rajmahal-Taljhari road is the Juma Masjid erected by Man Singh, which is one of the oldest buildings in Rajmahal. This mosque, a fine specimen of the Mughal style, is situated on a small eminence called *Hadaf*, about 4 miles west of the railway station ; the name *Hadaf* is an Arabic word meaning a hill or archery butts. One legend relates that Man Singh originally intended the building to be a palace for himself, and that when Fateh Khan informed the Emperor Akbar he converted it into a mosque. Another tradition is that Man Singh intended it to be a Hindu temple but converted it into a mosque in order to avert the anger of the Emperor, to whom it had been reported that he was profaning the town by erecting a temple for idolatrous worship. The northern part of the building has now fallen down, but the mosque is magnificent even in ruin. On the west of it is a temple of Siva said to have been built by Man Singh, and opposite it on the north of the

Rajmahal-Taljhari road on the *Hadaf* hill in village Arazi Mokimpur are the ruins of a building known as the Baradwari, in which there are some stone pillars still standing. Between the Juma Masjid and the Bardawari are the remains of a gate-way ; and it is said that there was a subterranean passage leading from the courtyard of the Masjid to the Sangdalan at Rajmahal. About one mile south-east of the Juma Masjid, at a place known as Katghar situated on the western outskirts of the Anna Sarobar, there is a well about 30 feet in diameter known as Man Singh's well. Half a mile south of the Juma Masjid is a Muhammadan cemetery which appears to have been used by the Muhammadan gentry living here ; some of the tombs are of stone and contain carvings and inscriptions.

"About 800 yards north-west of the Juma Masjid may be seen an old Muhammadan bridge, 236 feet in length with six pointed arches of 10 feet span, built on five piers and having four round bastions, one at each corner. It is on the road to Sahibganj, and is said to be contemporaneous with the Juma Masjid. About half a mile to the north of the bridge is a rock called Pirpahar, because there is the tomb of a *Pir* or Muhammadan saint on the top of it. On a hillock to the west of it is a place sacred to the Hindus, called Kanaithan. Its sanctity is due to the fact that Krishna is said to have danced here. It is a place of pilgrimage visited by pilgrims returning from the *mela* of Ramkeli at Malda".

It has to be mentioned that Rajmahal appears to be one of the big towns of India during the Mughal period. It had ice factories in the eighteenth century.* In the history of urbanisation in India, Rajmahal has a great place as an example of a fine town when the modern amenities could not be thought of.

A few words could be added to the description given. Rajmahal is situated at a distance of 92 miles by road, from the district headquarters, Dumka. The road from Dumka to Borio is metalled and the portion from Borio to Rajmahal is being metalled. The distance from Tinpahar to Rajmahal (8 miles) is connected by a metalled road. There is a branch railway line from Tinpahar to Rajmahal.

To the east of the town is the river Ganga, some *diara* lands and on the opposite side of the river is the district of Maldah (West Bengal). The main current of the river is taken to be the border of the two States (Bihar and West Bengal). To the west

*Sarkar and Dutta, Text Book of the Modern Indian History, Vol I., p. 286.

of the town is a lake known as *Anant Sarovar* by the side of the railways ; to the south paddy fields and to the north is also the river Ganga.

The town has an area of 2.65 square miles with 1,292 occupied houses and 6,805 souls (3,694 males and 3,111 females) according to the figures supplied by the Block Office.

The town of Rajmahal is divided into four wards. Ward No. 4 has the highest population and the largest area due to the rehabilitation of East Pakistan refugees.

The names of some of the *muhallas* of the town are suggestive such as *Naya Bazar*, Kasim *Bazar*, *Bazar*, *Kasai toli*, *Mahajan toli*, *Punni tola*, *Bagdi Para* and so on.

The only river flowing close to the town is the Ganga (north-west to south-east). The town is protected from erosion by placing of big boulders about a mile long on the bank of the river. Some portions of the town on the bank of the river, except the East Pakistan Refugee Colony, are every year visited by knee-deep flood water of the river Ganga. About 60 per cent of the town people use Ganga water for drinking purposes.

The settlement for fishery in the river Ganga is annually made by the Block Office. The East Pakistani refugees are mostly fishermen. They have been able to develop fishery in this area.

Anant Sarovar is the only lake which is connected with the river Ganga by a planned *katcha* drainage system. The scheme for making it a *pakka* one with sewerage gate system is under consideration. Sewerage system is sought to improve irrigation and it will also check the flood. This lake is also famous and important for game birds during the winter. Local people especially from the neighbouring villages trap these birds and people from different places like Sahibganj, Tinpahar, etc., come for bird-shooting. Old relics of Muslim period are still extant. Thatching straws grow in abundance on the bank of the lake.

Rajmahal to Mangalhat, about four miles in length and a quarter mile in width is rich in minerals like china clay, kaoline and silica sand. During the last three years a number of mining firms have grown up. The first factory under the caption Rajmahal Quartz Sand and Kaoline Company was established in 1901. The clay is purified here and is sent to pottery factories throughout the country. There appears to be some prospect for a factory at Rajmahal to produce finished goods. It is understood that a factory for finished

potteries is likely to be set up at Manikchak just on the opposite side of the river Ganga in Maldah district. If this is done the raw material will be from Rajmahal.

Rajmahal is famous for mango. The old gardens have, however, disappeared. Besides mango, jute, china clay, sand, etc., are the main items of export to various places like Calcutta, etc. The bulk of jute and mango comes from the district of Maldah. During the mango season the whole railway platform is littered with mango baskets. Fish especially *hilsa* is another important item of export to Calcutta. Much of the produce of Malda is exported to Calcutta through Rajmahal Railway station. There is a regular ferry service from Rajmahal to Malda side (Manikchak). There is a bus service from Manikchak to Malda.

There is only one High School in which co-education up to Secondary stage is imparted. There is a girls' school of the Middle standard. There are also five Upper Primary Schools and one *Maktab*.

Rajmahal has got a Union Committee, one State Hospital, Office of the Resident Magistrate, Community Development Block, Waste-land Reclamation Office, one Post Office, Excise, Ware House, Office of the Assistant Health Officer, a Sub-Registry Office, a Co-operative bank, one Dak Bungalow. An Inspection Bungalow is under construction. The shifting of the Subdivisional headquarters from Rajmahal to Sahibganj took away a large number of offices and affected the town.

The town is electrified which has helped in the starting of three rice and flour mills.

During the emergency period (November, 1962) Rajmahal played a very important role. A large number of military convoys coming by road were sent to the other side of the river Ganga with the help of steamer and boat.

There are at present four cultural institutions (clubs and libraries) in the town out of which Victoria Diamond Jubilee Club is the oldest one. There is one *jatra* party at *Nava Bazar* known as Janata Opera. People are very much interested in football. Three *melas*, viz., *Maghi Purnima*, Dasahra (*Banhinchh mela*) and *Goshala mela* are held round the year. On the occasion of *Banhinchh mela* boat race is the main attraction.

Rajmahal was a very important place before and could again be developed. There has been a settlement of East Bengal

refugees who have completely merged in the population. Road communications have yet to improve and this will bring West Bengal nearer. The place has potential for starting industrial units. Bottling of processed mango-juice, canning of mangoes or processing mangoes to powder could very well be taken up at Rajmahal. The Bengal sweets of this place are also well known. Tourism can well be developed here.

The table below supplied by the railway authorities shows the wagon loads of goods, parcel and the number of passengers, etc., from 1960 to September, 1962.

Year	Goods				Parcel				Passengers	
	Outward	Variety	Inward	Variety	Outward	Variety	Inward	Variety	Outward	Inward
1	2	3	4	5	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Quintal		Quintal		Quintal		Quintal			
1960 ..	3,23,384	Jute, china clay, sand, logs, mango and other miscellaneous goods.	1,98,974	Sugar, k. oil, mustard oil, potato, salt, coal and other miscellaneous goods.	6,338	Fish, mango, fowl and other miscellaneous goods.	2,423	Handloom cloth, medicine, empty baskets, and other miscellaneous goods including vegetables.	7,296	6,602
1961 ..	3,81,627	Ditto ..	2,71,350	Ditto.	6,231	Ditto ..	3,059	Ditto ..	7,285	7,438
1962 ..	2,52,412	Ditto ..	3,78,370	Ditto.	44,513	Ditto ..	2,425	Ditto ..	1,14,199	85,899

Rajmahal Subdivision.—The subdivision forms the north-eastern part of the district. It has a total area of 846 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Ganga, south by the Pakaur subdivision, east by Malda and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal State and on the west by the Godda subdivision and Bhagalpur district. The total number of villages is 1,818. Sahibganj and Rajmahal are the two towns in the subdivision. The total population of the subdivision according to the last two censuses are as follows :—

Year	Total population	Males.	Females	Rural	Urban
1	2	3	4	5	6
1951 ..	3,46,615	1,74,362	1,72,253	3,16,070	30,545
1961 ..	4,14,525	2,10,140	2,04,385	3,76,282	38,243

There are 7 police stations in this subdivision, viz., Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Barharwa, Ranga, Barhait, Borio and Taljhari. Out of these, Ranga, Barhait, Borio and Taljhari are within the Damin-i-Koh which are mostly inhabited by the tribal population. The Damin area comprises mostly hill tracts and jungles.

Since 1945, Sahibganj is the administrative headquarters of this subdivision. The subdivisional officer with headquarters at Sahibganj is the head of the Civil Administration and is under the direct control of the Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas.

This subdivision has *seven Anchals*, Sahibganj, Rajmahal, Barharwa, Borio, Taljhari, Barhait and Pathna. *Anchal* is a unit for revenue administration and for the implementation of the development programme. Each *Anchal* is placed under the Circle-*cum*-Block Development Officer. All the *Anchals* except Sahibganj are functioning as Blocks. Sahibganj is in the pre-extension stage. Circle Officers are generally Sub-Deputy Collectors. They are the drawing and disbursing officers of the staff working under them. They have subordinate supervisory and ministerial officers. There is one municipality at Sahibganj. A Union Committee has recently been constituted at Rajmahal.

The western boundary of this subdivision is fringed by hills separating Godda subdivision and the Bhagalpur district. Its southern boundary forms the undulating land and hill tracts extending into the Pakaur and Dumka subdivisions. These uplands

of the west and the south terminate into steady descent towards the Ganga forming the northern and eastern narrow strip of the alluvial plain known as *diara* areas which stretches down to the main stream of the Ganga and appears to skirt this subdivision on the north and east. All along their eastern face is a tract of low-lying country stretching down to the Ganga, which is very liable to floods.

Non-Damin areas, i.e., Rajmahal, Sahibganj and Barharwa police stations are comparatively densely populated when compared to the sparsely populated Damin areas. The tribal population consists of the Santals, Paharias, Oraons and Kharwars whereas *Dikus* (non-aboriginal) constitute of Hindus, Muslims, non-Adibasi, Christians, etc. The Kharwar people are localised in villages Barikodarjana, Kishan Prasad Diara, Hajipur Oghairah in Sahibganj Anchal. The aboriginal people are advanced. They now do not prefer going up the hills and have adopted cultivation and manual work on plains as the *Dikus*. Paharias do not like to come down the hills. The Kharwars are different from the Paharias and Santals in regard to physical feature and manner of life. In matter of religion, there is not an iota of similarity between the religion of the Kharwars on one hand and the Santals, Paharias and Oraons on the other hand. Kharwars have priests amongst the Brahmins. Marriage in Kharwar community is done in accordance with the customary rules of the Hindu.

There was a court of the Damin Magistrate who looked after the administration of the Damin area. The court has now ceased to function. The collection of revenue in the Damin areas is still done through the agency of the *Pradhans* and *Parganaits*. *Pradhanas* and *Parganaits* get commission at the prescribed rate on the collection of revnue. In non-Damin area, collection is done through the agency of Karmacharis, Circle Officers and the *Pradhans*. Gram Panchayats have also been entrusted with this work on commission basis.

Paddy is the principal crop of the area. Wheat, gram and maize are also grown, particularly in the *diara* lands. Sugarcane and oil-seeds are sown. The *Sabai* grass cultivation which was one of the best cultivation on hills has now been started by the Forest Department.

Melas are held at Rajmahal, Kanayasthan, Mahadeoganj, Barhait and Sahibganj.*

Sahibganj

A town situated in the north-east of the Rajmahal subdivision on the southern bank of the river Ganga. It is said that the

*For further details, *see* Dr. D. R. Patil's *the Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* (Patna, 1963), pp. 472—482.

place was formerly called Kokratia Sahibganj.* It is connected with Dumka, the district headquarters, by a metalled road of 90 miles and with Bhagalpur, the Divisional headquarters, by the loop section of the Eastern Railway. The distance from Bhagalpur to Sahibganj by rail is about 45 miles. It extends over about 2½ square miles along the Ganga and is intersected by the loop line of the Eastern Railway. Its situation is picturesque, for it occupies rising ground along the river bank and is backed by an amphi-theatre of hills. A small hill to the south-west of the railway station commands a particularly fine view.

The subdivisional headquarters of the Rajmahal subdivision was shifted in 1945 from Rajmahal to Sahibganj and is continuing since. There are a large number of Government offices besides the Subdivisional Magistrate's Courts. The importance of Sahibganj has immensely increased owing to the expansion of the Government Offices and establishment of a degree college and 4 high schools including one for girls. Recently a residential St. Xavier School by the Roman Catholic Mission was started and has become very popular. It has attracted students from Calcutta side. There is a Municipal Middle school for girls. The town is very congested.

Sahibganj town has an important railway station. The station handles a large traffic, goods and passengers. The Eastern Railway maintains a high and a middle school for the wards of the Railway staff. Sahibganj has recently been raised to a Police-sub-district under an Additional Superintendent of Police. A private library called *Anant Saraswati Sadan* is running on the munificence of a donor. There are three clubs (Sahibganj Municipal Club, *Pragatishil Sangh* and the Railway institute). A charitable dispensary formerly maintained by the municipality has now been taken by the Government and has been converted into the Subdivisional Hospital. The Eastern Railway has a dispensary of its own.

The population of the town in 1931 was 15,883 which rose to 20,742 in 1941, 25,669 in 1951. In 1961 Census the population is 31,409. Among the towns of Santal Parganas, it has the largest population. Sahibganj was constituted a municipality in 1883 which has its jurisdiction over the railway colony also. It is one of the chief junctions of the loop section of the Eastern Railway. It has post, telegraph and telephone offices. The town has electric supply but no pipe water-supply. The chief source of drinking water is still wells.

Banking

The State Bank of India has its branch established in 1959, though a pay office was here since before under the control of the

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* *Gantzer's Settlement Report*, p. 36.

branch at Bhagalpur. The Central Bank of India, Ltd. has opened its branch in 1943. Both these scheduled banks have large business here. The Bihar State Warehouse Corporation has established its branch at Sahibganj in 1959. The main aim of the Corporation is to offer scientific storage facility, credit facility and stabilisation of the market price. Both cultivators and business men store the goods in the local Warehouse Corporation. The depositors can pledge the security in any of the two scheduled banks or to *mahajans* and get 70 to 75 per cent advance of the total value of the goods.

Trade and Commerce

Sahibganj is one of the chief trade centres of Santal Parganas. Its trade importance is due to its location on the river Ganga and has grown into prominence as a trade centre since the construction of the railway in 1861. Local produce is received by the river from the trans-Gangetic districts of Malda in West Bengal, Purnea, North Bhagalpur and Saharsa while manufactured and other goods are brought here by rail from Calcutta, Jharia, Raniganj, Jamshedpur and other parts of India for distribution to those districts. The Railway Steamer service and several country boats ply to and from on the Ganga between Sahibganj ghat and Maniharighat in Purnea district.

Formerly the Indian General Steam Navigation Company operated river services on the Ganga connecting Calcutta with the riverine stations in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh as far as Buxar on the river Ganga and Burhaj on the river Gogra. These river services had linked up Bihar with Bengal, Assam and Cachar. Sahibganj was an important station of the Indian General Steam Navigation Company. This river service was first started in 1844 and a journey from Calcutta to Allahabad used to take a little over three weeks. This service had a set back with the development of the East Indian Railway (now Eastern Railway). Greater attention was paid to the north bank and then to Assam and East Bengal where the tea and jute industries were showing signs of development. The creation of East Pakistan became a problem. Heavy tapping of the river for irrigation purposes made navigation difficult in the dry season months in the Bhagirathi river which afforded a much shorter route to and from Calcutta and the riverine stations of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. There were also delays in movement owing to customs barriers. On the ground of continued loss the company closed the service in 1957 which has affected the flow of business through waterways.

Sahibganj was formerly a big oil market. There were six oil mills which used to crush about 2,000 maunds of mustard seed daily and

the oil was mainly exported to East Bengal through river. A large quantity of mustard seed had to be imported from Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The creation of East Pakistan with the partition of the country in 1947 gave a great set back to oil trade and now out of the six mills hardly two oil mills are properly functioning. The place is important for *sabai* grass, which is brought down from the Rajmahal hills.

Jute is now the most important item of export. About five to six lakhs maunds of jute is said to be handled here. Jute is brought here from the trans-Gangetic districts of Purnea and Saharsa for marketing and loading. There are about 25 wholesale dealers of jute. *Khandsari gur* has also about 2,000 maunds transaction annually. Sugarcane is grown in the local *diara* areas. Sahibganj has now six soap factories which manufacture about 500 maunds soap monthly. A small quantity of soap is exported while the bulk is consumed locally.

Sahibganj is one of the chief centres for export of fish and spawn. The details of the fishery have been covered elsewhere. The Bihar Fishermen's Co-operative Society was established here in 1950. This society has 593 members. Its working capital on 31st December, 1960 was as follows :—Share Rs. 11,052, Budget fund Rs. 26,642, other fund Rs. 7,586 and the Reserve fund of the members Rs. 11,804, thus bringing the total to Rs. 57,084.

Formerly there was a Bhartiya Engineering Works which manufactured machinery parts of the oil mills. The manufactured articles were chiefly exported to Assam. Owing to loss of market in Assam which as reported has started such engineering works, the Bhartiya Engineering Works had ceased to function. There are now three small engineering works of minor importance.

The chief articles of importance are coal, salt, kerosene oil and piece goods. The Caltex, Burmah Shell and Esso concerns have their agencies here. The average sale of kerosene oil comes to about 14,000 gallons monthly. There is a brisk sale of petrol also. The Government have 16 fair price shops (1962) in the town area, the off-take of which approximately comes to about 1,500 maunds monthly. The local dealers of foodgrains, particularly of rice and maize have large transaction here.

The weekly cattle markets and forest *hats* are held on Sundays and Thursdays. The turn-over of grains, firewood, fruits like jackfruit, custard apples and mangoes is very high.

The merchants have an unregistered association consisting of about 20 members.

The passenger, parcel and goods traffic of the Sahibganj railway station is heavy as will be evident from the following statistics of the last three years ending 1961-62 :—

Station—Sahibganj

			1959-60.		1960-61.		1961-62.
No. of passengers	O/W		440,929		473,716		493,897
Earnings	O/W	Rs.	571,888	Rs.	615,140	Rs.	637,172
No. of passengers	I/W		346,386		391,634		412,301
Parcel (Volume)	O/W		39,949		13,779		14,869
Parcel Earnings	O/W	Rs.	64,199	Rs.	52,185	Rs.	48,888
Parcel (Volume)	I/W		33,201		16,319		14,902
Parcel Earnings	I/W	Rs.	36,743	Rs.	49,119	Rs.	48,469
Goods (Volume)	O/W		867,475		282,460		281,298
Goods Earnings	O/W	Rs.	928,821	Rs.	775,334	Rs.	817,504
Goods(Volume)*	I/W		759,258		304,171		334,512
Goods Earnings	I/W	Rs.	604,606	Rs.	705,794	Rs.	743,913

Tourism could very well be developed with Sahibganj as centre. Rajmahal is rich in historical interest and is well worth a visit. There are lovely picnic spots, hills and valleys and objects of historical interest. There is a famous water fall *Moti-jharna*. There are some Santal pockets for the study of the anthropologists. The area offers good shooting. But the chief difficulty will be the places of halt. The solitary Inspection Bungalow at Sahibganj does not provide adequate accommodation. There are hardly any good hotels. There are no youth hostels in the area. The railway station has no retiring rooms. There is also difficulty of conveyances. There are no proper taxis. The buses are overcroweded and will not go to all the spots to be visited.

Shiv Gadi

It is at a distance of about 5 miles north of Barhait. It is surrounded by hills on three sides and is located at about 60 feet above the ground level. The place is approachable only in the dry season. There is a cave-like temple inside the hill where idols and statues of Shiva are found.

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*The volume of both parcel and goods is in maunds of 1959-60 and in quintal afterwards. The figures were obtained from the Sahibganj Railway station.

As the name connotes, this place is of religious importance both for the Hindus and Paharias. Every year on the occasion of *Shiva Ratri* (generally in the month of March) a fair is held, at which people of the entire locality congregate and make their offerings.

Besides, there is a water fall at this place by the side of the temple. This is an attraction during the rains.

*Sakrigali**

"A village in the north east of the Rajmahal subdivision situated close to the Ganges, 6 miles east of Sahibganj. It lies at the base of a long promontory running down from the Rajmahal hills, which terminate in a rocky knoll, on the top of which is an old tomb. The village derives its name from the Sakrigali pass, which in Muhammadan times was a pass of great strategic importance and the scene of several battles which have been mentioned in Chapter II. It consists of a narrow winding road, which must have been difficult to force when breastworks and trenches were built across it. According to Ives (1773) the road was 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through rock and hemmed in on either side by impenetrable jungle. He says that if a ball was discharged here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road everywhere abounding with intricate windings. Raymond, the translator of the *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, writing about 1789, describes it as follows:—'Sacry-gally, or the gullet or lane of Sacry, is a narrow defile with the Ganga on one side and a chain of woody hills on the other : and such is Talia-garry, which besides has a wall that shuts up the passage from end to end. The former defile may be 10 feet broad, and being overhanged with woods is capable of great defence, and seems to bar the passage from B har into Bengal : but the chain of hills that borders it would, on inspection, afford many other passages, and really there are many more. Rhago-dji in 1740 kept at his left both those defiles, and yet he penetrated with ease into Bengal'. There are now no remains of fortifications and this dreaded pass is merely a pretty lane.

"The following description of the place was given by Bishop Heber in 1823 :— 'Sicligully is a little town, or rather village, of straw huts, with the ruinous bungalow and ruinous barracks of Mr. Cleveland's corps, at the base of a high rocky eminence at an angle of the Ganges. The shore is rocky and the country rises gradually in a succession of hill and dale to the mountains distant about three or four miles. The rocky eminence which I mentioned is

*Quoted from the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas*, pp. 403—405.

quite insulated, and rather higher than the Red Castle Cliff at Hawkstone, which, from the fine timber growing on and round it, it a good deal resembles. I saw some ruins on the top, and on enquiry found that they were the remains of the tomb of a Musssulman saint, one of the conquerors of Bengal and as devout as he was valiant. The tomb itself is well worth the trouble of climbing the hill. It stands on a platform of rock, surrounded by a battlemented wall, with a gate very prettily ornamented and rock benches all round to sit or pray on. The 'Chamber of the Tomb' is square, with a dome roof very neatly built, covered with excellent chunam, which, though 300 years old, remains entire, and having within it a carved stone mound, like the hillocks in an English churchyard, where sleeps the scourge of the idolaters. The ancient honours of the lamp kept burning, etc., have long been discontinued, but I was told it was the general opinion both of Mussulmans and Hindoos that every Thursday night a tiger comes, couches close to the grave and remains there till morning.' According to Ives the tomb is that of Saiyid Ahmad Makhdum and was built by Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb. Close to the village of Sakrigali is a small bazar called Paltanganj, which is so called from its having contained the barracks of the Paharia corps raised by Cleveland. The name Sakrigali is probably derived from *Sakra* (from the Sanskrit *Sangkirna*), meaning narrow, and *gali*, meaning a path".*

Sakrigali is now important as the railway passengers detrain here and cross over the Ganga by steamer for Maniharighat for their journey to Katihar or Darjeeling.†

Sakrogarh

It is a big raised mound having protective entrenchments on all sides in Mouza Sakrogarh-Purana-Sahibganj of Sahibganj Anchal. On this mound the Damin Bungalow of Sakrogarh at present the residence of the Subdivisional Officer stands. This has been declared as protected monument. It is said that it was once the palace of Raja Tailprostha. Few years ago while removing soil for a brick-kiln, and about 600 yards north of this mound, remains of a beautiful temple was found. An underground passage leading to the mound was also discovered.

Sankara

"An estate in the Dumka subdivision extending over 80 square miles and comprising 109 villages. The estate appears to have been

*H. Beveridge, Sahibganj and Rajmahal, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCVI (1893), pp. 71-72.

†For further details see Dr. D. R. Patil's *he Antiqu ian Remains in Bihar* (Patna, 1963), pp. 508—510.

granted as a *lakhiraj* property to one Joy Singh by Asadulla Jaman Khan, who was Raja of Nagar in Birbhum in the 18th century. In 1840 it was resumed by Government and temporarily settled with the heirs of Joy Singh, and in 1845 it was resettled with Digbijay Singh, grandson of Sumar Singh who again was the grandson of Jay Singh. Digbijoy Singh was killed during the Santal insurrection of 1855 on the eastern embankment of a tank close to his house at Gando ; a withered *sal* tree now dead and replaced by a clump of screw of pine flowers marks the spot at which he met his death. The estate was then taken under the management of the Court of Wards, which management still continues and was farmed out to Mr. G. H. Grant of Bhagalpur for a period of ten years from May, 1856 to April, 1866, on the expiry of which the lease was renewed for another five years. In the mean time, in 1865 the estate was permanently settled, the annual land-revenue demand being fixed at Rs. 2,765-9-0. A settlement of rent was carried out by Mr. Brown Wood in 1875-76, the aggregate rental payable by the ryots being fixed at Rs. 14,322. A resettlement was carried out by Mr. Craven in 1891-92 the effect of which was to increase the rental to Rs. 20,269-8-0. A revision of the settlement was carried out by Mr. Allanson when the rental was increased to Rs. 30,600-7-9. In the recent settlement of Mr. Davies which was completed in 1929 the rent roll of the estate has been increased to Rs. 42,056-12-0.

"The estate was held by Siva Sundari, the daughter of Digbijoy Singh, up till the date of her death at her family residence at Gando in year 1928. After her death, her sons, Babu Hari Narain Singh and Babu Bholanath Singh, became joint proprietors of the Estate. The former was adjudged a lunatic by the District Court and the latter who realised that he would not be able to manage the property if left to him, applied and was declared to be disqualified proprietor and the Court of Wards retained charge of the whole estate. Then in year 1933 Babu Bholanath Singh died and a dispute as to succession to the Estate is pending decision before the Court. The members of the family call themselves Kumarbhag Paharias and are believed to be of the same stock as the Mal Paharias in the Dumka Subdivision, amongst whom they have a number of relatives. The estate derives its name from the village of Sankara, once the family residence, which lies in the Damin-i-Koh, on the northern side of the river Brahmani, which separates the two estates. It is said that before the family settled at Gando they used to live at Pathaithan, where they migrated from Brindabon. The family also appears to have lived for a time at Murgathali on the Punasi Hills and before that at Dighi near the Singhin Hills. The latter hills are closely connected with the tradition of the family, and the family deity Singhabahini (rider of the lion), one of the names of ten-armed Durga, is supposed to

reside in a cave in them. Human sacrifices used to be offered to her, the last rite of this nature being performed under the orders of Prithi Singh, an uncle of Digbijoy Singh. Prithi Singh escaped the gallows but his associates paid the extreme penalty of the law on the other side of the Dumka Bandh at a spot known to this day as *Phansia dangal* (the hanging grounds)*. The misfortunes of the family are ascribed to the wrath of this goddess, who even now is supposed to appear in visions and ask for human sacrifices. Even now the goddess Singhabahini is worshipped in a temple annually with great pomp at their seat at Gando ; a few other Hindu Gods and Goddesses also, viz., Siva, Kali and Saraswati, are worshipped by the family according to Hindu rites.

"Further information regarding the estate is given by Mr. W. B. Oldham in his work *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District.* "Sankara is the name of the group of hills south-west of the present Damin-i-Koh, which, though part of the original Damin-i-Koh recognised by Cleveland, were cut off from it in the years 1826 to 1833 by that extremly self-willed and autocratic officer, the Hon'ble John Petty Ward when he was forming the present ringfence in those years Cleveland made no distinction between the Maler and the Mal and conferred a set of his stipends on the Mals of Sankara, and of course, with them, the privileges of his legal system for the hills. Sankara lay in the Birbhum zamindari, close to the cleared country, the easily accessible, and the chief of Cleveland's time Tribhuban Singh by name, more resembled a petty *talukdar* than one of the barbarous mountaineers, and was in fact, a plainsman. His son, Sumar Singh, a man of great character and physical energy, combined the predatory habits of a Paharia with the cunning of litigiousness of a Bengali, and used to raid almost up to the civil station of Suri, about 30 miles away, and to secure immunity from the consequences by pleading the privileges of Cleveland's system and trial by his peers. In this way he formed a very considerable *taluk*, the genesis of which only came to light in the course of Mr. Ward's operations. That officer indignantly cut it off from the Damin-i-Koh and in doing so, had to sever the genuine mountaineers recognised by Cleveland, and vested with sets of stipends by him, in the high hills to the south-east of Sankara. All this territory was restored to the permanently settled tracts in the midst of which it lay. It is curious that, notwithstanding his indignation with Sumar Singh, Mr. Ward made no attempt to interfere with the

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Mr. W. B. Oldham writes in *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District:*—"In 1868 it seemed as if nothing could save Sankara from sale and extinction and to avert the impending ruin, the heads of the family seized and sacrificed an unfortunate Bhojpuri treader on the top of Singhini Math (the horned head) their highest hill."

Sankara stipends which continued to be paid till 1879 when I resumed them. Sumar Singh, meanwhile, retained his ill-gotten territory and the title of Raja ; and in the litigation which followed his death the *Dayabagh* was claimed by one party of disputants as the law governing the family and was decreed to be so by the Privy Council".*

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 4710-LR/ZAN, dated the 14th March, 1955, published on 9th May, 1955.

SARATH-DEOGHAR

The following quotation from "*Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District* with an explanatory index" by W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., I.C.S., 1894, gives an excellent account of Sarath.

"A *tappah* of the Pathan Raj of Birbhum, nearly 800 square miles in extent. It contains the whole of the Deoghar Subdivision and extends far into the Dumka and Jamtara Subdivisions. It used also to contain Pabia, once a *ghatwali*, now a large independent *pargana* under a Bhuiya Raja. It is territorially in Bengal (Santal Parganas), but ethnically and linguistically for the most part in Hindustan, to which, as Katauri country, it used to belong. The Katauris were driven out by the Bhuiya (who now hold it), leaving many Katauri remains, and many fragments of their congener and subject race the Mal, but no individuals of their own caste. The Bhuiya were subjugated by the joint efforts of the Pathans of Birbhum and Kharakpur, and Sarath-Deoghar fell to the former's share and Lachmipur to the latter's, though it retained a fief in Sarath-Deoghar. The Bhuiya were turbulent, and the Birbhum Raja compounded with them by making them *ghatwals* or wardens holding their taluks as service fiefs on low quit-rents. The British Government accepted this arrangement, but finding the exaction of police service difficult and irregular, and their quarrels with the Raja of Birbhum incessant, deputed in 1813 Mr. David Scott to make a settlement, which as confirmed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, and Sarath-Deoghar is the only part of India to which that law applies. The whole *tappah* except a few acres in the town of Deoghar, is divided into *ghatwalis*, some of which are very considerable and important taluks. One that of Karon was resumed by a Raja of Birbhum and bestowed on a Mahratta Brahman who had extricated him from a difficulty with the Viceroy

* *District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 405—407.

at Murshidabad, and this Brahman family still hold it, though exempt from *ghatwali* service. Of the *ghatwals* the great majority are Bhuiya, and from this fact the Bhuiya of the Santal Parganas and Birbhum call themselves *ghatwal* by caste.

"The exceptions are strange. One is an Englishman and one a Scotchman, the creations of Sir George Yule in 1858, when he was Commissioner of the Santal Parganas. The most illustrious of them the *Ghatwal* of Ruhini in which Deoghar lies, is a connection of the Rajput houses of Khaira and Gidhaur, whose ancestors are said to have obtained the appointment and fief partly by conquest. Another *Ghatwal*, of whom much the same story is told, is a Bhuinhar or Babhan. The *Ghatwal* of Sarath is a Hindu Kayath or Lala. Another is a Bengali Surhi. He bought his post and tenure. The Bhuiya Raja of Tundi in Manbhum is a *ghatwal*, as is, as already noticed the Raja of Lachmipur in Bhagalpur.

"Sarath, with its capital lying on the Ajai under the Phuljori mountain, is the central *ghatwali*. It contains many old remains and was no doubt the Katauri capital, as there is nothing else to distinguish it. Deoghar is in the extreme north of the *tappah* and contains the temple of Baidyanath. After careful enquiry I satisfied myself that the word was Deoghar, and had never been Deogarh, a fact which shows that the name cannot be very ancient.

"Though in 1855 the Santal insurgents were very active and did much damage in Sarath-Deoghar, there are few Santals settled in it, and the central part, which is very Hindustani in character is quite free from them. The indigenous people are the Naiya who are fast disappearing. The Bhuinhar or Babhan are numerous and influential, though as subordinates. The country is cleared and open with isolated hills, some of great beauty, rising here and there. Except for the verdure round them, they recall the similar fastnesses of the Boya in Telingana."

It is interesting to note that after the abolition of zamindari, the *ghatwal* of Sarath had litigated that his interests were not affected by the application of the Act abolishing zamindari and the litigation is still pending.

Srikund

It is adjacent to village Kankjole. There stands a high mound. It is said to be a seat of Sanskrit studies. The mound if excavated may give out some relics. A *mela* is held here on the *Kartik Poornima* and it lasts up to 14 days.

Sultanabad

"A *pargana* in the Pakaur Subdivision within the jurisdiction of the Maheshpur and Pakuria Police stations. The traditional history of the *pargana* is as follows. It was originally a thick jungle, infested by wild animals, in which the Paharias settled under a chief called Chand Sardar. He lived at a place, about 6 miles north of Maheshpur, which was called after him Chandpur ; the name is still met with in old records and maps, but the modern name of the village is Amlagachi. In course of time, Hindus and Muhammadans came and settled in this tract, one of their leaders being Sultan Shah, who settled at a place 4 miles south of Maheshpur where the present village of Dum-Dum is situated. Sultan Shah reclaimed the jungle here and built a mosque, which is still in existence though in a ruinous state. It is regarded with veneration both by the Hindus and Muhammadans of the locality, who call it Shabamuddin Shah's *dargah*. The place where Sultan Shah lived was named after him Sultanabad, and that name was given to the surrounding country.

"According to the chronicles of the Maheshpur family Sultanabad was conqured by two brothers Abu Singh and Baku Singh, who came from Gorakhpur with a number of followers on a visit to their relative, the Raja of Kharagpur, and in alliance with him defeated all the zamindars of the country. The elder brother, Baku Singh, became ruler of the greater part of the tract, thus conquered and established his capital at Maheshpur. He was the founder of the Maheshpur Raj family, which is still in possession of Sultanabad. The younger brother, Abu Singh, took what was left and reclaimed a large area of hill and jungle. The two brothers, having secured themselves in possession, obtained recognition from the Nawab of Bengal, to whom Baku Singh sent every year some forest produce as tribute. His brother Abu Singh settled among the Paharias and is said to have married a Paharia woman. Of the descendants of Baku Singh there is nothing of interest to record till we come to Garjan Singh, who held the estate from 1161 to 1165 of the Bengali era (A.D. 1754—58). During his time bands of Maratha free-booters passed through Sultanabad, and some of them are said to have been defeated by Garjan Singh and driven across the Ganges. In order to save himself and his family from their attacks Garjan Singh had subterranean rooms built in Maheshpur, the ruins of which may be seen to this day. On the death of Garjan Singh without issue his widow, Rani Sarbeswari, succeeded to the Raj and was in possession when the British rule began.

"The *pargana* was at first included in the Rajshahi Division, but was brought under the hill system by Cleveland in 1781. Two years

later Rani Sarbeswari was tried and deposed by him in consequence of her instigating the depredations of the Mal Paharias, but in 1791 the estate was restored to Makum Singh, a nephew of Garjan Singh, with whom a settlement was effected in 1799. On his death in 1803 the estate was held first by his widow and then by his grandson, Raghunath Singh, who was succeeded in 1832 by his sister Janki Kumari Devi, who held the estate till 1888. Her husband was Gopal Chandra Singh, a Rajput of Gorakhpur, who received the title of Raja in 1872 and of Maharaja in 1875. In 1888, four years before her death, Janki Kumari made over the property to her youngest son Indra Narayan Singh, on whose death in 1892 it passed to his four minor sons, Jogendra, Debendra, Gyanendra and Phanindra, with their mother Rani Radha Pyari Devi as their guardian. The estate was taken over by the Court of Wards on 5th November 1907 on their joint application, and was released on 20th July 1909. Debendra Nath Singh is now dead and the estate having been involved in debts is now in charge of a Receiver appointed by the Sub-Judge of Bhagalpur in execution of a decree obtained by Babu Sourindra Mohan Singh and others. The headquarters of the estate are at Maheshpur.

"Several places in the *pargana* are the subject of local legends. Haripur, 14 miles south-east of Maheshpur, is said to have been the residence of one Hari Singh and contains the ruins of large tanks and Saiva temples. Two miles north-west of Haripur there is a Santali village formerly known as Sibpur, with the ruins of five Saiva temples, close to which is a sulphurous spring. About a mile east of Maheshpur is Garhbari, said to have been the residence of Kaidar Rai, an officer in the employ of the Nawab of Murshidabad, who having incurred the displeasure of the Nawab sought shelter here. Devinagar, about six miles south-west of Maheshpur, was once the residence of Lala Uday Narayan, a Bhojpuri Officer in the service of the Nawab of Murshidabad. Ruins of houses and temples attributed to him are still extant, and among the inhabitants of the village there are a number of Bhojpuris. Near Devinagar there are two smaller villages called Kotalpokhar and Akdasal. It is believed that the Kotals or Kotwals (i.e., guards) of Lala Uday Narayan were stationed in Kotalpokhar in order to guard his houses and property, and at Akdasal was the *akhara* (or wrestling ground) of his soldiers and retainers. There was also a road constructed from Devinagar to Murshidabad, which can still be traced."*

It has been taken over by the Government of Bihar under notification no. 18-LR/ZAN, dated the 19th May, 1952, published on the 22nd May, 1952.

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*District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas (1938), pp. 407—409.

Taljhari—The Mission and the Church

The origin of the Church at Taljhari, one of the oldest in this district, dates back to 6th January, 1869 when its foundation stone was laid and it was formally opened exactly three years later. It has got quite a big area comprising of a school, named St. John's Middle School, a boarding house, one big hall, a quarter for the Missionary Incharge, and a small dispensary besides the big church building. The entire land was handed over to the Mission by the Government as a gift. Rev. E. L. Puxley, who was the first Missionary to live among the Santals and had began his work at Hiranpur with the opening of a school there in 1869 came to Taljhari in 1863, and here also he started a school which was recognised by Government and was given grants. The Mission, known as C. M. S. Santal Mission, spread its work extensively among the Santals. The Santals of the locality were converted to Christianity in large numbers, and the spread of education in this area and particularly among the Santals has been done by this Mission.

*Teliagarhi**

"A ruined fort situated 7 miles east of Sahibganj close to the East Indian Railway line. It stands on a plateau on the lower slope of the Rajmahal hills, at the foot of which the Ganges formerly flowed : tradition, indeed, says that soldiers used to sit on the walls with fishing rods and catch fish from the river below. Owing to its position it was a place of great strategic importance, and was known as "the key of Bengal". Ives gives the following account of it as it appeared in 1757. "This is only a wall carried on from the brink of the river (which at this place is prodigiously rapid) to the foot of the mountain, and is almost impassable, being covered, like that at Sicarigully, with thick woods and jungle ; and hath this further impediment, that very near to the wall runs a rivulet, on the side of the hill, seemingly impracticable to pass over. The bastions are without parapets, having eight sides that are not eight feet wide, and they have contrived to build the walls so artfully, that the rivulet serves for a ditch in front. The bastion wall, which is about 14 feet high and 50 yards long, entirely commands the river, which though it be three-fourths of a mile broad here, yet the current is such as to carry all boats close under the platform." The translator of the *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, however, writing at the close of the 18th century, had no great opinion of its strength. "Teliagarry is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall, strengthened with towers, that extends from the foot of the hills to the rocky banks of the

*Quoted from the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 409—411.

Ganges. It has neither ditch nor rampart, and yet answers well enough the purpose in a country where they know nothing of sieges, and hardly anything of artillery. Else a battery of 24 pounders would make a breach in it in half a day : and a couple of mortars placed upon the brow of the hill would destroy every man and every building in the fort.

"The Ganges, having changed its course and formed large *char*, is now far away from Teliagarhi, the East Indian Railway line now running close to the fort. The fort, moreover, has fallen into ruins ; but long walls, made of stones and bricks in alternate courses, may still be seen to the north, east and west. There are gates in the eastern and western sides, and the length of the walls is approximately 250 feet. To the south the adjoining hill formed a natural protection. The northern wall has three octagonal pavilions, one at each end and one in the centre. Inside there are several rooms along the walls, and a small mosque with three domes stands in north-western corner ; while in the south-eastern corner an old path still exists. To the north, in the plain, are traces of more ancient buildings, but they are in utter ruin. Carved stones, such as are found at Gaur, are lying among the debris, and perhaps a mosque in the old Bengali style existed here. Local tradition states that the fort is called after a Teli zamindar who was compelled by the Muhammadans to embrace Islam, but it seems more likely that the derivation is *telia*, a Hindi word meaning black, which would naturally be applied to the fortress on account of the black stones used in building it."*†

Tinpahar

A village in the Rajmahal police station situated at a distance of 8 miles from Rajmahal. The name Tinpahar is derived as the village is girded by three hillocks. These hillocks are the series of the Rajmahal ranges. Tinpahar is a small village extending in an area of 246.37 acres with 189 occupied houses. Its population as recorded in the Block office in 1961 was 1,812 souls (936 males and 876 females).

It has one middle school, *maktab*, a Gram Panchayat, a post office and a library. A daily *hat* is held near the railway station.

Tinpahar Junction is an important railway station of the loop line of the Eastern Railway. A branch line of 12 kilometres connects Tinpahar with Rajmahal. A metalled road has recently

*H. Beveridge, *Sahibganj and Rajmahal, Calcutta Review, Vol.* XCVI (1893), pp. 67—70.

†For further details see Dr. D. R. Patil's *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* (Patna, 1963), pp. 566-567.

been constructed from Tinpahar to Rajmahal. The Dumka-Rajmahal Road *via* Borio is under construction just near Tinpahar. After the construction of this metalled road Rajmahal will be directly connected with Dumka, the district headquarters.

The village is divided into three *tolas*, viz., Tinpahar, Railpar and Babupur, out of which the former two are electrified. The electrification of the village has made easy to start two *atta chakkis*. The quarters have also been electrified.

A beauty spot nestling round three hillocks and two hill streams attracts a large number of visitors every year. These two rivulets if embanked will have water potentiality for irrigation of about 4,000 acres of land. These are also the sources of catching fishes. Fish is sold in daily *hat* and is reported to be consumed locally.

Agriculture is the main source of livelihood. The labourers get employment throughout the year in the quarries. Some families of West Punjab and East Bengal have settled down who came here in the wake of the partition of the country in 1947. It is reported by the local people that a good percentage of the inhabitants are of Uttar Pradesh (District Balia) who migrated here during the time of the great upheaval of 1857.

The village has mixed population. There are five temples, two mosques and a *Binoda Nand Natya Kala Samiti*. A Labour Welfare Centre of 'B' type has recently been started for the labourers working in the stone quarries. This centre is also for the workers of China Clay Factories near Mangalhat.

The Railway Station handles a good traffic. Stone chips, *kendu* leaves, wooden axles, grains, empty baskets, various kinds of fruits and wooden logs are sent out. Coal, salt, wheat, paddy, stationery goods, vegetables, etc., are received at the station. The table below supplied by the Railway station shows the traffic for the years 1960, 1961 and 1962 (up to July):—

The table below supplied by the railway authorities shows yearwise goods exported and imported and number of passengers, etc.

Year	Goods—Wagon loads		Parcel		Passenger	
	Outward	Inward	Outward	Inward	Outward	Inward
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.		
1960	5,43,348	9,927	1,14,650	97,730	1,69,081	85,137
1961	5,85,089	5,052	2,19,733	1,01,691	1,64,058	52,558
1962 (Up to July only).	2,67,859	4,123	4,868	Not available.	1,39,619	44,052

Trikutachal Ashram

The *ashram* is built on the Trikutparvat at a height of about 200 feet above the sea level. It is at a distance of 12 miles from Deoghar on the Deoghar-Dumka Road. The *ashram* was established in 1923 by the founder of the Arunachal Mission. The *Acharya* is the head of the mission. About 200 disciples are maintained in the mission. The main source of income is public donation. There is a perennial flowing stream which is the main source of the water-supply. The aims and objects of the mission are spiritual salvation, universal brotherhood and the service of the humanity.

Udhua

The village is situated at a distance of 8 miles south-east of Rajmahal town and about 120 miles from the district headquarters, Dumka. The nearest railway stations are Rajmahal and Bankudih (8 miles west of the village, a railway station on the loop line of the Eastern Railways beyond Tinpahar). The village has a branch Post Office. It is within Rajmahal Community Development Block.

A metalled road leads to the village from Rajmahal and about one furlong before entering the village the metalled road ends and from there an unmetalled road runs to the village. The condition of this road becomes very bad during the rains. A National Highway connecting Dumka, via Barharwa, and West Bengal is under construction and this road will pass through the village.

It is said that at one time the river Ganga was flowing very close to the village, but later on the river changed its course and now it is at a distance of seven miles from the village. When the river Ganga was flowing by the side of the village, it used to serve the purpose of water communication and Udhua was a place of trade and commercial importance. The only sign of the river is left in the shape of the famous Udai or Udhua *Nala*. This Udai or Udhua *Nala* has historical importance. After the battle of Palasi between Siraj-ud-daula and Robert Clive, the next decisive battle was fought near the Udai or Udhua *Nala*.

When the river Ganga was flowing by the side of the village it had trade connections with Rajmahal and Dhulian (District Murshidabad). The village was a centre of exporting jute through the river to Dhulian. After the change in the course of the river, the said Udhua *Nala* serves the same purpose which meets the river Ganga near the village Katahalbari after covering a distance of five miles south-east of the village Udhua. It had trade

connections with Sabdalpur (now in East Pakistan) from where the betel-nuts, *golmirch* (black pepper) used to come over here through the river. Jute is still exported to Dhulian. The place is said to be used for smuggling goods.

To the east of the village are villages Futkipur and the famous Udhua *Nala*, to the west is *mauza* Pataura and Udhua High School, to the south *mouza* Pataura and to the north is village Jamnagar.

It has got a total area of 746.48 acres with 959 number of occupied houses having a total population of 5,592 persons, i.e., males 2,899 and females 2,693. There are 216 persons literate, i.e., 179 males and 37 females.

The dwelling houses are both thatched and tiled. Raniganj tiles are in common use. There are only a few *pakka* houses. Very few of the houses have got latrines, wells, etc. The village is not neat and clean although the houses are quite neat and clean.

The village is divided into 18 *tolas*, viz., Bengali *tola*, Bechan Mandal *tola*, Jangal *para* or Darshan *tola*, Sajiuruddin *tola*, Pyaru *tola*, Kewat *tola*, Lal Mohan Shah *tola*, Rajwar *tola*, Bazar *tola*, Bhudev Mandal *tola*, Miyan *tola*, Bin *tola*, Sarkar *tola*, Mirzanagar *tola*, Bakai *tola*, Singhji *tola* and Babu *tola*. The place names of the *tolas* are very suggestive.

Bamboo is found in abundance. Mango, *lichi*, banana and lemon are the main fruits. The main agricultural products are jute, sugarcane, paddy, *rabi* and *bhadai* crops. Jute has got special importance as it is sent to Dhulian, Barharwa, Rajmahal, etc. Sugarcane is utilised in the preparation of *gur*. Paddy is grown throughout the year.

Fish is an important item of daily use and export. Fish are procured from the said *Nala* and is exported to Calcutta, Rajmahal, Hiranpur *hat* etc.

There are two displaced families from East Pakistan. One of them is a Homeopathic doctor and the other is a tailor.

The spoken language of the village is Hindi (Bhojpuri) and Hindi-Bengali mixed. There are several families who have settled down here and had migrated from Shahabad, Balia etc., during the revolution of 1857 and that is why Bhojpuri has become very common. There are Shershabadias who speak a language mixture of Bengali and other *patois*.

Muslims form about 50 per cent and many of them claim very old descent. Among the Hindus the bulk belong to the occupational castes engaged in fishery and manual labour such as Chain Mandals (190), Kewats (80), Bins (25), Dusadhs (30), Rajwars (25), etc.

There are three temples in the village and seven mosques. There is also an old *Idgah* on the bank of the Udhua *Nala*. The main sources of entertainment for the villagers are *Abkaf Naach*, i.e., *Videsiya Naach*, Dasehra *mela*, Shiva *mela* during the month of *Chaitra*. There is a daily market and a weekly *hat* is held on every Monday. There are one high, upper primary, middle, lower primary and night schools in the village. There is also a *Madarsa*, a *Balbari* and a revenue *kutchery*. There is a Gram Panchayat also. The inter-caste and inter-communal relations are cordial. Eighteen sewing machines have been distributed in the village.

The *dhenki* rice and the making of *bidis* are the main industries.

The main attraction of the village is Udhua *Nala* old bridge. It is now in delapidated condition but its architectural features are worth seeing and it had been of great importance during the reign of Siraj-ud-daula, the Nawab of Bengal.

Another attraction is Morchagarh just at the end of the village. It is a mud wall about 50 feet in length from east to west.

The Bhudeva Mandal *tola* is also known as *Goramara* because of the fact that in 1757 several British soldiers were killed there. It is said that some skeletons were recently excavated when people were digging.

*Udhua Nullah**

"A village on the bank of the Ganges situated 6 miles south of Rajmahal, close to which the battle of Udhua Nullah was fought on the 5th September 1763. The following description of the battle is given by Broome in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army* :—

"The position selected by the enemy was one of exceeding strength, to add to which no pains or expense had been spared. It commanded the main and only road, and extended across the gorge formed between the Ganges and the Rajmahal Hills, a steep spur of which ran out and narrowed the pass at this particular point. A deep morass extended along the front of the lines from

*Quoted from the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 411—414.

near the foot of the hills to within less than 100 yards from the river, along which narrow strip ran the road. The left of the intrenchment rested on the river; from hence it ran in a south-westerly direction for about a mile, when it abutted upon a steep isolated hill which was strongly fortified and garrisoned. From this it again branched off in a more southerly direction up to the main spur of the mountains, amongst the ravines and scarped precipices of which it finally terminated. The whole of this line of works was of recent construction; the ramparts were about 60 feet thick and 10 high, surmounted by a parapet of about 18 feet thick and 7 feet high; and in front, along the hole line on the plain, ran a deep ditch of 60 feet wide and about 12 deep. Batteries were erected at convenient intervals, and upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were mounted upon them. Some distance to the rear was the old line of works, and the Oodwah Nullah, from which the pass derived its name, the steep banks of which formed a natural defence of themselves. Across this a stone bridge had been thrown, where a strong guard was stationed; and in the interval the whole of the army was encamped. The force collected here comprised all the troops that had escaped from Gherriah, with the reinforcements sent by Meer Kossim Khan, the whole amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, including the regular Brigades of Sumroo, Markar and Aratoon.

"The only accessible point was along the bank of the river, and to attack this the army now bent their endeavours. Fascines and gabions were constructed, approaches lined out, and batteries thrown up with considerable skill, the troops, Europeans and natives, working with cheerfulness and alacrity; but the progress of these operations was very slow, owing to the limited means at command. The force was moreover constantly harassed by parties of the enemy stealing out of the intrenchments near the foot of the hills, and fording the morass before daylight. This compelled Major Adams to extend his camp to the left and throw up an intrenchment in front, his right resting on the river and his left on a branch of the morass. The king's and Company's Battalions were in the centre, the Sipahi Battalions divided on the flanks; a strong guard of Sipahis was pushed forward to the right to support the parties in the trenches, to which the artillery, the paucity of whose numbers could admit of no relief, were entirely confined. The Company of Volunteers under Captain Wedderburn and the three Companies of Captain MacLean's Battalion that had recently arrived, were stationed in the boats for the defence of the stores and the command of the river. In these tedious operations nearly a month was consumed. At length, on the 4th of September, three batteries had been erected, the nearest of which was within 300 yards of the fortifications, on the massive

ramparts of which the Artillery of the English could make but little impression, although all the siege guns of the force had been disembarked from the boats. A small breach was effected, however, close to the gateway near the river, but of a very imperfect nature, and success, if not hopeless, appeared very distant.

"On that day a European soldier of Meer Kossim Khan's army, originally a deserter from the Company's service, came in and offered, on condition of pardon, to point out a ford through the morass by which the troops might cross and attack the left of the entrenchment. That such a ford did exist the previous attacks of the enemy had proved, and the proposition was readily embraced. Arrangements were accordingly made that night, and the following morning the Grenadiers of the 84th Regiment and those of the European Battalion, with two Battalions of Sipahis, of which Captain Broadbrook's (the present 1st Native Infantry) was one, got under arms three hours before daybreak, the whole under the command of Captain James Irving; whilst the remainder of the force, leaving a sufficient guard in camp, moved quietly into the trenches, with the intention of making a false attack to attract the enemy's attention, which was to be converted into a real attack if circumstances permitted. This latter party was commanded by Captain Moran, and a reserve column was held in readiness under Major Carnac to act as might be found advisable.

"The detachment under Captain Irving crossed the morass with great difficulty, the men being obliged to carry their arms and pouches on their heads to save them from getting wet. They succeeded, however, in reaching the intrenchment without being discovered, and there being no ditch at that point, they planted the scaling ladders they had purposely brought and amounted the rampart. This was close to the isolated hill already mentioned, and as the latter was strongly stockaded on the summit and might be looked upon as the key of the position, Captain Irving determined to ascend and endeavour to carry it by surprise. Strict orders were given to the men on no account to fire, but to trust solely to bayonet, and several of the enemy, who were found lying asleep under the parapet, received their passports into eternity from that silent and deadly weapon. Before the party reached the summit the alarm was given, but too late; the Grenadiers rushed forward, closely followed by the Sipahis, and in a few minutes they were masters of the stockade and not one of the enemy left alive.

"A *mussaul* that had been brought for the purpose was now lighted and held aloft as the preconcerted signal for the party in

the trenches. The Artillery from the advance battery opened a sudden and heavy fire upon the breach, until the party under Captain Moran had got close to it. Great difficulty was experienced in crossing the ditch, and when this was effected, the breach was found to be very steep and only wide enough for one person. The enemy, however, distracted by the varied attack, made but a feeble resistance, and a sufficient party having ascended by means of scaling ladders opened the gates to their comrades. The whole force now rushed in and, as previously agreed upon, turned to their left, whilst Captain Irving's party having moved to the right, the whole united, and a fearful scene of carnage ensued.

"It was yet barely daylight, and the enemy, confounded by the suddenness of the attack coming from several quarters, were thrown into inextricable confusion, to add to which, their own guard stationed at the bridge over the nullah had orders to fire upon any one attempting to cross, with a view of compelling the troops to resistance—a duty which was performed with fearful effect. A heap of dead speedily blocked up that passage and forced the fugitives to look for some other channel of escape. Many threw themselves into the river and were drowned, others attempted to cross the Oodwah, but the steepness of the banks, and the pressure and confusion of the panic-struck crowd, caused a vast sacrifice of life. The greater portion of those who escaped got off by skirting the hills, and many perished amongst the difficulties and precipices of that route. A few attempted to make a stand in the old lines, but they were speedily overpowered and destroyed; 15,000 are said to have perished in this attack and during the flight. To the credit of the English no unnecessary slaughter was committed; after being once assured of success, none fell by their hands save those in actual opposition. An immense number of prisoners were taken, including several officers of rank, all of whom were kindly treated and subsequently released. The great casualty was chiefly attributable to the panic, the confusion, and the darkness, as also to the usual mode of egress being closed. The loss of the English was comparatively inconsiderable, the only officer whose death is recorded being the gallant Captain Broadbrook, who had so long commanded the 1st Battalion of Sipahis. Lieutenant Hampton was also severely wounded. Upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were captured, besides a vast quantity of military stores, and so complete was the overthrow, that the enemy never attempted to rally either at Rajmahal, which was fortified, or in the Sickreegullee or Teereeahgullee passes, either of which was equally tenable with that of Oodwah Nullah—and the wearied fugitives, arriving in the neighbourhood of Mongheer, brought the first intelligence to Meer Kossim Khan of the disaster that had befallen his army.

"When the difficulties of the undertaking, the enormous disproportion of the forces, and the completeness of the result are considered, this must be acknowledged to have been a most extraordinary and brilliant achievement; and though the success was attributable to the surprise, the siege operations, considering the means, were highly creditable to the army, more especially when it is remembered how little practical knowledge either officers or men could have possessed of that description of warfare."

"The lines of entrenchment can still be traced, and an arch of the bridge over the *nullah* is still standing. The *jhil* on the right, through which the British troops waded on the night of the surprise, is part of the great *jhil* through which the railway line passes between Tinpahar and Rajmahal.'

C. D. Blocks

Amrapara Block

The area of this block is 67,223.39 acres and it has a total population of 30,123. There are 122 villages; out of them two are uninhabited. The total revenue of this Block under different sub heads is Rs. 37,169.19.

The Community Development Block Amrapara which is in Stage I at present was started as Agricultural Extension Block from April 1958. From 5th December 1958 to 31st March 1959 it remained as pre-extension block. It was upgraded to the Stage I with effect from 1st April 1959.

The area is mostly hilly. The Dumka-Pakaur road which passes through the heart of this Block, divides the Block into roughly two parts. The western part is full of jungles and hills, whereas the eastern part is plain.

The Block has been divided into eight *Halkas* each under one Village Level Worker. There are eight Panchayats functioning in this Block.

The headquarters of the block is at village Amrapara Bazar, which is situated in the eastern corner of this block.

The Block Office is functioning in a rented building. The staff live in rented houses.

Nearly 95 per cent of population consists of Santals and Paharias. The rest are semi-aboriginal people, Scheduled Castes, etc. There are some Muslims at villages Parerkola, Jamugaria, Chandpur and Amrapara. There are *Kumhars* at village Basmati and village

Pand bandh. *Bhagats*, whose main work is business and money lending are at village Amrapara Bazar and Dumarchir. Except the *Bhagats*, the other classes have got cultivation.

One Class I Veterinary Dispensary has been located at Amrapara under the charge of one qualified Veterinary Doctor. Four field veterinary sub-centres are also running at villages Parerkola, Dumarchir, Ambera and Solputra where a doctor attends on fixed days.

These dispensaries have not become popular yet. Attempts are being made to popularise dispensaries and to make the people conscious towards the health of their livestock.

The entire area of the Block has been covered with multi-purpose Co-operative Societies and the aboriginals are getting benefits from these Co-operative Societies. Through these Co-operative Societies, they get loans and fertilizers during the agricultural season.

One static dispensary at Amrapara and three health sub-centres at Parerkola, Dumarchir and Ambera are functioning regularly where people get facilities for treatment. People get regularly inoculated against cholera and vaccinated against small-pox by the Block staff.

There are a high school at Amrapara, a middle school at Parerkola and a few Junior Basic and Upper Primary Schools. Besides these, five schools for the Paharias have been opened where the students get the facilities for fooding and clothing, besides education.

There is only one Shiva Temple at Amrapara Bazar. Only the local non-aboriginal people attend it for worship.

Pottery, Blacksmithy and Tasar are the important small-scale industries of this block. Four Industrial Co-operative Societies have been organised in this block.

There are three *hats* which meet at Amrapara, Parerkola and Dumarchir once in a week. This Block is not too far from the border of the neighbouring State of West Bengal, and hence it has become an important trade centre for certain grains like paddy, maize, *bajra*, *rahar*, *khesari*, etc.

Amrapara block has picturesque scenery and there is good *shikar* available. There is a Dak Bungalow at Amrapara. Wild game like leopards and deer are available. The area had varied avifauna before but it is on the decline.

Barhait Block

The *Anchal* consists of 275 villages with an area of 87,329.73 acres and a total population of 50,902*. It has a revenue income of Rs. 45,741.76. This circle has been converted into a Pre-extension Block since 1st October, 1961 and has started functioning as Stage I Block from 2nd October, 1962. A road from Barharwa to Barhait has been constructed by the Public Works Department. The Block has 12 Panchayats. It is predominantly populated by the Santals and the Paharias.

One State subsidised High School has been started by the Government for the uplift of the tribals. Tribal students are awarded monthly stipends for their education. One Middle Girls' School has also been opened in which all the expenses of the students including hostel charges are met by Government. Eight schools for the Paharia tribals have been opened at different places for educating the children of the Paharias and free education is imparted. At different places, wells for drinking water have also been sunk for them.

The following are the important temples in the Anchal :—(1) Shiva temples at (*a*) Barhait and (*b*) at Kherwa; (2) Shri Durga temple at Barhait, (3) Krishna temple at Barhait, (4) Sitaram temple at Barhait. There is a mosque and also a Catholic Church at Barhait.

In this area handloom industry is prevalent and carried on in most of the villages under the supervision of the co-operative societies. Pottery industry is also found in some of the villages.

The following *hats* are held :—(1) Barhait *hat*, (2) Kusma *hat*, (3) Panchkathia *hat*, (4) Rohra *hat*, (5) Logain *hat*. The *hats* in this *anchal* are famous for the trade in *simmal* cotton and *biri* leaves which are transported to Calcutta and places in other provinces.

Facilities for communication by road exist in this *anchal*. It is proposed to construct one metalled road from Raxi to Kusma. There are three *Damin* bungalows at Raxi, Kusma and Barhait.

Barharwa Block

The area of the Block which was started on 1st April, 1957 is 47,190.90 acres out of which 39,204.98 acres are cultivable. The area under forest is roughly 78.00 acres. The soil is sandy loam to clay and can be classified as class I paddy land. Some patches

*The population figures for all the blocks have been collected from the Block Development Officer in 1962. In some cases there are some variations with the census figures. (P. C. R, C.)

contain laterite soil. There are 241 villages out of which 173 villages are inhabited and 68 are uninhabited. According to 1961 census the Block has got a population of 55,091 out of which 10,632 are literate.

The total land revenue of this Block was Rs. 95,036.76 P. A rural electrification programme has been taken up and till 1961 rural electrification programme was completed in five villages. Under minor irrigation scheme a number of tanks and wells have been renovated and constructed, thus extending irrigation facilities to about 1, 225 acres of land. There are 11 Panchayats functioning in the Block and almost all the development works are executed by the Panchayats. The Panchayats have not yet become popular or efficient according to the Block Development Officer's report.

According to a survey conducted by the Block in 1957 it appears that the percentage of the tribal population is 9 per cent.

The condition of the cottage industries and small industries is primitive. The village potters, blacksmiths, shoe-makers, etc. are well distributed. Only weavers are concentrated in a few pockets. Co-operatives have been organised to help the shoe-makers and the blacksmiths.

The list of *hats* is as follows :—

(1) Barharwa—Once a week.
(2) Kotalpokhar—Twice a week.
(3) Srikund—Twice a week.
(4) Gwalkhore—Twice a week.
(5) Pipra—Twice a week.

Every year a big *mela* is held for a week at Chamrachak on the occasion of *Makar Sankranti* (approximately on 14th January). There are two markets one at Barharwa and other at Kotalpokhar.

Fish and paddy are exported in large quantity to Bengal.

The area lacks communication for most part of the year. There is no *pucca* road. The two District Board roads which pass through the area are in a bad condition and communicable only for a few months in the year.

In this Block there is only one village, Kankjole, which has got a population of more than 2,000 persons.

There is one State Dispensary at Barharwa and one District Board Dispensary at Gwalkhore. Besides these, there are three

health sub-centres run by the Block. These centres are at Kotalpokhar, Ranigram and Bishanpur.

There is no Dak Bungalow in the Block.

Boarijore Block

Boarijore *anchal* is one of the remotest areas of Santal Parganas situated in the skirts of Rajmahal Hills, better known as the Damin area. The region is hilly, the soil is rocky and its inhabitants are aboriginal. The total area of the *anchal* is 184.9 square miles. There are 441 villages with a population of 57,076. The total revenue amounts to Rs. 1,09,517 per annum.

During the period of five years 14,112 maunds of improved paddy seeds have been grown by the cultivators of the area. Green for manuring is being cultivated and 139 maunds of *Dhaincha* have been grown. 1,096 improved agricultural implements have been purchased by the cultivators.

Under minor irrigation scheme, 39 schemes have been completed and 20 surface percolation wells have been completed . These schemes have a good assurance for irrigation. 774 acres of waste land have been reclaimed and cultivation has started now in these fields.

With an intention to improve the cattle breed, nine bulls, two boars and one he-goat have been supplied. Poultry farming is the main cottage industry of this area. One hatching centre has been sanctioned so that improved birds may easily be available to the cultivators of the area. One Class I Veterinary hospital with three sub-centres are running in the area. 5,237 cattle have been castrated and 15,000 cattle have been treated.

Under the health programme of the Block the State dispensary at Boarijore is running in the Damin Bungalow as its building is under construction. Three Health sub-centres have been located at Goradih, Loahandia Bazar and Rajabhitha.

Sixty Primary Schools, two Senior Basic Schools, two Middle Schools and one High School are running in the area. A State subsidised school at Boarijore has been opened in 1961. 20 Social Education centres have been run every year from the very inception of the Block. 25 village libraries have been started. 41 Community entertainment parties have been organised, four Community Halls have been completed and three are under construction. 10 youth clubs and three *Mahila Mandals* have been organised.

Twenty-eight culverts and cause-ways have been constructed and 7 miles *kachha* road has been constructed on *sramdan* basis.

Five training-*cum*-production centres have trained 136 persons in different crafts and this has given them partial employment. These production centres have produced goods worth Rs. 8,145 out of which the local people have purchased articles worth Rs. 4,253. Rs. 14,270 have been given to persons and societies as loan under the provision made under State Aid to Industries. 12 Industrial Co-operative Societies have been organised whose share capital is Rs. 14,110.

Eighty-two Multipurpose Co-operative Societies are working in this area. There are 8,333 members in these societies and their share capital amounts to Rs. 18,578. Rs. 1,07,576 has been advanced as loan to these Multi purpose Co-operative Societies out of which Rs. 86,890 has been already paid by them. The whole area has been divided in 18 Panchayats.

The percentage of tribal population of this area is 77 per cent.

A Christian mission known as Dakaita Mission established 25 years ago is running here. It has a Roman Catholic church and does some social service in the area. iIt has ts three branches at Dahuwa, Jirli and Daharnagi villages of the area.

The main cottage industries of the Block are handloom weaving, basket-making, *sabai* grass growing and rope making, stone carving, tassar rearing, oil *ghani* and coal mining.

Hats are held at Sripur, Boarijore, Lohandia, Dumaria, Rajabhitta, Kero, Ratanpur and Telo villages.

The following *melas* are important :—

(1) Durga *mela*—Sripur.
(2) Ram Navami *mela*—Lohhandia Bazar.
(3) Kali *mela*—Ethari.
(4) Chhat *mela*—Dorma.
(5) Kali *mela*—Kero Bazar.

These *hats* are the important trade centres of this area from where all kinds of grains and forest products are exported to neighbouring districts and States.

Borio Block

This block comprises 584 villages with a total area of 211·15 square miles and a total population of 8,314 souls.

The total demand of the revenue of this project is (*i*) Rent Rs. 57,046.27, (*ii*) Cess Rs. 3,54,599, (*iii*)) Miscellaneous Rs. 18,720.75. The miscellaneous demand relates chiefly to income from fisheries and *hats* and *bazars* and it fluctuates from year to year.

Medium Irrigation Schemes.—Three Medium Irrigation Schemes one at Kelabari in Sakrugarh, second at Kendua in Banjhi and the third at Kari in Banjhi have been taken up for execution at an estimated cost of Rs. 33,392.00, Rs. 18,761.00 and Rs. 18,000.00 respectively. When completed they would irrigate an estimated area of 500 acres, 400 acres and 400 acres respectively. These schemes are being executed on the basis of 50 per cent contribution from the public. Besides the medium irrigation schemes some minor irrigation works have also been taken up. The following table will indicate the number of such schemes and their present stage (1961) :—

Nature of schemes.	Number of schemes completed.	Number of schemes under execution.
M. I. Schemes	39	93
Surface percolation wells ..	25	49
Rural Water Supply Drinking Water wells.	79	109
Repair of old drinking water wells	37	21
Jharna wells	8	7

There is only one pitched road from Dumka to Sahibganj which passes across this project area. No other *pucca* road has been constructed.

Village path-ways and public roads have been constructed. Fifty-one culverts have been completed so far and 61 are under execution and nearing completion. Two hill roads are also under construction to connect the villages on hills.

The project has been subdivided into 23 Gram Panchayats out of which six have held their second election and 13 have not gone to polls for the second time.

This project falls within the *Damin-i-Koh* of Santal Parganas. The *Mukhiyas* have been associated with the work of development and almost all the schemes are being executed through them. But their response is very poor and the public do no tseem enthusiastic about these institutions. The population here is composed mostly of the tribal people although in *Bazar* villages non-tribals

have settled down for centuries. Non-tribals, however, have not yet been able to make a common cause with the tribal people. The Santals still regard them as aliens (*Dikkus*). Neither the exploitation of the Santals and Paharias at the hands of the non-tribals has ceased nor the tribals have been able to shake off their allergy.

The population of the project area is 78,314 according to the 1961 census. The Santals number 45,660 and the Paharias 10,334. There are three health sub-centres at Banjhi, Mirzachouki and Deopahar, where the Medical Officer visits on week days and dispenses medicines. There are two *Ayurvedic* dispensaries, one at Banjhi and other at Jonkmar under the charge of qualified *Vaidyas* who dispense medicines to the Paharias. The Santals, Paharias and all other people are treated free.

The Paharias live on the hill tops. They practise *Kurao* cultivation. All attempts in the past have failed to settle them down the hills. There is a scheme to bring the Paharias down the hills. To start with, the Government in the Welfare Department have taken up this work at Murgabani, Borio and Bara-Panchgarh (Sakrugarh). 30 houses were constructed for the Paharias at Murgabani but only about 19 families have taken up their abode there. Lands have also been reclaimed at Government cost at the rate of 5 acres per family. Besides this each family gets a dole of Re. 1 per day. There is a scheme for rehabilitation of 20 families at Bara Panchgarh. Lands have been reclaimed and 20 *pucca* houses are under construction. Each Paharia family has been given cows and bullocks, seeds and agricultural implements as a subsidy for their agricultural work. The Paharias still do not seem inclined to take up their habitation in the plains. They are very much fond of their hill residences and *Kurao* cultivation. It will take some time more to bring them down the hills.

There are 40,337.00 acres of cultivated land in this project. 77,582.00 acres lie fallow on account of their being stony and barren land. 17,081.00 acres of culturable land are lying waste.

There are seven grain *golas* run by the Welfare Department, at Banjhi, Rakso, Sakrugarh, Mirzachouki, Simra, Telo and Murgabani. Besides there is a Damin grain *gola* at Borio and another at Mandro. The Co-operative Department have also opened grain *golas* at Sampur, Mirzachouki and Mandro. There is a proposal to construct a *Vyapar Mandal* at Borio. These grain *golas* are doing their best to relieve the agriculturists from the clutches of the *Mahajans* and usurers.

At village Gera Pariharpur—about 4 miles from Boarijore and 3 miles from Mandro, there is a stone pillar. It contains an image of a Hindu God. A three headed serpent offers shade of its hood over the head of the image. The pillar stands inclined to the ground. The people of the locality offer *puja* to the image.

The Mahulies who are semi-tribals make fine bamboo wares. Potters make earthen wares. The momins of Borio Bazar work handlooms. About 400 looms are run in Borio. They mostly weave garments for the use of the Santals. Under the auspices of the project the following centres are running which impart training to the Adibasis in cottage industries:—

1. *Banjhi.*—Rope-making and basket making. This centre has since been closed.

2. *Mirzachouki.*—Tailoring centre.

3. *Sahibganj.*—Leather Goods Training-*cum*-Production Centre.

4. *Bhagaiya.*—Silk Training-*cum*-Production Centre.

5. *Mandro.*—Carpentry Training-*cum*-Production Centre.

There is great potentiality of sericulture at Bhagaiya. One Seed Multiplication Farm has been opened at Borio.

Hats are held at Borio, Banjhi, Sakrugarh, Mirzachouki, Mandro and Powal bi-weekly. The aboriginals flock to the *hats* in large number and do their sales and purchases.

Borio is a large village with a population of 3,280. All other villages have their population below 2,000. There is a proposal to construct a road from Zirul to Deopahar. It will throw open the most inaccessible part to the rest of the area. A health sub-centre has been sanctioned for this place. There is another proposal to make the road from Mandro to Damdama Pahar to Banjhi a fair-weather road.

There is a State dispensary at Borio and one Class I Veterinary dispensary is under construction at Borio. Two Veterinary sub-centres are also under construction at Banjhi and Mandro.

There are four Damin Dak bungalows at Borio, Banjhi, Sakrugarh and Mandro. They are maintained by the Revenue Depatrment.

Dumka Block

1. *Area in acres.*—89,014.97 acres.

2. *Number of villages*—274 out of which 15 villages have since submerged under the Canada Dam constructed at Massanjore on Mayurakshi River.

3. *Total population.*—72,465.

4. *Total revenue.*—Rs. 1,21,153.97 and the total collection was 64 per cent in 1960-61.

Under the Veterinary and Animal Husbandry programme mass vaccination of cattle for prevention against different epidemics was taken up and the epidemics are now negligible. Under the poultry development scheme distribution of improved birds has been carried out and cheap poultry houses have been constructed in the villages. As many as 18 such cheap poultry houses have been constructed so far and there is programme of further construction. Three Field Veterinary dispensaries are under construction. Ten improved variety bulls have been distributed in the area under breeding programme.

Education and Social Education activities have also been taken up. Grants to school libraries, clubs and other institutions have been given. 15 school buildings and 11 Community halls are under construction. For adult education 25 social centres are functioning. This has considerably helped in the literacy programme.

Under Health and Rural Sanitation schemes, three health sub-centres are functioning at Gando, Ranibahal and Makro. Dispensary buildings are under construction at these places. Mass vaccination and inoculation for prevention from epidemics of small-pox and cholera are being carried out yearly and the result has been that there is no outbreak of such epidemics.

To provide good water, 42 drinking wells have been constructed and 71 are under construction.

Under Rural Arts, Crafts and Industries three T. C. P. centres in Electroplating, *Durrie* Weaving and Cane Bamboo Ware making are under operation. As far as electroplating is concerned two batches of trainees have completed the training and the third batch is undergoing the same. In other Training-*cum*-Production centres full course of training has not been completed so far.

Programme for giving grants to industrial organisations is also under execution.

Under communication, construction of culverts on the village roads have been taken up. 32 culverts have so far been completed and 42 are under execution.

From Agriculture Department grant, a Seed Multiplication Farm is running under the Block. Improved varieties of seeds are produced and distributed to the cultivators.

There are 19 Panchayats of which 18 have official *Mukhiyas*. The implementation of the development programme is being carried out through the medium of those Panchayats.

The percentage of tribal people in this Block is 55 per cent.

There is one Canada Dam on Mayurakshi river which has a very beautiful site. This beauty spot has Inspection Bungalows and a Youth Hostel. Tourism could well be developed here.

Although there are a number of cottage industries, viz., cloth weaving, pottery, basket making in this area but they are not of much importance. It may, however, be mentioned that the Mahulies of villages Lakhikundi and Bedia prepare good chairs and tables etc., of bamboo.

List of hats, mela and market of Dumka Anchal.

1. Dumka Bara *Hat.*
2. Gando *Hat.*
3. Parsimla *Hat.*
4. Ranibahal Charak *Mela.*
5. Gando Kali, Durga and Rash *Mela.*
6. Hizla *Mela.*
7. Tin Bazar market.

Godda Block

This Block covering an area of 87,789 acres and 263 villages started functioning since 1st April, 1962. The Revenue demand for the year 1961-62 was Rs. 2,07,383.

The villages of the Block are entirely covered by Gram Panchayats.

Installation of electric and telephone connections has already been completed. There are Upper Primary, Middle and High Schools for boys and girls.

There are two Co-operative Societies at Kauadih and Dharmundi for hand pounding of rice initiated by the Khadi and Village Industries Board. Other Co-operatives are three Oilmen Co-operative Societies at Amarpur, Lokluki and Dumari respectively and eight Weavers' Co-operative Societies scattered over eight villages. Pottery and carpentry in the villages are quite common.

Two big *hats* are held at Godda and Sarouni. Besides small *hats* at Langradih, Motiya, Siktiya and Dhamsia are held.

Excepting the two metalled roads, i. e., Pirpainty-Hansdiha and Godda-Panjwara, all the roads are *kutcha* and during rains it is difficult to move from one place to another.

There is an important *Shiva* temple known as "*Lila Baba*" at Dhamsia situated on the northern portion of the Godda-Pirpainty road, at a distance of six miles north from Godda town. A big *mela* is held during *Shiva Ratri* festival.

Gopikandar Block

The total area of the Block is 55,229 acres spread over 129 villages and the total revenue is Rs. 36,899. The Block was started in April, 1962. About 69 per cent of the population comes from the Adibasis. Till the time of report, no specific measures had been adopted in the amelioration of the conditions of the Adibasis as the Block had been started only in April, 1962.

There are several old churches within the Block. Several Christian missions have been working for the spread of education and fighting leprosy in this area. Shillingi village is a picturesque spot and a game sanctuary. There are two weekly *hats* at Gopikandar and Karudih. The Block has a number of forest roads which are not in a very good condition. There are medicinal herbs and tubers in this area largely used by the indigenous population. Their pharmacology has not yet been studied.

Hiranpur Block

The total area of this Block is 169 square miles. There are 304 villages in this Block with a population of 35,778. The total revenue of the Block including cess and education cess is Rs. 53,063.84 P.

The tribal population in this Block is 82 per cent. Various Development measures are being operated for the uplift of the tribals by the Welfare Department. They are being given financial

assistance in the form of subsidy on a large scale. Recently, thirty houses besides a school have been constructed under the Paharia Rehabilitation Scheme.

Weekly *hats* are held at Hiranpur, Litipara, Mohulboni, Simlong, Kunjbona and Dharampur. There is a Government cattle market at Hiranpur which is held on Thursdays every week, where inter-State trade of cattle is carried out.

The roads of this Block are all *kutcha*. There is one State dispensary at Hiranpur, one District Board dispensary at Dharampur and one Ayurvedic dispensary at Kunjbona which is run by the Paharia Welfare Department in this Block.

There are Dak Bungalows at Hiranpur, Surma, Litipara, Dharampur, Kunjbona, Dumaria and Simlong. There is one hillock, popularly known as Kanchangarh, which is hollow and is worth a visit. The Christian Mission at Hiranpur has done a lot of useful work. There is a *Damin* Magistrate posted at Hiranpur.

Jama Block

The area of the Block is 96,452.76 acres and the number of villages is 320. The total revenue demand is Rs. 23,123.

The Block headquarters has been electrified. Some of the villages have electricity facility.

The Block has 15 Gram Panchayats. According to the census of 1961 the tribal population comes to 57 per cent approximately. Under housing scheme for tribal people 12 *kutcha* houses have been completed in Nawadih and 30 more houses for the Mohil tribe were taken up in 1960. Stipends to the tribal students are given regularly. Birds and eggs are supplied to them at subsidised rates. The rural population is mostly agriculturist.

The people specially the agriculturists are poor and are under the clutches of the local *mahajans*. They are exploited by them. Only one crop is produced here.

There are important temples at Chotonath, Sirsanath and a church at Maharo. There is a hot water spring at Tatni.

The cottage industries of pottery, rope making, basket making, weaving, bell-metal work and oil pressing are carried on in the Block. Co-operative Societies for the different industries have been

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organised and registered. Steps are being taken for providing loans to the new societies.

The important *hats* are at Bara, Lakrapahari, Jama, Chikania, Belkuppi, Bichkira, Gadideoli.

Ras *mela* is held at Thandadumaria and Uparbahal.

Agricultural produces are sold to local *mahajans* or business men.

There are P. W. D. *pucca* roads diverging in three directions and covering 8, 13, and 7 miles respectively. The remotest part of the area is at a maximum distance of 7 to 10 miles from the *pucca* road. These roads have been connected with *kutcha* village roads. 52 miles of *kutcha* roads have till now been constructed since the inception of the Block. All the *kutcha* roads are fair-weather roads. Sufficient number of buses run on the *pucca* roads. One bus service runs from Dumka to Jamtara *via* Masalia on the *kutcha* road. The usual conveyances are bullock cart and cycle.

There is one State dispensary and one Class I Veterinary dispensary at the Block headquarters. The health sub-centres at three different places—Bara, Bedia and Pargadih are running at Bara, Lakrapahari, Bedia and Bichora. There is one District Board Dak Bungalow at Chorkata on Jama-Jamtara road. There is one Girls' Mission High School in the area at Maharo.

Jamtara Block

The total area of this block is 83.2 square miles comprising 261 villages. The total revenue is Rs. 87,877.

Sponsored as an N. E. S. Block on 29th January, 1954, it was converted into a C. D. Block on 1st April, 1956. There are 25 Gram Panchayats in the Block which are associated with all the development schemes. The percentage of the population of the tribals is 40 per cent. There are several T. C. P. centres for teaching useful handicrafts to the tribals. There are two hostels for tribal students, one at Jamtara and the other at Mihijam. There are six grain *golas* exclusively meant for them besides four other grain *golas* managed by Gram Panchayats.

Supply of drinking water is the main problem to which the Block has paid attention. A large number of wells has been completed and the construction of three causeways on the rivulets has been taken up. Several villages of the Block have got electricity.

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A large number of irrigation wells, *bunds* and tanks has been constructed or repaired.

To facilitate agricultural marketing, 109 Co-operative Societies are functioning. A *Vyapar Mandal* is functioning as the Government stockist of foodgrains, kerosene oil, etc. For the improvement of livestock, higher breed bulls have been distributed. The proximity of some industrial centres has given a spurt to the cultivation of vegetables.

Karmatanr and Rampur have weekly *hats*. Jamtara and Mihijam have bi-weekly *hats*. Rash *mela* at Jamtara for about a month in the cold weather is a great attraction. Jamtara, Karmatanr and Mihijam are the chief marketing centres. Mihijam situated on Bengal-Bihar border adjoining Chittaranjan in Bengal where locomotives are made is a growing township.

The roads from Jamtara to Mihijam and from Jamtara to Karmatanr are in a very good condition. There are many *kutcha* roads connecting the interior parts. A road connecting Jamtara and Dhanbad *via* Jurgudihghat across the river Barakar, if constructed, will open a new market for Sukhjora and Narayanpur areas.

With the availability of large tracts of barren land, communications, water and power supply, the Block has great potential for medium scale industries, dairy farming, development of horticulture and growing of more flowers for Calcutta market.

Jarmundi Block

This block is functioning since 1st April 1962, in pre-extension stage.

It covers an area of 155 square miles with 526 villages. The total revenue demand is Rs. 22,127.

A number of villages are electrified. One reservoir for the supply of drinking water has been constructed at Basukinath. This reservoir supplies water to Basukinath and Jarmundi.

The Gram Panchayats have been entrusted with rent collection work.

Out of the total population there are 25 per cent tribal people. The tribal students have been provided with stipends, hostels, etc. Tribals are also being provided with loans at a very low rate of interest and paddy through Government grain *golas*. Ground-nut is extensively grown and is a cash crop.

The following is the list of *hats* and *melas* :—

Hats are held at Jarmundi, Kamardiva, Mohanpur, Nonihat, Sauara and Taljhari.

Melas are held at Basukinath, Beldana, Haripur, Taljhari, Madhuban, Sukjora and Sahara. They are all religious *melas* and widely attended.

The main trade-centres are Nonihat and Jarmundi.

Karon Block

The area of the Block is 81 square miles and the number of villages is 222. The total revenue of the block is Rs. 16,175.

This block came into being on the 2nd October, 1957.

The villages of Karon, the Block headquarters and Pathrol have been electrified. A number of *bandhs* and wells for irrigation have been taken up.

About nine miles of road, which is a part of Madhupur-Deoghar road, have been taken over by the Public Works Department and the work of construction is in progress. There are 13 (thirteen) notified Gram Panchayats in the Block and three Panchayats are *ad hoc*.

The Block Development Officer reports that the Panchayats have not been very popular here inasmuch as they have failed in arousing consciousness in the public for active participation in development programme. The *Mukhiyas* have, in general, been elected not on the basis of the public activities to their credit, but on the basis of their economic and social position.

The percentage of the population of tribal people comes to about 13 per cent of the total. Only one grain *gola* is functioning to supply them seeds at a lower rate of interest. A colony of twelve houses for settling twelve Paharia families was completed in the year 1957. Two drinking wells for the aboriginals were completed in the year 1961.

Paddy is the only crop for the people of the area. With the provision of irrigational facilities, vegetables are also grown in selected pockets.

There are three important temples at Karon, Dindakoli and Gusua. It is said that temples at Karon and Dindakoli were built

by the Marathas during the 18th century. After the death of Alivardi, a caotic condition prevailed in Bengal and there were successive Maratha inroads into Bengal. The design of the temples is identical with that of Maratha temples in India.

The history of temple at Gusua is shrouded in mystery. A *mela* is held annually in its compound in the month of February.

There is one *Pashan Kalakar Sahyog Samittee* at Belkiari. About 90 (ninety) families of the village are the members of the society. They make and deal in articles of stone. Besides this, there is a registered Weavers' Co-operative Society in the Block. There are some villages where people make baskets and articles of bamboos. There are also people who are employed in their traditional occupation such as blacksmithy, goldsmithy and others.

There are *hats* at Karon, Pathrol, Bankupi and Margomunda. *Melas* are held at Karon and Gusua. There are markets at Karon, Pathrol and Margomunda.

Katikund Block

This block has an area of 119 square miles with 197 villages. The total revenue is Rs. 22,815.48.

There is no electrification, no water-supply scheme, no major or medium irrigation and there are no *pucca* roads. 81 drinking wells only have been constructed by different sections in the block.

There are 10 Gram Panchayats in this block. The *Mukhiays* of the Gram Panchayats have practically no control over the tribal people. The tribal people are guided by the *Pradhan* and the *Parganaits*. The *Pradhan* and the *Parganaits* are the traditional leaders of the tribal people.

The total population of the block is 35,948 out of which 22,568 is the tribal population. Three primary schools are running for the Paharia children where lunch is supplied. There are 120 children in the schools.

A new programme has been taken up to resettle 20 families of *Assam Pahari*. Each family is being supplied 5 acres of cultivable land. All the necessaries of agricultural work such as bullock, seed, fertilisers are being supplied free to them. They are being settled in a colony. The entire expenditure for constructing the buildings of the colony will be met by the Government.

There is one *Dhaninath* temple situated on the main road. It is famous for the *mela* which takes place in February-March during *Shivaratri*. Nearly 25 thousand people visit the *mela* from the whole of Santal Parganas and other parts of the State.

There are 2 churches, one at Chanderpura and the other at Saldaha. The Saldaha church has a leprosy colony. Nearly 200 leper cases are being treated by the mission in the attached hospital. Great work has been done by the Mission.

Practically there is no cottage industry. Only a few people are engaged in *tassar* industry.

Sakhua trees are abundant in the forests under this block. Timber is exported to Calcutta. Other forest products such as *Sakhua* leaves, *Simal* fibre is also of importance.

Kundahit Block

Area of the project.	No. of villages.	Total revenue.	Percentage of collection.	Total population.
180 square miles	269	72,734.81	90	58,686

The Block was established as N. E. S. Block on 24th November 1954. Subsequently, it was upgraded as a Special Multi-purpose Tribal Project with an estimated expenditure of Rs. 27,00,000. This Project comprises of 10 *Halkas* and 20 Gram Panchayats. Every *Halka* is a headquarters of one Village Level Worker and one *Karmachari*.

The proposal for rural electrification of this Project area is under the consideration of the State Government. No *pucca* road has been constructed in this Project. The following schemes have been taken up under Rural Water-Supply and Irrigation programme.

Serial no.	Nature of Scheme.	Scheme under progress.	Scheme completed.
1	Drinking well	53	251
2	Irrigation well	46	110
3	M. I. Bandh	107	74

There are 20 Gram Panchayats working in this project but the Panchayats have not stood on their legs as independently as was expected of them. Mostly as the area consists of tribals, they insist on schemes to be entirely financed by the Government.

The percentage of the tribals in this project is 34 per cent. Construction of 30 Paharia and Adibasi houses has been taken up and the work is in progress.

There is one church at Kairaboni at a distance of 20 miles from Kundahit where one Missionary Centre is carrying on philanthropic activities.

At present 4 Training-*cum*-Production Centres in the following crafts are running in this project :—

(1) Blacksmithy and Tinsmithy T. C. P. Centre.
(2) Cane & Bamboo ware-making T. C. P. Centre.
(3) Wool and *Lohi*-weaving T. C. P. Centre.
(4) Knitting, Tailoring & Embroidery T. C. P. Centre.

Eight Industrial Co-operative Societies have been organised in this project. There are various cottage industries in the Project Area but they are not on sound financial footing.

Being on the border the people on the fringes of this P.-S. and on the West Bengal side have mutual interests in trade, commerce and social intercourse. There is a perceptible cultural fusion.

There are *hats* at Fatehpur, Jamjuri, Kundahit and Amba. There are *melas* at Fatehpur (*Kali Mela, Basant Panchami mela*), Beldangal (*Kartick Puja Mela*), Kundahit (*Rath mela*), Pahargora, Amba (*Kali Puja mela*), Bandarnacha (*Basant Panchami mela*), Khairboni (*Basant Panchami mela*), Jamjuri (*Durga Puja mela*) and Kairaboni (*Bandhana mela for Santals*).

There is only one State Dispensary at Kundahit. There are three Health Sub-centres at Amba, Bagdahari and Fatehpur villages.

There is one Leper Asylum also organised by *Santal Paharia Seva Mandal*, Deoghar. In addition there is one Leprosy Control Unit at Kundahit organised by Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation, Wardha.

Littipara Block

This block started first functioning as an Agricultural Extension Block in October, 1958. It has got an area of 169 square miles with 304 villages. The total revenue demand for 1961-62 was Rs. 53,063.

There is 82 per cent tribal population within the block and various development measures have been taken up for their upliftment by the Welfare Department. They are being given financial assistance in the form of subsidy on a large scale. Recently 30 houses beside a school have been constructed under the Paharia Rehabilitation Scheme.

Hats are held at Dharampur, Hiranpur, Kunjbona, Littipara, Mahulbona and Simlong.

On every Thursday a big cattle market is held at Hiranpur. This is Government managed.

All the roads are *kutcha*. There are one State dispensary at Hiranpur, one *Ayurvedic* dispensary at Kunjbona and one District Board dispensary at Dharampur. The *Ayurvedic* dispensary is managed and maintained by the Welfare Department. There are Damin bungalows at Dharampur, Dumaria, Hiranpur, Kunjbona, Littipara, Simlong and Surma.

There is one hillock known as Kanchangarhi, which is said to be hollow and has a peculiar look.

Madhupur Block

The area of the *Anchal* is 195 square miles. There are 452 villages in this *Anchal*. The total revenue of the *Anchal* is Rs. 27,894.86.

Madhupur *Anchal* has started functioning since May, 1956. The *Anchal* was converted into a Block in October 1960. At present there are 17 Notified Gram Panchayats in this Block.

The percentage of tribals in this *Anchal* is 5 per cent.

There is an ancient temple in village Burhai which is known as the temple of Burhashwari. A *mela* is held every year on the occasion of "*Newan*" festival. The image of goddess Burhashwari is in the cave of a hillock and situated by the side of the river Patro.

The main industries of this Block are *biri*-making, weaving of cloth and blankets.

There are *hats* at Madhupur (twice a week), Jagdishpur (once a week), Burhai (once a week), Amdih (once a week) and Barawan (once a week).

Melas are held at the following places :—

(1) Burhai, (2) Jagdishpur, (3) Bhasia, (4) Dumaria and (5) Madhupur.

Madhupur is the main market of this Block. Business is carried on mainly with West Bengal which is about 35 miles distant from Madhupur town.

Madhupur is a Railway junction of Eastern Railway. This Block is surrounded by rivers, and communication is cut off in most of the areas during the rainy season.

A road from Madhupur to Karmatanr is essential for communication. One has to travel about 100 miles more by road to reach Madhupur from West Bengal than what he would have done had there been a road from Madhupur to Karmatanr.

There is a District Board Dispensary at Burhai. There is also a Charitable Dispensary at Madhupur. There is a P. W. D. Inspection Bungalow at Madhupur and a Forest Bungalow at Jagdishpur. There is a hill at village Burhai which is a place of beauty.

The population of this block is about 75,000. The only crop of this area in *kharif* is paddy. A very little area is under *Rabi* cultivation. As a result of this, agricultural labourers have to migrate to coalfield area in West Bengal for their livelihood. Some of the places in this block grow excellent roses, chrysanthemums and other flowers.

Mahagama Block

This Block was started as pre-extension Block from 1st April 1960. The area of the Block is 41,747.85 acres and covers 360 villages. The total population is 54,050 souls. The total revenue is Rs. 67,837.28. The total number of the notified Gram Panchayats is 14.

The percentage of tribal population is about 25 per cent in the Block area. One tribal grain *gola* has been opened for supplying seeds amongst the tribal population.

The communication of this Block is very bad. There is no metalled road in the Block. The name of two important roads are given below which connect the villages over 2,000 population, dispensaries, hospitals and Dak bungalows :—

(*a*) Mohanpur to Hanwara via Mahagama, Hogain, Naya Nagar, Narainee which connects Bhagalpur road at Sanoula.

(*b*) Lahti to Narainee via Noonajore, Chandser, Bhandandih.

Maharma Block

The block has an area of 82 square miles with 402 villages and a population of 86,216 persons. 147 villages are uninhabited.

There are 11 *halkas* with 23 Gram Panchayats. Previously it formed a part of Mahagama Thana but with the introduction of *Anchal* system a separate *Anchal* came into existence.

In this block 206 irrigation well schemes and 86 drinking water wells have been sunk on 50 per cent basis. There is a *pucca* road which passes through the *Anchal*—7 miles in length recently constructed through P. W. D. Steps have been taken to execute the Lakarmara Bandh Project at a cost of rupees one lakh.

There are 23 Gram Panchayats. It is reported that the Gram Panchayats have failed to induce spirit of co-operation and self-help amongst the villagers. The tribals are neither hostile nor friendly towards the Gram Panchayats.

About 20 per cent of the total population are aboriginals. Welfare hostels have been opened for the accommodation of tribal students. They are also getting stipends and free education in the schools. Wells have been sunk in the Adibasi villages.

In some parts of this block *Tassar* weaving is the main source of livelihood, and every year *tassar* worth about Rs. 1 crore is produced for export to the States.

Maheshpur Block

The Block started as National Extension Service Block on the 1st April, 1955.

No provision for rural electrification and rural water-supply has been made as yet. Only some drinking water wells have been constructed.

As for irrigation, two major irrigational schemes, viz., Garbari and Jiapani have been proposed but they have not yet been finalised.

In respect of construction of *pucca* roads, nothing has been done through the Block. Two *pucca* roads pass through this *Anchal*. One of them goes to Amrapara and the other to Pakuria.

The construction of Panchayat *ghar* has been completed at Barkiari, Lakhipur, Kanpur and Rolagram on 50 per cent Government contribution and participation of the villagers.

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The tribals of the block constitute 66 per cent of the total population. Attempt is being made to improve their state by various development programmes launched by the Block through the Gram Panchayats. A colony of one hundred houses has been set up to provide better residence to the tribals at village Teleapokhar at 75 per cent Government contribution. It is learnt that the tribals are reluctant in adopting a new method of life and some of the families of the tribals of that village are not willing to leave their ancestral abode for fear of some unforseen danger.

There is a village called Birkitti 6 miles from the Block headquarters towards south-east direction where the ruins of an old fort can be seen now only in the form of an elevated ground. The fort is associated with a Rajput Chief Uday Pratap Singh. A few furlong eastward of the village there is a tomb called '*Pirsthan*' where offerings of milk and sweets are made on every Thursday by the childless parents of non-tribal castes of the Hindus and the Muslims.

A tunnel (underground path) leads from this village to a village called Debinagar some 8 miles westward, where there are an old temple, a big pond and ruins of a residential house of the said chief.

A field near the village Birkitti is known as '*Mundmal dangal*' where it is reported that a battle was fought between a Nawab of Murshidabad and the said Chief Uday Pratap Singh.

The cottage and village industries include mat-making, palm-gur and hand-pounding of rice. Persons are being trained in bee-keeping, blanket-weaving, soap making and in silk-weaving. Industrial Co-operatives of blanket-weaving, bee-keeping, silk-weaving, palm-gur and basket making have been organised. A sum of Rs. 10,000 has been distributed as loan under State Aid to Industries Act for development of poultry farming, leather, rope-making and pottery, etc.

There are *hats* at Maheshpur, Sahergram, Debinagar, Chakudhara and Chandalmara.

The following *melas* are important :—

(1) Rash *mela*—Dumdumi.

(2) Rathyatra *mela*—Maheshpur.

(3) Durgapuja *mela*—(*a*) Kathsala, (*b*), Radipur, (*c*) Chandalmara, (*d*) Chakudhara, (*e*) Sahargram, (*f*) Basmati and (*g*) Birkitti.

(4) *Kalipuja*—(*a*) Maheshpur and (*b*) Nirbandh.

There is a brisk trade of rice, cereals, timber, *jungli* bamboos and *sabai* grass at Maheshpur with the State of West Bengal.

The Block headquarters is connected with its nearest rail head (Murarai Railway Station in Eastern Railway, 7 miles east of Sahibganj) and Dumka-Pakaur road 14 miles west by an inter-State pitched road completed in the year 1952. A pitched road runs from village Maheshpur to Pakuria—14 miles south-westward, but the two rivers which fall in the way are not bridged and hence the communication is cut off during the rainy season. The construction of a bridge on one of the rivers, Pagla has recently been taken up by a private concern on contract basis.

There is one State dispensary and a District Board Dak-bungalow at village Mahesphpur. There are health sub-centres at Kairachatra, Birkitti and Deopuri (at Sahargram).

There are beautiful land-scape scenes of river Bansloi at places from Amrapara to Kairachatra between which the river flows through hilly region forming many a cataract with clusters of trees and creepers, by the river banks. There are quite a few picnic spots.

There is a valley surrounded by hillocks near village Ghat-chora and Rolagram which can be turned into a lake or a vast reservoir by constructing a barrage over river Bansloi near village Kairachatra where the river enters into plains. The canals drawn out from the schemes would irrigate the whole lower plain in the south-east portion of the Block.

The scheme of electrification would enhance its commercial mportance and ensure greater irrigation facilities.

Masalia Block

This block has been functioning since 2nd October, 1957 first elsewhere and at Masalia since February, 1961.

The block has an area of 192 square miles with 316 villages. The revenue demand for 1961-62 was Rs. 53,212. For irrigation purposes 26 *Bandhs* and 68 wells have been constructed. There are 100 schools and 36 social centres in the block area. There are dis-pensaries at Masalia and Dalahi. Dumka-Jamtara road *via* Masalia and Palajori-Jamtara road via Fatehpur have been taken up by the Public Works Department for converting them into *pucca* roads.

At present, 16 *Gram Panchayats* are functioning. Out of the total population 71 per cent are tribal people. They are being provided with educational, financial and medical facilities.

There are one temple at Belgarjia, three mosques at three different places, i.e., Baradumaria, Khutojori and Dhowadangal and four churches at four different places, i.e., Domkatta, Barachapuria, Dhobna and Dharampur.

Three Industrial Co-operative Societies and seven Training-*cum*-Production Centres for knitting and embroidery purposes are functioning.

Seven *hats* at Masalia, Dalahi, Bhul, Dhobna, Jarudih, Upperbahal and Khairaboni are held. Two *melas* at Dalahi-Noonbil and Nawasar are held. There is one *Vyapar Mandal* at Dalahi. Dalahi hot spring is visited largely.

Mohanpur Block

This is functioning as pre-extension stage since 1st April, 1962. Prior to this it was simply an *Anchal*.

It covers an area of 89,473 acres and 466 villages. The total revenue demand for the year 1961-62 was Rs. 37,320.

The *Anchal* is mostly populated by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Eleven *Gram Panchayats* have started the work of rent collection.

There is one Seed Multiplication Centre at Dahijore. There are three *Tal-gur* making centres at Jhelighat, Jogia and Baijandih respectively. Mohanpur *hat* has importance for inter-State trade and commerce.

Trikuti Hill, Tapoban and Harlajori are beauty spots in this block.

Nala Block

This block has a total area of 207.88 square miles comprising of 344 villages. The total annual revenue of the block is Rs. 82,057.89.

This block was established as N. E. S. Block in November, 1954 and was upgraded into C. D. Block on 1st April, 1956. Now, it is in stage II, i.e., the Post-Intensive Stage, since 1st July 1959.

With the construction of over 200 sanitary drinking wells, almost all the inhabited villages have been provided with good drinking water facilities.

No big irrigation scheme has so far been taken up but a good many irrigation wells have been dug and a number of old tanks, *ahars*, *bundhs*, etc., have been repaired and renovated. One medium irrigation scheme at Siarketia has been approved and is likely to be taken up very soon. Besides with the completion of Siktia-barrage on the river Ajoy, survey for which has already been completed more irrigational facilities will be available.

There are four collieries at present working at Palasthali, Pariharpur and Kasta and electric transmission lines have been extended to those places. It is hoped, this would facilitate expansion of the collieries in a very near future. Two villages, viz., Nala and Geria have also been electrified recently.

Six miles of Jamtara-Dumka road, which is black topped, fall within this Block area. The road passes through Chapuria where there is a District Board Dak Bungalow. There are three other District Board roads which connect different areas of the Block but they are all *kutcha*. There are 22 *Panchayats* in this Block.

The total population of the block as per 1961 Census is 90,371. According to 1951 Census, it stood at 83,220. The total population of the tribals, who are only Santals, comes to 38,087 which is roughly 42 per cent of the toal population. The population of the Scheduled Castes comes to 9,408 which is more than 10 per cent of the total population. There are many backward classes also. All these taken together would mean that nearly 70 per cent of the population consists of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes.

The people are now taking to improved methods of cultivation. Use of improved implements and chemical fertilizers, etc., has increased considerably Cultivation of *Rabi* and other allied crops is also now being done on a considerable scale. This was almost non-existent a few years back.

There are some old temples at villages Kuldangal, Afzalpur, etc. The temple at Kuldangal, popularly known as Deolishwar temple, appears to be nearly a century old. People in good number worship the deity of Lord Shiva almost every day in the temple.

The village industries are leather-work, pottery, brass-wares, conch-shell bangles, *durries*, etc.

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There is no market worth the name in the entire block area. But there are some big shop-keepers here and there. There is a surplus production of paddy in the area, much of which is sent to West Bengal. There are also no trade centres as such but the two big *hats* at Nala and Afzalpur provide a good meeting ground where the small traders carry on their business.

Communication is bad in the sense that no vehicle plies during the four months of the rainy season. The roads are *kutcha* and obviously, communication is not good at any time during the year, especially because there is no bridge on the rivers. Buses ply in fair weather only during the months of November to May.

There is no village in this block covering a population of 2,000 and above. The biggest village is Geria with a population of 1,665 where a health sub-centre has been set up. The two other health sub-centres are situated at Saraskunda and Manjhladih. There is a State dispensary in addition to the above three sub-centres at Nala, the block headquarters. There are two Dak Bungalows one at Chapuria and the other at Nala. Two Railway Stations, i.e., Lachchmanpur and Palasthali of Ondal-Palasthali Section of the Eastern Railway fall within this block area. The nearest station is Palasthali which is at a distance of nearly 6 miles from the block headquarters.

There are some hillocks in the centre of the block area the highest of which is known as "*Malancha Pahar*". There is a big assemblage at the foot of the "*Malancha Pahar*" every year at the time of *Makar Sankranti*.

Narayanpur Block

The Block has an area of 80,687 acres spread over 302 villages. The revenue is Rs. 37,204.

Narayanpur *Anchal* was converted into pre-extension block from 1st April, 1962.

Narayanpur, the headquarters of the block has got electricity. 23 drinking wells have been completed and the construction of a few others is in progress. A medium irrigation scheme at Chandarpur is under execution.

The block has not got good communication. Jamtara-Narayanpur road is likely to be metalled in the Third Five-Year Plan. The number of tribals is near about 19,000 and the Welfare Department is running three grain *golas* for their help. There is also a hostel at Narayanpur run by the Welfare Department.

There are 19 gram panchayats in the anchal and most of the gram panchayats have taken up rent collection work.

There are some remarkable old religious edifices like the temple of Shiva and Kali at Narayanpur, Kali *Mandap* at Ghanti, Shiva *Mandir* at Karandaha, mosques at Champapur and Pokharia and a church at village Kadrudih.

The only cottage industry is weaving. Basket making, oil pressing, pottery, village blacksmithy and carpentry are indigenous handicrafts.

Durga *melas* at Marrow, Dharampur, Narayanpur and Amjora, Poush Sankranti Mela at Karandaha, Goshala Mela at Dokidih and Samdaha Mela at Koridih attract a large crowd. *Hats* are held at Amjora, Dokidih, Sindri, Shikarposni, Karandaha, Dakhinbahal, Lakshmipur and Pabia.

Pakaur Block

The area of the block is 85 square miles and there are 187 villages. The total revenue of the block is Rs. 94,190. The block had started functioning from the 1st April, 1962.

The villages Pakaur, Kulapahari, Malpahari, Ballavpur and Sangrampur have been electrified. Several schemes have been executed under different heads for improving rural water supply. 52 Minor Irrigation Schemes have been completed. All the villages of the Block are covered by Gram Panchayats. About 30 per cent of the population belongs to the tribals. Stipends and grants for education of their children are given.

Kali and Singhabahini temples are quite old and largely visited. There is an old Methodist Church Mission which runs a school and a hospital at Pakaur. Pakaur has also an old fort near the S. D. O.'s quarters which commemorates the Santal Insurrection in 1857. Ishaqpur village has a few tombs of *Pirs* and the place has become sacred for both Hindus and Muslims. The villages Malpahari and Khaprajola are noted for stone industries.

Basket-making, making of fish net from bamboos, weaving, shoe-making are the indigenous occupations. Stone industry provides employment to about 10,000 of persons. Lac industry was in a more flourishing condition before. In Pakaur there is also one steel industry belonging to Sri O. N. Agarwalla in which Crushing machines are manufactured for use in stone industry.

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The block has rail head and 3 railway stations are located within this block. There is one pucca road which connects the district headquarters and also some towns of Murshidabad of West Bengal. Communications in general in the villages are not good particularly in the rainy season. The important *hats* are at Pakaur and Khaprajola. *Rathajatra mela* and *Kali puja mela* at Pakaur attract a very large crowd.

Pakuria Block

The area of the block is 70,636.76 acres. The total number of villages is 156. The total revenue of the block is Rs. 67,893.83.

This block has been started from 26th January, 1957. Electrification scheme has not been taken up. 34 drinking wells have been constructed during this period for rural water supply. 112 tanks for irrigation have been constructed.

Eleven Gram Panchayats are working in this block. This block has 70.6 per cent tribal population.

The following cottage industries are run :—

(*a*) Pottery, (*b*) Handloom, (*c*) Goldsmithy and (*d*) Basket making. These industries are of primitive type. Co-operative Societies for these industries have been formed and efforts are being made to improve the lot of those engaged in these industries.

Hats are held at the following places :—

(1) Phuljhinjhary, (2) Gonpura, (3) Lakdum, (4) Pakuria, (5) Sri Rampur and (6) Banogram. Banogram and Sri Rampur *hats* are on the border of West Bengal and are important for inter-State trade though on a small scale.

Communication facilities in this block are extremely poor. Two roads are under construction, one Pakuria-Maheshpur road and the other Gopikandar-Pakuria road. After the completion of these roads, the area will be accessible up to block headquarter. Still the interior will remain inaccessible. Pehiadaha is the only village in this block with more than 2,000 population. There are one dispensary and one District Board Dak Bungalow in this block.

Palajori Block

The area of this block is 119 square miles and the total population is 46,776.

The total revenue payable and collected during the year 1960-61 was as follows :—

	Demand.		Collection.	
	Arrear.	Current.	Arrear.	Current.
Rent ..	6,792.44	34,056.29	5,752.35	31,906.45
Cess ..	405.90	2,162.57	334.84	2,006.07
Ed. Cess ..	1,701.45	2,162.57	1,634.55	2,005.55
Sairat ..	2.00	2,206.00	2.00	2,206.00
Total ..	8,901.79	40,587.43	7,723.74	38,124.07

This block is composed of 291 villages of which 26 are uninhabited. Its population as per 1951 census is 54,530. It is 57,547 as per 1961 census. Approximately 48 per cent of the population is aboriginal. Only 4 per cent are upper caste Hindu and the rest are Harijans and backward classes people. The area is backward both educationally and economically. Paddy is the main produce.

There are 11 Panchayats in the block. It has been subdivided into *halkas*, each incharge of a Village Level Worker for development works.

Five villages, namely, Sarsa, Raghuadih, Garsara, Nawadih and Palajori have been provided with electric connection so far. The Block headquarters also has been electrified.

For the supply of drinking water in the villages, 68 drinking water wells have so far been provided under the block programme in different villages of the block. Other 67 drinking water wells were under construction in 1961.

The following irrigation schemes have been taken up so far under the irrigation programme for the Block :—

Nature of scheme.	Number taken up.	Number completed.	Under construction.
1. Irrigation wells	225	111	114
2. Irrigation bandhs	144	72	72

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The schemes under construction were expected to be completed and utilised for irrigation purposes by the end of 1961. The communication roads are very few and in a bad condition.

Eleven Gram Panchayats are functioning in this block. The tribals represent 48 per cent of the population of this block. Wells for drinking water are provided in their villages. Their school-going children are awarded stipends. Some schools have also been opened in their villages.

This block is industrially backward. Blacksmithy, carpentry, shoe-making, poultry and weaving are carried out in some places of this block on individual basis. Two poultry keeping and one carpentry and one Tailoring Training-*cum*-Production Centre are run under the block where the villagers are trained in these particular trade.

List of *hats* and *melas* under this block is given below :—

Hats	*Melas*
(1) Fatenath *hat*	(1) Fatenath—*Sheoratri & Makar mela.*
(2) Bansbutia *hat*	(2) Bansbutia—*Basant Panchami mela.*
(3) Talgaraha *hat*	(3) Sagrajore—*Chhat mela.*
(4) Farayam *hat*	(4) Farayam—*Maghipurnima mela.*
(5) Sarsa *hat*	(5) Sarsa—*Durga Puja & Rath mela.*
(6) Sokha Bagdaha *hat*	(6) Raghuwadih-Barwari *mela.*
(7) Palajori *hat*	(7) Sokha—Barwari *mela.*

These *hats* and *melas* have no importance on inter-State trade.

Pathargama Block

The area of this block is 58,761.12 acres which covers 217 inhabited and 98 uninhabited villages. The total population is 78,276.

The total revenue of this block is about a lac of rupees.

This block was started on the 2nd October 1957, with headquarters at Pathargama which is 9 miles from Godda. Paddy is the main crop. There are no other irrigational facilities except two seasonal rivers, namely, Sapiniya and Sundan which do not cover all the area of the block for irrigational purposes.

There are 21 Gram Panchayats in this block. Out of the 21 Gram Panchayats, two Gram Panchayats have been entrusted with the work of rent collection.

The total population of the block is 79,082 out of which the total population of the aboriginals is 10,514. The percentage of the tribals comes to 12½ per cent approximately. Separate drinking wells on 75 per cent Government contribution have been constructed for the aboriginals in this block from the Welfare Department.

The following are the *hats*, *melas*, markets and trade centres :—

(1) Pathargama trade centre and market, (2) Rajoun *hat*, Tulsikitta Daily Market, (3) Basantrai *mela* and *hat*, (4) Koriyana *hat*, (5) Rampur *hat*, (6) Barmasiya *hat*.

A few months before the inception of this block a *pucca* road from Godda to Pirpainti via Pathargama was completed. A road has recently been repaired from Basantrai to Pathargama through the District Board which facilitates the communications of a few villages. On the whole the communication of this Block cannot be said good as most of the roads are *kutcha*.

Pathna Block

This *anchal* consists of 150 villages out of which 27 are houseless with an area of 43,864 acres. It has Rs. 26,768.21 as revenue.

This circle was amalgamated with Barhait *anchal* and started functioning since January, 1961.

The area has not yet been electrified but electricity lines have passed through Pathna, Dharampur, Bisunpur and some other parts of this *anchal*. A road from Barhait to Barharwa connecting Jhiktia, Dharampur and other villages has been constructed by the Public Works Department.

The *anchal* has 9 panchayats. The area is predominantly populated with the Santals and Paharias who have not been able to derive the advantage of the Panchayat system till now.

The school at Ghatiari village is being run by Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal, Deoghar. A missionary girls' middle school is also run by the Christian Association, in which education is imparted through Santali medium. In this institution, free education is given to the students. The Welfare Department is also giving some help

for their uplift in the form of subsidy loans, financial assistance, medical grant, discretionary grant, stipend, etc. At different places drinking water wells and tanks have been sunk for providing drinking water.

One temple *Bindobasini* is situated at village Ghikitia which is of great significance to the Hindus of this *Anchal*. People from other *Anchals* also come here for worship during the *Ramnaumi*. There is a tree near the temple which is worshipped. There is also an old Christian church at village Dharampur.

Hats are held at Pathna, Digghi, Ranga, Banskola, Dahujor and Durgapur.

These *hats* have a big trade in *simal* cotton and *biri* leaves which are transported to Calcutta and places in other provinces. These *hats* also deal in *Mahua* and handloom cloth. There are two famous *melas*, namely *Bindobasini mela* held at Jhiktia and Kartik Puja at Bartalla in this block. There are three *Damin* Bungalows at Pathna, Kanga and Durgapur.

Poraiyahat Block

The area of this block is 181.67 square miles and there are 213 villages with a total population of 86,546 persons. The total revenue of the block is Rs. 73,684.56.

The block consists of 10 (ten) *halkas* spreading over 22 Gram Panchayats in which 19 are notified Panchayats. The percentage of tribal population is 50 per cent.

There are two important ancient temples. One at Shivnagar and the other at Padampur said to have been constructed about five hundred years ago. The temple at Shivnagar is said to have been constructed by Padampur Raja. He used to go to Shivnagar to worship the God *Shiva* daily after crossing the two rivers in the way. After having some disturbances in the rainy season, he constructed another temple at Padampur where there are, at present, relics of the king's palace with some inscriptions on some stones in Pali script.

There are three mosques at Kathon, Taljhari and Liladah where the Muslim population is concentrated. There are three Catholic and two Protestant churches. The main branch is at Poraiyahat. Padampur and Nimjhar are the two historical sites. Nimjhar is a self-flowing spring of hot water where a *mela* is held in the middle of January every year.

There are *hats* at Danre, Manikpur, Ratanpur, Pratappur, Poraiyahat, Lucitanr, Karamatola, Taljhari, Ghangrabandh, Deodanr, Pindraha and Persoti. There are two markets, namely, Poraiyahat and Deodanr. Poraiyahat is a trade centre. Big *melas* are held at Shivnagar, Nimjhar and *Kali mela* at Danre.

The Block is connected with P. W. D. road from all important centres. There is one *kutcha* D. B. road running from Dumka to Godda via Ramgarh passing through the eastern portion of the block. There is also one D. B. *kutcha* road running from Sugathan to Dumaria passing through the area of the block from east to west. Besides, there are several *kutcha* village roads.

There are two rather inaccessible areas for which roads may be opened. First is from Poraiyahat to Danre and the second is from Deodanr to Susni. Village having a population of 2,000 and above are Danre, Poraiyahat, Noudiha and Deondha.

There are dispensaries at Poraiyahat, Danre, Baksara, Raghunathpur and Deodanr. There is a District Board Dak Bungalow at Ghandgrabandh. There is a Senior Basic High School at Baksara.

There is lac cultivation at Basantpur where there is a vast *Palas* jungle.

Rajmahal Block

The total area of the Block as recorded in the survey report is 113 square miles and the total number of villages is 254. The total revenue of the block is Rs. 94,155. The total population of the block is 76,186 souls.

The block had entered the first stage of Community Development Programme from 2nd October 1959. Prior to this date it was in the extension stage for one year. It has been divided into 12 *halkas*. One village Level Worker and one *karamchari* are posted in each of them. At present the total number of the gram panchayats is 18 and each Gram Panchayat has one Gram Sevak.

It is expected that electricity will reach the area of Rajmahal in a very near future. The block has also taken up the project of rural water supply and up till now 32 new wells are under construction and 19 wells are under reconstruction and one already reconstructed. The Welfare Department has constructed 7 new wells in the area of Rajmahal. The District Board has taken up the construction of a new road of about 16 miles in length from Udhua to Tinpahar Railway Station. No new road or construction of road has been taken up by the block as yet.

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At present there are 18 gram panchayats in the block. They are to be enlarged into 26. The tribal population comprise nearly 5 per cent of the whole population in this area.

People in this area are mostly dependent on agriculture products and so steps are being taken up to make a change in the old methods of production.

Rajmahal has a very typical and old history with relics and they have been mentioned elsewhere.

Raniganj tile is manufactured at various places in this block. Basket-making industry is also one of the important cottage industries in this block. Attempts are also being made to establish new units of small scale industry.

The following is the list of *hats*, *melas* and markets in this area:

(1) Sukra (Sarkanda), (2) Mangalhat, (3) Rajmahal (Sunday), (4) Bramh Jamalpur (Wednesday), (5) Kalyanchak Kajigown (Saturday), (6) Jonka (Saturday), (7) Amanat (Wednesday), (8) Karbala Narayanpur (Saturday), (9) Jamnagar (Tuesday), (10) Udhua (Monday), (11) Fudkipur (Friday), (12) Fegumganj (Thursday and Monday), (13) Radhanagar (Friday), (14) Atapur (Saturday) and (15) Manasachandi (Tuesday).

Melas.—There are two important *melas* in this area, one is held at Kanaiyasthan in the month of February and the other at Rajmahal during *Magi Purnima*.

Markets.—The important markets are (1) Rajmahal, (2) Tinpahar, (3) Udhua.

Trade Centre. Rajmahal itself is an important trade centre for mango, jute and fish, etc. It is situated on the border of West Bengal and it has active trade and commerce with West Bengal.

In the matter of communication, Rajmahal is very poor. It has up till now no good road which can be easily accessible during rainy season. But the difficulty will be slightly overcome when the long road of nearly 16 miles from Udhua to Tinpahar Railway station via Rajmahal will be constructed. This road is under construction. Old *kachcha* roads which can be remodelled are the following :—

(1) Rajmahal to Taljhari nearly 8 miles in length.
(2) Udhua to Radhanagar nearly 10 miles.
(3) Udhua to Atapur nearly 6 miles.

Following are the villages that have a population of 2,000 persons or above :—

Radhanagar, Atapur, Fudkipur, Udhua, Jamnagar, Rajmahal, Mahasinagpur, Kajigoan, Tinpahar, Lalmati, Nayabazar, Jonka, Kanaiyasthan, Jogichak.

There is one hospital and a Dak Bungalow at Rajmahal township. Rajmahal block has a number of beauty spots.

Ramgarh Block

The block was opened on the 1st October, 1958. The area is 1,19,506.91 acres and covers 347 villages. The population is 77,080 and the total revenue is Rs. 969.08.

A grain *gola* is functioning under the direct control and supervision of the *Mukhia* of Bhadwari Panchayat and its reaction on the villagers and particulary on the tribals is satisfactory. The percentage of the population of tribals is 55 per cent.

The old temples in the block are—(1) Shiva temple at Sarmi, (*ii*) Shiva temple at Marpa, (*iii*) Shiva temple at Mahadeosole, (*iv*) Shiva temple at Parma and (*v*) the temple of Goddess Durga at Ramgarh.

Following are the *hats* and *melas* held in this block :—

Hats.—(1) Karbindha, (2) Kusbana, (3) Ramgarh, (4) Khutan, (5) Gamharia hat.

Melas.—Lakhanpur, Mahobana, Bhatwaria, Ramgarh, Gamharia hat.

There are two dispensaries, one at Ramgarh and the other at Bhadwari. There are two Dak Bungalows in this block.

RANISHWAR BLOCK*

The area of the Block is 87,624.60 acres and the number of villages is 217 with a population of 49,903 souls. The total revenue of the block is Rs. 81,072.31.

The Major Irrigation Schemes, viz. Mayurakshi Left Bank Canal and Dighal Bandh Scheme have been taken up and completed.

*A discussion on Ranishwar Block appears elsewhere (P.C.R.C.).

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102 Minor Irrigation Schemes have been taken up and completed. Besides 116 percolation wells are completed.

One *pucca* road, 6.51 miles long from the Block headquarters (Raghunathpur) to Ashanbani was completed during the project period. There are fourteen Gram Panchayats in this block.

During the project period, the percentage of the population of the tribals was 60 per cent and now it is about 33 per cent. No significant measure has yet been taken for their uplift.

A *Shiva* temple at Ranishwar is important in this Block where yearly fair is held. A weekly market is also held here. There are two important mosques, one at village Banskuli and other at Tasarkatta. There is one important church at the village Tilabani.

The following are the cottage and small industries :—

(*i*) Handloom cottage industry at Brindabani, Bora Manikdih, Raghunathpur Lakraghati and Takipur.

(*ii*) Pottery at Lakhanpur, Boradangal, Brindabani, Asanbani and Amjora.

(*iii*) Cane and Basket making (bamboo) at Belkandi, Banskuli, Raghunathpur and Bagadar.

(*iv*) Tiles at Sadipur.

(*v*) Hand pounding at Sadipur, Brindabani, Sukjora and Raghunathpur.

Melas are held at Ranishwar, Tantloi and Banskuli. Ranishwar, Asanbani and Banskuli have important markets. Takipur is also an important trade centre. Rice is the main produce.

Except for the two main roads (Dumka-Suri and Raghunathpur-Barmasia) maintained by the District Board, this Block has no other road system worth the name. Raghunathpur-Barmasia road although a gravel road maintained by the Santal Parganas District Board is in a very bad state. A portion of this road, i.e., from Raghunathpur to Asanbani a distance of 7½ miles lying within the block area is being improved. A two mile long link (known as Mahesbathan Nijhuri road) between the Dumka-Suri road and Raghunathpur-Barmasia road was constructed during the project period. Asanbani is the only village which has 2,361 population. There are three static dispensaries in this block, viz., at Raghunathpur, Asanbani and Amjora. There is one Dak Bungalow at Ranishwar. Digalpahari in this block is a beauty spot.

Saraiyahat Block

This was first started as an *Anchal* and was given the Block status on the 1st October, 1962.

This block covers an area of 112 square miles with 352 villages. The current Revenue demand for 1962-63 was Rs. 28,471.

As regards irrigational facilities a number of *bandhs* have been constructed at different places, namely, Goradih, Jhouki, Dhanhai, Maheshgora, Banhathy, Mandaldih, Banja, Saraiya, Khuduwa, Malda, Bania, Pachaiyaha, Sapahar, Dighi, Govindpur, Barhait, Amghatta and Netta within this block. So far educational facilities are concerned all the big villages have been provided with upper primary schools. There are 4 middle, 5 senior basic and 2 high schools at Hansdiha and Saraiyahat. There is one State hospital at Saraiyahat.

About 25 per cent of the population comes from the tribals. Various measures are being taken for their social and economic uplift. Special schools and hostels, stipends and grants are offered.

The Gram Panchayats have been entrusted with collection of rent since 1961.

The following is the list of *hats* and *melas* which are held within this block :—

Hats are held at Dighi, Hansdiha, Jhopa, Kadia, Kakani, Kwema, Nonia and Saraiyahat.

Melas are held at Amjora (*Rash mela*), Bishunpur (*Nag Basuki mela*), Dighi (*Durga mela*), Kakani (*Kali mela*), Murkunda (*Kali mela*), and Rondhia (*Rash mela*).

The block has got both *pucca* and *kutcha* roads connecting Bhagalpur, Deoghar, Dumka and Godda.

There are three *Shiva* temples in this locality at villages Dhowni, Saraiya and Sarbadhan. There is only one mosque at village Mandaldih.

Sarath Block

The area of this Block is 79,415.48 acres with 390 villages and a population of 58,729 souls. The total revenue is Rs. 45,999.35.

Some of the villages of this block have been electrified. One medium irrigation scheme of village Balwa is under progress. As regards minor irrigation schemes there are 149 irrigation *bundhs* and 162 irrigation wells.

The percentage of the tribal population in this block is 16 per cent. No special measures have been taken for their uplift.

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An Agricultural Farm has been established in this block. Improved varieties of paddy and maize have been produced. The supply of seeds from this farm has helped to a great extent in improving the Agricultural economy of this block. Neighbouring blocks like Palajori and Karon have been benefited by improved seeds of this block's farm.

There is one *Shiva* Temple at Dumohan. It is an old temple and a fair is held on *Maghi Sankranti* day every year. The fair is largely attended by the tribals. The visitors take bath on the *Sangam* (confluence) of Ajoya and Patro rivers and worship *Lord Shiva*. There is a mosque at Sarath.

Carpentry, bamboo work, blacksmithy, shoe making, tailoring dress cutting and handloom weaving are the main industries of this block. There are a number of good concentrations of carpenters, bamboo workers and handloom weavers. In order to make these artisans fully familiar with the improved tools and techniques of production, several training-*cum*-production centres were started in the block. Recently, a Training-*cum*-production centre in carpentry has also been started at village Amlajori. Tailoring and cutting have become popular. 22 sewing machines have been supplied by now.

Poultry keeping is the traditional industry among the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and Muslim population of this block. A Co-operative Society of the Santal and Harijan poultry breeders of villages Siktia, Dorohia and Dhudhuwajori has been organised. Among the village industries, hand-pounding, oil *ghani*, tanning and shoe making are important. Two improved *ghanis* have been supplied in this block. At village Kukrana there are some persons belonging to the Harhi caste, who are engaged in manufacture of horn-articles like combs and walking sticks.

The following are the *hats*, *melas* and markets :—

Hats.	*melas.*	*markets.*
(1) Sabaijore *hat.*	(1) Dumohan *mela.*	(1) Sarath market.
(2) Sarath *hat.*		(2) Bamangama market.
(3) Misradih *hat.*		
(4) Chitra *hat.*		
(5) Babhangama *hat.*		
(6) Bamanidha *hat.*		
(7) Teli Paruwa *hat.*		

There are some *kutcha* roads in the block. The condition of the roads is not good. There are six collieries in the block. A

large number of bullock carts passes through the roads. In rainy season the road connections are totally cut-off. There is one dispensary at Sarath and there are three health sub-centres, namely, Chitra, Sikita and Dumaria. There is a Dak bungalow also at Sarath.

Pathardah Hill is at a distance of 10 miles from this block headquarters. The scenery of this hill is very attractive during the rainy season. People say that it contains the foot-steps of '*Bheem*' associated with the story of the '*Pandavas*'.

Sarawan Block

This block was started in 1960 with its headquarters at Sarawan. Previously the area covering Sarawan block was included in Deoghar Circle Office. It has an area of 119 square miles with a population of 55,756 persons out of which 13 per cent are tribals according to 1961 Census. It has 458 villages under its jurisdiction. There are 15 Gram Panchayats in this block. It has a total revenue of Rs. 39,469.

Only one *bundh* has been constructed up till now (February, 1963) for irrigation purposes. There are one High school and five Middle schools, one State Hospital and three Health sub-centres in this block.

One *pucca* road passes through the heart of this block from Deoghar to Dumka, Mihijam and Giridih.

Special provisions for education, medical aid and irrigational facilities have been made for the benefit of the tribals.

There are Co-operative Societies, *Jawan Sangh* and *Gram Raksha Dal* for the defence of the villages and *Mod Mandali* for the recreation of the villagers in the block.

The village Jiakhara has a *mela* which is visited by women from different parts of Bihar and Bengal. There is a belief that visit to this place and doing some rites will bring forth issues. *Hats* are held at villages Jarka Chandua, Mahapur, Binjha, Sonaraithari, Manigarhi, Baijukura, Pareodih, Lokhoria, Chamardeola and Jhunki.

Sahibaganj Block

The Block has an area of 43,007 acres spread over 40 villages. Sahibganj *Anchal* was converted into a block from 1st October, 1962.

Rural electrification has been taken up. A number of wells for drinking water and irrigation have been constructed. There are 5 high schools, 2 middle schools, 8 U.P. schools within the block. The Kharwars and the Santals form about 11 per cent of the population. Special ameliorative measures for irrigation of their lands and education of their children have been taken.

There are six Gram Panchayats working. Two old and important villages, namely, Samba and Sakrogarh have a number of old relics. Pottery gives an occupation all over the *Anchal.* Plastic industry has been sponsored at Sahibganj. The important *hats* within the block are at Sahibganj, Sakrigali, Mahadeoganj and Hazipur.

The *Anchal* is located between the river Ganga and the railway line and the entire *Anchal* is subject to annual floods and erosion. The area is mainly *rabi* growing. The population consists of people who have come from various districts of Bihar, Uttar Pardesh, Marwar and West Bengal. The main produce of the *Anchal* is jute, sugarcane, milk and milk products.

There is a prosperous inter-State trade between Pakaur and Dhuliyan in West Bengal which is connected by a *pucca* road at a distance of 9 miles from Pakaur.

Shikaripara Block

The Block has an area of 108,519 acres and 261 villages. The total revenue of the Block is Rs. 63,106.33. The block was started on 1st April, 1958.

89 drinking-water wells are under construction and 3 under repair. 96 *bundhs* and 125 irrigation wells have been constructed. There are 17 Gram Panchayats in the block. All the villages of the Block have been covered by Gram Panchayats.

The percentage of the tribal population is about 60 per cent. No temples, mosques and churches of historical importance are found in the block. A large number of temples exist in the village of Maluti. Two important Christian Missions—one at Benagoria and another at Mohulpahari are in existence.

Handloom, stone work, earthen work, basket-making and *tassar* rearing industries are distributed all over the district.

There are *hats* at Shikaripara, Dhaka, Kushpahari, Benagoria, Barmasia, Mohulpahari and Pakdaha. Melas are held at

Kushpahari—(*Rash mela*), Mohulpahari—(*Rash mela*), Kurum-tanr—(*Kali mela*), Kajladaha—(*Rash mela*), Pakdana—(*Rash mela*), Amchua—(*Charak mela*).

The following are the important roads :—

(1) Dumka to Rampurhat *pucca* road—25 miles.

(2) Pattabari to Masanjore Road—*pucca* road—6 miles. Many other *kutcha* roads in the block are in existence in a wretched condition.

There is a State Dispensary at Shikaripara. There are Health Sub-centres at Gandharakpur, Sarsajole and Benagoria. There are Missionary Hospitals at Mohulpahari and Benagoria. There are dak bungalows at Shikaripara and Haripur. There is good *shikar* facilities.

Sunderpahari Block

Sponsored as an *Anchal* in May, 1956 it was converted into a Block in October, 1962. It covers an area of 127 square miles and 299 villages. The total revenue demand during 1961-62 was Rs. 27,391.

One tank was constructed for irrigational purposes. There are one high, one middle and upper primary schools. There are also 8 schools specially for the Paharia boys where all kinds of facilities are given to the Paharia students. There are State dispensaries at Sunderpahari and Dhani and one *Ayurvedic Aushadhalaya* at Chandua. There are only *kutcha* roads within this block.

Out of the total population, 75 per cent are tribal people. They are given medical, educational and financial aids.

There are 17 *Gram Panchayats* and all the *Mukhiyas* are nominated persons.

The important cottage industry is basket-making by the Paharias. There is one small centre at Dhani for the development of *Tassar* Industry.

Three big *hats* at Chandua, Damru and Dhamni are held and two small *hats* at Karmatanr and Rampur. Annual *mela* is held on the occasion of *Lakshmi Puja* at Chandua and one at Rampur on the occasion of *Kali Puja*.

There is only one *pucca* road which runs from Godda to Pakaur via Sunderpahari. There is one *kutcha* road also from Sunderpahari to Littipara. The condition of this road becomes bad to worse during rainy season.

There are two churches at Sundermore and Mohanpur. There is one famous *Shiva* temple at Dhamni.

Taljhari Block

The total area of the block is 105 square miles consisting of 273 villages out of which 158 villages are on hills and the rest are on plain. 71 villages are without population. The total population of the block is 35,777 souls. The total revenue demand of this circle is Rs. 26,034.65 nP. including education cess but excluding *sairat*. This circle is divided into three Bungalows, namely—Brindaban, Maharajpur and Taljhari. Rent collection is done by the village *Pradhans* or *Manjhis* of the respective villages.

Under Minor Irrigation Scheme, 86 Irrigation wells and 79 minor *bundhs* and tanks have been constructed which have provided irrigation facilities to additional 1,408 acres.

There are 11 notified *Gram Panchayats* in this block. The area consists almost entirely of backward and poor people. The population of the tribals in this area is nearly 90 per cent. The block consists of mainly paddy growing lands.

Among the few places of interest one is Moti Jharna falls about two miles away from Maharajpur Railway Station. Water falls there from a height of about 200 feet and during rainy season it presents an attraction. There is also one temple near the falls where a *mela* is held every year at the time of *Shivaratri*. There is another temple on the hill at Shibgadi about five miles off from Barhait. Here also a *mela* is held every year during winter season. There is an old Protestant Church also at Taljhari. The Christian mission runs a school.

Agriculture is the main profession of the people of this area. There are no important small or cottage industries except that at certain places basket making is done.

There are five *hats* in this block, viz., Maharajpur, Karanpura, Brindaban, Taljhari and Bankundih.

The business of manufacturing stone chips by quarry lessees is done at Taljhari, Maharajapur and Bankudih. They are mostly

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supplied to the Railways. Fruits like mangoes, jackfruit, etc., are also exported outside the area.

There are some *kutcha* roads which become almost impassable during rains and they need urgent improvement. Recently Brindaban has been connected with Tinpahar Railway Station by *pucca* road.

There are three *Damin* bungalows at Maharajpur, Taljhari, Brindaban in the block which provide accommodation.

As regards medical facilities there is a Static dispensary at Taljhari and one Health sub-centre each at Maharajpur, Brindaban and Bankudih. There is one class I veterinary dispensary at Taljhari and four veterinary sub-centres in this block.

Besides Lower Primary and Upper Primary Schools there is one Residential Senior Basic School at Brindaban under the Welfare Department.

EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK "LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" *(REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895), PAGES 46—55.

No.	District.	Locality.	Name of monument.	History.	Custody or present use.	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
95	Santal-Parganas.	Baijnath or Baidyanath.	Temples	There are 22 temples of sizes, of which the temple of Mahadev is the oldest and the centre of the devotion of the pilgrims, who flock in large numbers to the shrine from distant parts of India. Though the present ones appear to be modern the site on which they are built is very ancient, and is probably that of an ancient Buddhist establishment, as it possesses three rather finely executed statues of Buddha, two of which are inscribed, and the other though not inscribed is highly polished. One of the temples is built of sculptured portions of a former temple, imbedded in every imaginable position in the mortar.	In custody of Pujaris and in daily use.	Good ..	*ib*	For plan of these temples, *see* Plate IX, Vol. VIII of the Archaeological Survey Reports, and for a description of the temples, *see* pages 137 to 145 of the same volume. Also pages 27 to 34 and Plate XI of Vol. XIX of the Archaeologic a l Survey Reports. *See* pages 463 to 466 of Vol. I of Martin's Eastern India. There are twenty-two Photographs in the Indian Museum.

*This extract from a book published in 1895 is given in extenso as a remarkable compilation much of which is still correct (P.C.R.C.).

EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK "LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" (REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895), PAGES 46—55—*contd.*

No.	District.	Locality.	Name of monument.	History.	Custody or present use.	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
				These temples, built about 385 years ago, are the famous Baijnath Temples, and are used as places of worship, where a large number of pilgrims assemble every year. The group of temples, 22 in number, is surrounded by a high wall enclosing an extensive courtyard paved with Chunar freestone, which serves to keep the courtyard clean. All the temples but three are dedicated to Mahadeva; the remaining three are dedicated to his wife, Gauri Parbati. The pinnacles of the male and female temples are connected by silken ropes, 40 or 50 yards in length, from which depend gaudily-coloured				

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clothes, wreaths and garlands of flowers and tinsel, the whole symbolising the bond of marriage. The temples are of no interest to the archaeologist, however interesting to the Hindu pilgrim.

The votive relics are in the form of temples of various sizes averaging about 4 feet. They are divided into storeys or tiers, in each compartment of which scenes, religious and domestic are carved in relief. The sculptured fragments, once belonging to an earlier temple were exhumed from mounds; they are lintels, thresholds, &c. The inscription is of Mahipala Deva dated Samvat 9; it is on a stone built into temple enclosure. The inscribed pillar is fluted with the bell-capital; it records the name of Magardhaja Yogi and date 700.

EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK "LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" (REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895) PAGES 46—55—*contd.*

No.	District.	Locality.	Name of monument.	History.	Custody or present use.	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
96	Santal Parganas.	Deoghar ..	Pillars ..	At the western entrance to the town of Deoghur is a masonry platform about 6 feet in height and 20 feet square, supporting three large monoliths of contorted gneiss rock of great beauty; two are vertical, and the third is laid upon the heads of the two uprights as a horizontal beam. These massive stones are 12 feet in length, each weighing upwards of seven tons; they are quadrilateral, each face being 2½ feet, or each stone is ten feet round. The horizontal beam is retained in its place by mortise and tenon. By whom, or when, these ponderous stones were erected, no one knows. There is a faint attempt at sculpture at each end of the vertical faces of the horizontal beam, representing either elephants, or crocodiles' heads.	..	Good order. This is known as the Hindola, and is one of the few undestroyed and unconverted relics of the old Buddhist period, and the only one on which Mr. Beglar strongly recommended Government to spend the money required to keep it in permanent repair, if it cannot be otherwise kept up.	*ia*	

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97	Santal Parganas.	Rajmahal	Baradwari	The Baradwari is situated on a high knoll, and must have once been a most picturesque feature in the landscape. As it is, even in its ruins with its numerous domes rising tier on tier, forming, as it were, a pyramid of domes, it forms a conspicuous and picturesque ruin. It is not, however, worthy of being repaired. It is not a typical example, and it is so dilapidated that it would cost more than would be justifiable when so many other ruins of historical importance and architectural skill lie all over the province uncared for through want of funds. It was once a masjid, but the curious point in it is that there are chambers at the back and sides, evidently intended as residences, and undoubtedly used as such. Mr. Beglar thought that a set of vaulted chambers existed below, or at least that the walls and the whole building are buried to a considerable depth in accumulation of ruins and in later modifications of floors. The floors of the portion which he considered must have been used as a dwelling have been everywhere extensively dug into by people in search of treasure, but whether successfully or not is not known.	No custodian and not in use.	A fort of the structure is completely in ruins; what still stands would want extensive and costly work only for the purpose of conservation (Rs. 3,000).	*iii*

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EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK "LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" (REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895), PAGES 46—55—*contd.*

No.	District.	Locality.	Name of monument.	History.	Custody or present use.	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
98	Santal Parganas.	Rajmahal	Singhi Dalan Palace.	A handsome structure. Is said to have been built by Shah Shuja, second son of Shah Jahan. Stands just over the bank of the river and is contiguous to the subdivisional office.	In use and in custody of the East Indian Railway.	Kept in good repair by the East Indian Railway.	*ib*	For fuller details *see* page 326 of Hunter's Statistical Account of the Santal Parganas and pages 70 to 77 of Vol. II of Martin's Eastern India.
99	Ditto ..	Rajmahal (on the road from Rajmahal Bazar to the Jama mosque).	Mosques ..	There are two fine Masjids of ancient date in the city.	No custodian, but one is in use.	They deserve to be kept in good order. The larger of the two Masjids is in a ruinous state, but the people in the neighbourhood use it as place of worship. The smaller one has completely fallen down, and there appears to be no sign of it but a small *ponshta*.	*iii*	

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100	Santal Parganas ..	Rajmahal (on the Rajmahal-Telijhari road).	Tomb of Nawab Meerum.	No inscription ..	In custody of Nawab Azimali Khan, of Murshidabad.	Is in a dilapidated state.	*iib*	*See* pages 78 & 79 of Vol. II of Martin's Eastern India.
101	Ditto ..	Rajmahal (on the road from Rajmahal Bazar to the Jama mosque).	Mosque	The masjid may be roughly described as an oblong building, about 220 feet long by 65 feet wide, completely filling the west end of a court 220 feet wide and about 500 feet long, which was once arcaded or provided with niches along its entire inner face. A gateway at the east end once noble, now in picturesque ruin—gives access to the court, which is overgrown with thorny scrub, and interspersed with tombs and pitfalls. The facade once consisted of five archways in the pointed Saracenic style, of 17 to 18 feet clear span, the central one being larger than the rest, and provided with a projecting demi-portico with octagonal towers at the two corners. The portico was pierced by a noble archway 23 feet wide in space. Over the central archway ran a corridor with small windows terminated at either end by massive square towers, continuations upwards of the abutments of the great arch below. Corresponding features, but without the archway, form the back facade. A battlement	In no one's custody.	All in ruins, but worth conserving.	*iii*	

EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK "LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" (REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895), PAGES 46—55—*contd.*

No.	District.	Locality.	Name of monument.	History.	Custody or present use.	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
				cornice of the curved pattern which is so unmistakeable a feature, not only of the grand monumental architecture of Bengal Proper, but of every hut in that province, ran at a height of about 30 feet above the ground along the front and rear facades. It was broken at the great central arch in front and its corresponding projection at the back by the square massive towers and windowed corridor already mentioned as surmounting the central great archway. Four octagonal towers rise at the four extreme corners of the masjid, terminated by short flat-domed tops and spires, and the domes between these on either side at the front and back and the projecting high central piece complete the facade. In the interior it is divided into a great central nave, 50 feet long by 30 feet wide, and two				

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aisles on either side. On the outer sides of the aisles run a series of four small two-storied chambers intended probably for the female congregation, or possibly as residences or oratories for the officiating priests. In the thickness of the wall on the outer sides of these two-storied chambers, which form the outer north and south walls of the masjid, were stairs leading up to the upper row of chambers and on to the roof.

The main nave is roofed by a noble vault running from end to end, and screened from the front and back facades by the towers and windowed corridors mentioned before. This vault rises from a higher level than the rest of the roof of the building, and being of the usual pointed style, rises to a great height (40 feet above the floor) above the domes which roof the aisles, and is special feature in the construction. The lofty towers and windowed corridors which serve as a screen to it in front and back form commanding features of the exterior style of architecture, and, in the absence of any inscriptions, its date may, with fair certainty, be fixed at the first-half of the 14th century A. D.

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EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK "LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" (REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895), PAGES 46—55—*contd.*

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No.	District.	Locality.	Name of monument.	History.	Custody or present use.	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
				The aisles are cut up, for convenience of roofing, into squares by cross-shaped pillars, and covered by domes of about 21 feet diameter. They spring at a lower level than the great vault. Lastly, the four two-storied chambers at either end are covered by four corresponding small domes at each end, also rising at a somewhat higher level than the domes of the aisles. It will thus be seen that the lines of the facade are not only broken up with considerable artistic skill in plan, but also, and even more boldly, in elevation a feature which soon ceased to characterise Muhammadan buildings, as their power and the corresponding art talent in their kingdom decayed.				

102	Santal Parganas.	Rajmahal	Monia Bibi's tomb.	A work of great antiquity, with one dome and a stone bearing an inscription of which a facsimile has been recently taken for submission to an expert.	In custody of Nawab of Murshidabad.	Requires repairs badly.	*iib*	
103	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	Monia Bibi's tank.	120 feet ×120 feet. Has masonry walls all round and four *ghats*.	Ditto ..	Ditto ..	*iib*	
104	Ditto ..	Near Rajmahal Bazar.	Mania talao Tank.	Situated close to the Rajmahal (Cossim) Bazar. It must have been a fine tank in the olden times. It is a perfect square (175′ × 175′) with perpendicular stone masonry walls about 30′ deep built in on all the four sides with spacious masonry bathing *ghats* on each side, called after its founder, whose name was Mania Bewa.	In use and in the custody of the Nawab of Murshidabad.	Masonry work badly in want of repairs, and the silt should be cleared out. The work could be done for Rs. 1,200 only.	*iii*	
105	Ditto ..	Old Rajmahal (on the road from Rajmahal Bazar to the Jama mosque).	Mosque	One of the oldest, finest, and most worthy of preservation in Old Rajmahal.	No custodian, and not in use.	In good order and worth conserving.	*ii*	
106	Ditto	Hadaf (about 4 miles from the town of Rajmahal).	Jama mosque.	This is a very beautiful building, built in 1592 by Man Singh, Akbar's Rajput General. It was originally intended for a temple, but was afterwards turned into the Jama Masjid for fear of the Emperor. The ruins occupy an extensive area.	Ditto ..	Is rapidly falling in.	*iii*	*See* page 390 of Vol. XI of Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer of India.

EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK "LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" (REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895), PAGES 46—55—*contd*

No.	District.	Locality.	Name of monument.	History.	Custody or present use.	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
107	Santal Parganas.	Hadaf (about a hundred yards west of the Jama Masjid).	Sundhia Nath's temple.	It is a Siva temple and stands near the Jama Masjid.	No custodian, and not in use.	Can be well preserved with few petty repairs but it is now covered with jungle. The cost of these repairs together with the cost of the conservation of the great Jama Masjid may be roughly estimated at Rs. 7,050.	*iii*	
108	Santal Parganas.	Hadaf	Bridge ..	This bridge, which was built about 250 years ago, has five piers, and is a very fine Musalman structure. It measures 236 feet in length, 24 feet roadway, 28 feet six inches centre elevation, three feet five inches height of balustrade. It has six pointed arches of 10 feet span, five piers with cutwaters at both the wings, and four round bastions, one at each corner, with top for prayer.	Road Cess Committee. Very little used now.	Is in a fair state of preservation, only that large trees have grown into the masonry. These should be uprooted, and some little masonry, pointing and plastering done too, would keep the bridge in good condition. This work could be done for Rs. 1,000.	*ib*	

			Situated a few hundred yards to the north of the Jama Masjid, on the old Muhammdan road to Sakri (Sahebganj). It is yearly submerged by Gangetic inundation. The bridge is said to be contemporaneous with the Jama Masjid. It is of six spans of 10 feet each, having Gothic arches and massive piers and abutments. It measures 30 feet from parapet to bed.				
109 Santal Parganas.	Near Begumpore and village Godaganj.	Residence of Shah Sujah.	Said to have been the pleasure retreat (villa) of Shah Sujah. An underground masonry bath approached from above by masonry steps built all round still remains and a part of the ancient range of buildings. The Phulbari consists of several brick houses, each of such a size as is usually occupied by the chief European officer of Government residing in the country and placed at some distance from each other in a fine grove of mango trees. It s size is no doubt suited for the abode of a person of high rank, but it retains no trace of elegance. Built by Nawab Maderdowla and endowed by his son, Munsur Ali Khan.	Is owned by Babu Chhaterput Singh, zamindar of Suksena, but there is no custodian.	In ruins now, but worth conserving, for which an outlay of Rs. 500 might suffice.	*iii*	*See* pages 326 to 327 of Hunter's Statistical Account of the Santal Parganas.

EXTRACT FROM THE BOOK " LIST OF ANCIENT MOUNMENTS IN THE BHAGALPUR DIVISION" (REVISED AND CORRECTED UP TO 31ST AUGUST 1895) pages 46—55—*concld.*

No	District.	Locality.	Name of mounument.	History.	Custody or present use	Present state of preservation and suggestions for conservation.	Classification.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
110	Santal Parganas	Near Begumpore and Village Godaganj.	Tomb of Bakht Homa.	This tomb is certainly the building of best taste in the place. Bakht Homa was the widow of Shaista Khan, who is said to have been an aid-de-camp to Aurangzeb. A square space containing, perhaps, 3 acres has been surrounded by a neat brick wall, consisting of a series of arches filled up by a small thickness of wall which produces a pleasing effect and saves materials. At each corner is a neat octagonal building, the lower storey as high as the wall, the upper covered with a dome and having in each side a wide arched window. In the middle of one side is the entrance by a lofty, wide and handsome gate, which is arched and ornamented with a dome and minarets. This area is planted, and in the centre is the tomb, which is square,		Although this tomb has a considerable endowment it is fast hastening to ruin, and the condition of the grounds is exceedingly slovenly.	*iii*	*See* pages 326 to 327 of Hunter's Statistical Account of the Santal Parganas.

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				with an open gallery of three arches on each side and a small chamber at each corner. The building is adorned the corners by four minarets, too low, as usual here, but in other respects neat. The tomb in the centre is covered by a dome of brick, and each of the corner apartments is covered by a wooden cupola with eight windows. The cupola, the upper parts of the minarets, and the whole cornice are painted with very bright colours. On the cornice especially is a row of fine blue Iris, very gaudy, but exceedingly stiff.			
111	Santal Parganas.	Shadipur	Temples	Five old temples ..	..	In a dilapidated state.	*iii*	
112	Ditto ..	Karaon	Ditto	Contains old temples ..	In use. ..	In good order	*iib*	
113	Ditto ..	Bhaskinath	Temple ..	Enshrines an inscribed sculpture for the 10th century.	Pujaris, in use.	Ditto ..	*ib*	
114	Ditto ..	Noni ..	Ditto	Contains an old temple	In use and in the custody of the local priests.	Looked after by the priests.	*ib*	
115	Ditto ..	Teliagurhi	Fort ruins	Fort of Sultan Shuja. It is a considerable fortress, the two extreme gates being about a mile apart. They are built of stone, while the houses within are of brick. Shuja built it as a frontier fort between Bengal and Bihar.	No custodian and not in use.	Completely in ruins and not worth spending any money on.	*iii*	*See* pages 66 and 67 of Vol. II of Martin's Eastern India.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TRIBALS.

General.

Ethnologically the Santal Parganas is one of the most interesting districts of Bihar owing to the variety of races found in it. Generally speaking the hilly country is inhabited mainly by the Santals and Paharias and a few other aboriginal tribes of a small numerical strength. In the chapter on the "People" under the section "Tribes and Castes" the demographical details of the aboriginal races have already been covered. This chapter is mainly confined to the social and cultural aspects of the Santals and Paharias, the two important aborigines of the Santal Parganas.

The old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has a separate chapter on "Santal". The coverage in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has been viewed in the light of the changes and recent investigations by several scholars. An investigation was specially conducted by us to study the changing canvass in the social and home life of the Santals by participant observation. A separate section has been given for the Christian Santals. Although numerically not strong the Christian Santals represent a remarkable cross section of the Santals who have imbibed a lot of changes.

Santals.

Regarding the traditions and the Santal advance in the district the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has mentioned as follows* :—

Traditions.—"The traditions of the Santals represent them as a race wandering from one country to another until they found their present home in Chota Nagpur and the adjacent districts. Starting with the creation, these traditions tell us how the first human pair came into existence, how they fell into sin, i.e., had sexual intercourse with one another, after having been taught to brew and drink *handi* by Lita, and how they begot seven sons and seven daughters, who ended in marrying one another, whereupon the human race greatly multiplied, but also became very wicked. This happened while they were living in Hihiri-pipiri. They then came to a land

* *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 108—119.

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called Khoj-kaman, where God called upon them to return to Him ; but they would not. Thereupon He decided to exterminate the race, sparing only one holy pair—whether the first pair or some other is forgotten—who were ordered to enter a cave in the mountain of Harata. They obeyed, and then for seven days and seven nights it rained fire (or, as some say, water), so that all the rest of mankind and all animals were destroyed. After the rain of fire ceased the pair came out and a new human race sprang from them. They lived for some time close to Harata, but moved from there to Sasan-beda, i.e., a flat riverside land (*beda*) with turmeric (*sasan*). Here the race was divided into nations and tribes having the same tribal names as the children of the first pair with five more added. From Sasan-beda they came to Jarpi. As they wandered on they encountered a high range of hills, in trying to cross which they nearly lost their lives. It was so high that it was long into the forenoon before they saw the sun—a proof, be it noted, that they were travelling east. Here they started worshipping Marang Buru (the big mountain) ; till then they had worshipped only God. Through the Sin pass and Baih pass they came to Aere, from there to Kaende, thence to Chae (Chai), and finally to Champa.

"In Champa they lived in prosperity under their own kings for a long time. At first they dwelt in peace with the Hindus, because they had helped Rama against Ravana, but later on they had fights with the Hindus and among themselves. In Champa several races (the Mundas, Birhors, Kurmis and others), separated from what was, according to the traditions, till then the common Kharwar race. From Champa they came to Tore Pokhori Baha Bandela, where the people after twelve days' or twelve years' discussion—tradition has forgotten which—decided to give up certain old customs and to adopt new social customs. Thence they migrated to various places, e.g., Sikhar and Sant, and at length came to their present homes.

"On the basis of these traditions several theories have been put forward to account for the origin of the Santals. The Revd. L.O. Skrefsrud has conjectured that they lived successively in Persia, Afghanistan and Chinese Tartary, and entered India from the north-west, that they settled in the Punjab and made their way thence to the Chota Nagpur plateau*. Colonel Dalton believed that the Santals came from North-East India, and found their way to the Chota Nagpur plateau and the adjoining highlands by the line of their sacred stream, the Damodar river. In support of this theory he cited certain remarkable coincidences of custom and language between the Santals and some of the aboriginal tribes on the

* *Introduction to Grammar of Santali Language*, 1873.

north-eastern frontiers of India, from which he inferred a connection in the remote past. This theory of a north-eastern origin was also accepted by Sir William Hunter in the *Annals of Rural Bengal.* Colonel Waddell, again, regards the Santal tradition of their wanderings "as a record of actual tribal progress from the central alluvial valley of the Ganges south-westward to the hills, under pressure of the Aryan invasion of the valley from the north".*

With reference to this theory Dr. A. Campbell writes :—"The theory which seems to me capable of proof is that the Santals, or rather the people of whom they are a portion, occupied the country on both sides of the Ganges, but more especially that in the north. Starting from the north-east, they gradually worked their way up the valley of the Ganges till we find them in the neighbourhood of Benares, with their headquarters near Mirzapur. Here the main body, which had kept the northern bank of the river, crossed, and, heading southwards, came to the Vindhya hills. This obstruction deflected them to the left, and they at length found themselves on the tableland of Chota Nagpur" Dr. Campbell further believes that the traditions point to a remote past and not to recent migration inside the Chota Nagpur plateau. 'Efforts', he writes "have been made to identify the countries, rivers, forts, etc., mentioned in the traditions of the Santals with those of similar names in Chota Nagpur. Localities have in many instances been found bearing traditional names, and the inference has been drawn that it was here that the traditions of the Santals took their rise, and that their institutions were formed. But only a slight knowledge of these traditions is necessary to show that they belong to a much more remote period than the location of the Santals in Chota Nagpur, and to countries separated from it by many hundreds of miles". **

This latter theory is not accepted by Sir Herbert Risley, in whose opinion the legend of the Santals does not appear to deserve serious consideration as a record of actual wanderings. "A people whose only means of recording facts consists of tying knots in strings, and who have no *bards* to hand down a national epic by oral tradition, can hardly be expected to preserve the memory of their past long enough or accurately enough for their accounts of it to possess any historical value. If, however, the legends of the Santals are regarded as an account of recent migrations, their general purport will be found to be fairly in accord with actual facts. The same authority then proceeds to point out that it is clear that

*The Traditional Migration of the Santal Tribe Indian Antiquary, 1893.

**A Campbell, Traditional Migration of the Santal Tribes, Indian Antiquary, 1894, pp. 103-4.

there was once a large and important Santal colony in *parganas* Chai and Champa in the Hazaribagh district, and that there is some evidence that a fort of theirs was taken by the Muhammadans. 'If the date of the taking of this fort by Ibrahim Ali were assumed to be about 1340 A. D., the subsequent migrations of which the tribal legends speak would fill up the time intervening between the departure of the Santals from Chai Champa and their settlement in the present Santal Parganas. Speaking generally, these recent migrations have been to the east, which is the direction they might *prima facie* have been expected to follow. The earliest settlements which Santal tradition speaks of, those in Hiri Pipri and Chai Champa, lie on the north-western frontier of the tableland of Hazaribagh and in the direct line of advance of the numerous Hindu immigrants from Bihar. That the influx of Hindus has in fact driven the Santals eastward is beyond doubt, and the line which they are known to have followed in their retreat corresponds on the whole with that attributed to them in their tribal legends'.*

"On this subject Mr. Bodding writes :—'It is as yet very difficult to say anything definite as to the origin of the Santals, or rather of the race to which they belong. They have had no written records of their own. To come to a conclusion, therefore, we have to examine and rely upon other materials. These are their traditions, their customs, their language, their anthropological features and what may be found in foreign records. As to their traditions, it is possible to accord them too high a value ; but I feel sure no one who has got a true knowledge of them will be inclined to despise them. It is true they contain much phantastic stuff, apparently borrowed from foreigners. When you hear part of the story of the creation, you are reminded of myths of the same kind prevalent, e.g., in Southern Burma. Much is childish. But on the other hand, it is difficult to avoid the impression that below the surface there are remnants of true facts.

"The traditions have been handed down from *guru* to *chela* from generation to generation. They differ in minor details, but all have certain fragments of songs in common, which record the main events. The traditions have a practical interest for the people; they are repeated by the *gurus* on certain occasions, of which I shall only mention the so-called *chacho-chhatiar*, the ceremonial feast when a young person is formally taken into the tribe and given the rights of a Santal. One indispensable part of the ceremony is that a *guru* recites the traditions, beginning with the creation and ending with how they came to their present home. It will be seen that in this way the traditions are always kept up to date,

**Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, pp. 225-6.

and that they possess a real living interest for the people, enough to give them more than a mythological value.

"I am inclined to believe that the Chai and Champa mentioned are to be found in Hazaribagh and on the Chota Nagpur plateau, and from this point it is not difficult to verify the wanderings of the people as told by the traditions. As to what lies before that time and those places, it is difficult to pronounce an opinion. It cannot at best be anything more than a dim recollection, the more so when it is borne in mind that the Santals, shortly after having Champa, deliberately gave up old and adopted new social customs. I am inclined to think that the skeleton of the first part of the traditions refers to the remotest antiquity, but that the facts have possibly been mixed, so that details belonging to a later period may have been fitted on to an earlier one. That part of the traditions refers to the people's existence outside India seems beyond doubt.

"Before leaving the traditions I may mention three statements found in them. They may mean nothing or hide the solution of the problem of the origin of this race. The first is the very beginning of the traditions, which says :—'Towards the rising of the sun is the birth of man'. The second is the statement (mentioned later in the section on mythology) that after the pair of swan (*hans hasil*) had got a boy and girl out of their eggs, and had fed and kept them for some time, they became very anxious as to where they should place them. They implored God to help them, and He recommended them to fly out and seek a place for the two human beings. They went forth towards the setting of the sun and found Hihiri Pipiri, reported this to God, and were ordered to take the boy and girl there, which they did carrying them on their backs. The third is that the old traditions say that man was born on the ocean. The traditions elsewhere declare or imply that the migrations have been towards the east, excepting perhaps the wanderings to Khoj-kaman and Sasan-beda.

"As a general rule the customs and institutions of a people will give some hints as to their previous connections, and this is also the case with the Santals. But, as already mentioned, they have at a certain time (probably in our 15th century) deliberately discarded some old social customs and adopted new ones, doubtlessly under Hindu influence, and got some Aryan social customs altered to suit their convenience. I should not be surprised to find that they have at some time had regualr Hindu teachers. Still a great many of the original customs are preserved, and the handling of the adopted ones also is original. It is quite true that many of their customs point to the east, much further even than Assam, and others perhaps to the north. The matter has, however,

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not been sufficiently investigated as yet to give us a right to base more than hypothesis on what we know.

"Another source of knowledge is the language, and a careful study yields wonderful results and brings to light unimpeachable facts. The Santal language has a pure non-Aryan skeleton, with very few exceptions a pure grammar, and an often rich vocabulary of words denoting everything which can in any way be observed with the senses, names of the body and parts of it, etc., in short, all which is their own by nature. But when it comes to words which denote most things that appertain to civilization, complex states of mind, abstract thought, etc., or names for social functions and relations brought about by marriage, not to mention law terms, we find most of them have been borrowed from their neighbours. All these additions with very few exceptions are of Aryan origin, and belong to one or other of the Aryan vernaculars of North India. The most recent additions come from Bengal, or even Assam, being importations by returned tea garden coolies ; previous to that we have appropriations from Bihari and other forms of Hindi. A good many words must have been borrowed far to the west ; their peculiar form is a sure sign that the ancestors of the Santals must have been living much further west than Chota Nagpur.

"On the other hand, there are a few linguistic features in the Santal language which may perhaps find an explanation in trans-Himalayan languages. As far as I know, some phonetic peculiarities of the Santal and other Munda languages are not found further west than the present habitat of these races, but are, on the contrary, met with eastwards. The linguistic relatives of the Santals are at present to be found to the east, specially in Southern Burma and on the Malay Peninsula (Mon-Khmer and other languages) ; and a conviction is gradually establishing itself that these peoples belong to a large race living now eastwards so far as the Pacific islands, and having their westernmost, 'friends' in India. It is not as yet more than a hypothesis ;but what is known distinctly points in that direction. There is, of course, a possibility that what is found common in all their languages is borrowed from a now unknown common source.

"We then come to the anthropological question. The Santals have been classified as belonging to the Dravidian race, and this classification has been based on anthropological measures; linguistically there is absolutely no connection between the two, except a few words borrowed. The features are very much alike, and the anthropological measurements give very similar results. But a good many races in this world would in that case have to be classified as Dravidians. Both may have a common origin in the unknown

past ; but apart from these measurements we know nothing to connect the races with any certainty. Besides, the Dravidian type, although the prevalent one, is by no means the only one found. Several Aryan types are met with, and a Mongoloid one is not very uncommon. Other types may be found, but too few to be taken into account. All this proves mixture of blood at some time or other. What I would especially draw attention to in this connection is the Mongoloid type, and types resembling what is found in Assam, Burma and further on. To obtain sure results, however, it is necessary to have exact measurements of all types, not only of the Dravidian one. There is a possibility that they may have been a Dravidian tribe, which for some reason or other gave up their old language and adopted a new one ; we find instances of a similar nature even among the Kharwarian tribes. But there is no trace of this having happened, and I think it is safest to await further investigations before adopting such a theory.

"Finally, we have what outsiders have recorded and connecting points in the history of other better known races. There is not much more than what is mentioned in Sir H.H. Risley's excellent work (*Tribes and Castes of Bengal*), and what has been recorded here further down in this chapter. It all refers to a recent or comparatively recent time. I think it may be ascertained that the ancestors of these races were living west of Benares about the commencement of our era—I am accepting the theory that the Cheros originally belonged to the Kharwars. The fact that the *Ramayana* tells us about the help of Hanuman should not be overlooked, but be compared with the statement of the traditions that the Kharwars helped Rama.

"When all this is summed up, the result is rather meagre. We may be fairly sure that the ancestors of the race to which the Santals belong were living on the Chota Nagpur plateau about six hundred years ago, and that they had at that time been living there for many generations. Their traditions and their language make it likely that they have reached this place from the west (south-west) ; and it is not improbable that about two thousand years ago they were on both sides of the Ganges west of Benares.

"If we are to accept the traditions of the people these either affirm or presuppose that, since the time when the human race was split up into nations, they have always been wandering in a more or less easterly direction—a direction which nowadays also is followed by them in all their migrations. This would imply that they came into India from the north-west. I must confess that I personally was long of this opinion, and I have not given it up altogether ; but I am more and more getting my eyes opened to

the fact that the Santal and Munda peoples have their connections towards the east. It is possible that the Santals and other Munda tribes have come from the east into India, that they at first advanced far to the west, and that after some time they were forced by the invading Aryans to retrace their steps ; but it is also just as possible that they are the last remnants and laggards of a race which came from the west and has spread to the east and south. As far as I can see, it is not possible to pronounce a more definite opinion at present."

The Santal Advance

"Whatever may have been the original habitat of the race, there is no doubt that within historic times they were settled in the Chota Nagpur plateau and in the adjoining districts of Midnapore and Singhbhum, and that they began to make their way northwards towards the close of the 18th century. The earliest mention of them appears to be contained in an article entitled 'Some Extraordinary Facts, Customs and Practices of the Hindus by Lord Teignmouth (Sir John Shore), which was published in the Asiatic Researches of 1795. In this article they were designated 'Soontars' and described as a rude unlettered tribe residing in Ramgur (Ramgarh), the least civilized part of the Company's possessions, who have reduced the detection and trial of persons suspected of witchcraft to a system. The first mention of the Santals in this district occurs in Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India* (compiled from Buchanan Hamilton's manuscripts), which contains two references to them, in one of which their names are spelt 'Saungtar', while in the other a printer's error has converetd it to 'Taungtar'. The first is — 'It is only in Lakerdewani that some impure Taungtars have been permitted to work the cow, and the most violent opposition was at first made to such an atrocious innovation ; but the obstinacy of the barbarians prevailed, chiefly, I believe, because they were thought powerful in witchcraft, and because disputes with such people were considered as dangerous.' The second is :— 'The tenants of Behar in general transact their own business with the agents of the zamindars, and it is only among the rude tribe called Saungtar, and in the Bengalese parts of the district that a kind of chief tenant is employed to transact the whole affairs of the community.' These passages, as Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson, I. C. S., points out, are interesting as they illustrate three peculiarities of the Santals, *viz.*, their contempt of Hindu prejudices, their superstitious belief in witchcraft, and their communal system, all of which survive in undiminished strength to the present day.

"Further information about the Santals at this early time has been obtained by Mr. (now Sir) H. McPherson from the unpublished

manuscripts of Buchanan Hamilton, in which it is stated — 'The Saungtars are a tribe that has a peculiar language. So far as I could learn, about 500 families are now settled in the wilder parts of the district. This, however, is a late event, and they came last from Birbhum in consequence of the annoyance which they received from its zamindars. The original seat of this tribe, as far as I could learn from them, is Palamau and Ramgarh. They are very expert in clearing forests and bringing them into cultivation, but seldom endure to pay any considerable rent, and whenever the land has been brought into full cultivation and the customary rent is demanded, they retire to the wastes belonging to some other zamindars. A whole village always moves at once, and their headman (*manjhi*) makes a bargain with the new landlords for the whole, agreeing to pay a certain sum for as much land as they can cultivate. At first they pay a trifle, but this is annually increased until the full sum becomes due. If any attempt is made to take more from any individual the whole run off. The *manjhi* levies the assessment on the individuals according to the stock which each possesses. The office of *manjhi* is considered hereditary ; but if the people of a village are discontented they apply to the zamindar and say that they will no longer pay their rents through such a man, but wish to have such another person appointed their *manjhi*. There is no distinction of family rank between the *manjhis* and their inferiors—all eat in company and inter-marry'. Buchanan Hamilton then proceeds to give an account of their religious beliefs, which need not be quoted here.

"The first extract given above will be sufficient to show that by the end of the first decade of the 19th century the Santals had settled in considerable numbers in Lakerdewani, i.e., Handwe and Belpatta, two tracts lying outside the hills. They had made their way there from Birbhum, where they appear to have been brought in to clear the country. 'Birbhum' is meant no doubt that portion of the district now included in subdivisions Deoghar and Jamtara.* According to Sir William Hunter :—'The Permanent Settlement for the land tax in 1790 resulted in a general extension of tillage, and the Santals were hired to rid the lowlands of the wild beasts which, since the great famine of 1769, had everywhere encroached upon the margin of cultivation. This circumstance was so noticeable as to find its way into the London papers, and from 1792 a new era in the history of the Santal dates'**. By 1818 the Santals had made their way further north into the forests below the hills in the Godda subdivision, and even into the Damin-i-koh ; for Mr. Sutherland, writing in that year, noticed their presence in *tappas*

*Page 30 of Mr. (Now Sir) H. Mc Pherson's *Final Report of the S. P. Settlement*, 1898-1907.
***Annals of Rural Bengal.*

Dhamsai and Jamni Harnipur and also in *tappa* Sarmi of *pargana* Handwe, and in *tappas* Marpal and Daurpal, which are included in the Dumka portion of the Damin-i-koh. By 1827 the Santals had got as far as the extreme north of the Godda subdivision, Mr. Ward when demarcating the Damin-i-koh finding three Santal villages in Patsunda and 27 villages in Barkop. His first impressions of the Santals are interesting. 'There are', he wrote, 'within this described line two or three villages established by the race of people called Santars. These people are natives of the Singhbhum and adjacent country ; their habits and customs are singular ; they are of no caste, extremely hardy and industrious, and are upon the whole considered an extraordinary race of beings. They emigrate from their own country to those districts which are known to abound most in forests, and where they are welcomed by the zamindars, who invite them to settle. From choice they select the most wild spots, and so great is their predilection for the wildest places, that they are seldom known to remain at one station longer than it takes to clear and bring it into cultivation. They take 'pattahs' from the zamindars, the terms of which are generally one rupee per annum for every plough used and the 'nuzzer' of a kid. They are quiet and peaceably disposed, and so much liked by the zamindars for the great use they are of in clearing forest lands, where from, the nature of the climate others could not be established, that they generally meet with the best treatment."

"It will be noticed that in the above extract Mr. Ward referred to Singhbhum as the place of origin of the Santal immigrants he met, and from depositions which he took it appears that they had left and were still leaving Singhbhum because of disturbances there.* The part of Singhbhum from which they migrated was probably Dhalbhum, in which the Santals are still very numerous, and its neighbourhood. It is not known what were the disturbances alluded to, but the account of the Santals in Midnapore, of which Dhalbhum then formed part, given (in 1820) in Hamilton's *Hindustan* may help to explain the circumstances which would lead them to emigrate. 'Some parts of these jungles are occupied by a poor miserable proscribed race of men called Sontals, despised on account of their low caste by the inhabitants of the plain country, who would on no account allow any one of them to fix himself in their villages. The peasantry in the vicinity, by way of distinction, call themselves good creditable people, while they scarcely admit the Sontals within the pale of humanity ; yet the latter are a mild, sober, industrious people, and remarkable for sincerity and good faith. The zamindars give them no leases, yet on the whole treat them well ; for such is their timidity that they fly on the

*W. B. Oldham, *Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*, p. *XXII*.

least oppression, and are no more heard of. Notwithstanding they hold their lands on such easy terms, and scarcely ever have their verbal tenures violated, they are said to be naked, half-starved, and apparently in the lowest stage of human misery ; a result we should not have expected from the character above assigned them. Their villages are generally situated between the cultivated plains and the thick jungles, in order that they may protect the crops of their more fortunate neighbours from deer and wild swine. In some instances they have known to till their lands with considerable success, and raise good crops of rice and collie (*kalai*) ; but all that their vigilance can preserve from the ravages of wild beasts is extorted from them by the rapacity of the money-lenders. To these miscreants the Sontals, who have but a slender knowledge of the value of money, pay interest at the rate of 100 per cent for their food, and nearly 150 per centum for their seed ; so that when their crops are ready, little or nothing remains for themselves."

Regarding the advent of the Santals R. Carstairs*, who served the district as a Deputy Commissioner and the Settlement Officer for several years, has observed in his book "*The Little world of an Indian District Officer*" as follows :—

"The first mention of Santals having entered this area is in the report of Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhagalpur who was sent about the year 1820 to enquire into the state of the hill tracts. He found that there had begun to filter into the hill tracts men of a new and hitherto unheard race, called 'Santals' or 'Soutars' who were reported to be excellent pioneers. They had first been heard of in this district about the year 1810 and had come from the south-west. As a Bhagalpur man, he could not take much interest in Beerbhoom affairs; and the Santals may have appeared earlier in Beerbhoom. This account of R. Carstairs supplements the information given by Mr. Sutherland mentioned in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938).

Regarding the origin of the name Santal, physical characteristics and the general characteristics the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has mentioned as follows :—

Origin of name

"The name Santal, spelt in one way or another (e.g., Sonthal), is an English form adopted from Hindi, which corresponds with

*His name is commemorated by Carstairs town in Deoghar. It is remarkable that there are several localities in Deoghar which commemorate some of the early British administrators like Bompas, William etc. (P. C. R. C.).

the form Saontar used by the Bengali-speaking people. Both names are only applied to the tribe by non-Santals, and the Santals do not use them in speaking about themselves except as a concession to foreigners ; then they prefer the form Saontar. Both Santal and Saontar have the same origin according to phonetic law and practice in the different languages. The Santals themselves state that they got this name through foreigners commencing to call them so whilst and because they were living in Saont (Sant, as they pronounce the name of the country), which has been identified with the modern Silda *pargana* in the Midnapore District. Etymologically there is nothing against this, *al* being a suffix used in Hindi and other Aryan languages to form possessional adjective from substantives, and *ar* doing the same for the Bengali word.

"Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., is of opinion that the name is an abbreviation of Samantawala. Samanta, he says, is another name given to the Silda *pargana*, whence the immigrant Santals discovered by Mr. Ward in 1828 deposed that they had come. 'As in Bengal all trans-frontier Pathans, even if Khorasan or Baluch, are called Kabuli, or as in the Santal Parganas all Hindustani money-lenders, even Marwaris, are called Bhojpuria, because the first and most conspicuous of their kind came from Bhojpur in Shahabad, so would so remarkable a people as the Santals on their first appearance in Burdwan and Birbhum be called after the place whence some of them were known to have come'. In regard to this latter theory it may be mentioned that the Silda *pargana* is known locally as Samantabhui, but by the Santals (who elide the) as Santbhui, the tradition being that the country was so called because it was conquered by a Samanta Raja, i.e., a general of the Emperor of Delhi. There are, moreover, signs of a fairly old Santal settlement in the *pargana*, and round about it a dense population of Santals accounting for over one-third of the inhabitants. There is also a tract called Samantabhum or Santbhum in the Bankura District, which the Santals claim to have colonized, and legend relates that it was held by 12 Samanta brothers, a number which will recall the 12 Santal sects.

"Regarding these theories Mr. Bodding writes—'That Sant and Saont are to be derived from the (originally Sanskrit) word Samanta seems to be very probable. As a matter of fact all the forms (Sant, Saont and Sat) are easily derivable from this according to common Aryan phonetic laws. There is no doubt that the word itself is of Aryan origin. If a translation of the word is sought, the original meaning would be something like 'bordermen', but as they have probably got the name in the way mentioned, the meaning implied by the users of the word would not be that ; they are 'Saonters'.

"The Santals call themselves simply Har, meaning man, and state that they were formerly called Kharwar. It is only since 1917, that a Santal has learned to tell a stranger what his name and sept is. Prior to that, as a rule, he would simply say *Manjhi*".

Physical characteristics

"The Santal is a man of medium stature, but muscular and sturdily built, wiry and capable of great physical endurance. His complexion is dark, varying from brown to an almost jet black colour. The latter is very rare, while a light-brown complexion is by no means infrequent, and would be much oftener in evidence, if the Santal did not expose his body to sun and air as he does: the Mongoloid types are generally fair coloured. He is beardless or nearly so, but has coarse and sometimes curly hair on the pate. It was formerly the custom for all Santals to wear long hair gathered together in a knot, but now-a-days it is very seldom that one sees a man with long hair ; if it is long, there is generally a small comb fixed on the left side. The cheek bones are sonewhat prominent, the nose is generally broad and depressed, the mouth is large, and the lips are full and projecting. Accordingly to Sir Herbert Risley :— 'In point of physical characteristics the Santals may be regarded as typical examples of the pure Dravidian stock. The proportions of the skull, approaching the dolichocephalic type, conclusively refute the hypothesis of their Mongoloid descent'. Faces of a Mongoloid type are, however, sometimes seen ; and Mr. Bodding has observed spots in the pigment of the skin of Santal children, which, in size, position and colour, resemble certain peculiar blue spots found on Mongol children, which are said to be a distinct race-mark not found outside the Mongolian peoples.* He remarks:—'The theory of Mongolian descent is not tenable, but there cannot be any doubt that Mongolian blood has been introduced, either by Santals taking Mongolian wives, or Santal women having illegitimate children by Mongolian men. I have no doubt that a good many of the Aryan types among the present-day Santals are caused by Santal women having illicit intercourse with Aryans. The Santals are not what they were in this respect."

General characteristics

"In the work of reclaiming land and clearing new jungle the Santals have few equals in India, but , as a rule , they care little for cultivating in flat lowland tracts. A country denuded of forests does not attract them ; and writes Colonel Dalton, 'when, through

**Mongolian Race-marks among the Santals*, J. A. S. B., 1904, Part III, p.26.

their own labour the spread of cultivation has effected this denudation, they select a new site, however prosperous they may have been on the old, and retire into the backwoods, where their harmonious flutes sound sweeter, their drums find deeper echoes, and their bows and arrows may once more be utilized.' This roving spirit has now been definitely checked probably owing to the security given by the settlements under Regulation III of 1872 and the Santals in the district cling tenaciously to their lands.

"As regards the quality of their cultivation, a few, and those only who live in the vicinity of Hindu agricultural villages, have learnt to take proper care of their lands. For instance, they will not, as a rule, weed or manure their paddy fields. The only bit of land they manure is the *barge*, i.e., a plot of land as a rule adjoining the house-site, where they grow Indian corn. The Santals are gradually becoming better cultivators and they are now cultivating all kinds of vegetables, but they are still somewhat happy-go-lucky in their habits. They love a roaming life with hunting and fishing, with pleasures of sorts and the least possible labour except when the work has in a way become an acquired instinct. The paddy fields and outlying upland fields (called second class *bari* land) are used only for one crop ; from their *barges* they generally gather two ; otherwise their fields lie fallow for six to eight months of the year.

"It is well known that the Santals excel in the art of clearing jungles and otherwise reclaiming land for cultivation, but as agriculturists they are less expert and still have much to learn. The most primitive (certainly the oldest) of their implements is a wooden bar used for digging out roots, making holes in the ground, and so on. Formerly it was made of hard wood throughout, but now-a-days a flat piece of iron is fixed at one end. Their plough is made of a log bent of wood, with an iron ploughshare fixed in a groove on the front upper portion. The handle may be one of several shapes, and there is a beam whereby the plough is attached to the yoke. They have also a hoe or pick-axe with one narrow or more or less pointed blade. The nearest approach to a spade among them is an implement called a *kudi*. The blade of this implement is slightly curved or concave, and an iron shaft some four inches high is fixed vertically in the middle of one end of it. Through the top of this shaft the handle runs parallel with the blade, being only a very little longer than it. The *kudi* is worked towards, not away from, the user. All these iron implements are made by semi-hinduized blacksmiths, but the use of more modern foreign-made implements is now being gradually introduced. To level and carry earth they have a kind of large wooden shovel, called a *karha*, drawn by bullocks. It consists of a flat wood three to

five feet in length, ten to fifteen inches broad, and some three inches thick, tapering towards the edge. A handle is fixed in the middle, and at (or near) each end of the *karha* a 'comb' is cut, i.e., a part of the wood is cut away leaving a big tooth—like projections. The shaft is fixed to the *karha* at one end with a ring, and the other end terminates in the yoke. Sometimes chains are used in lieu of a shaft. When worked, a man keeps the shovel more or less upright by means of a handle, and the earth is thus dragged along. On reaching the place where the earth is to be deposited, he lets go the handle and the *karha* automatically turns over forwards, emptying out the earth, and the bullocks then drag the *karha* back to the starting point. There are several varieties of these "shovels", but the principle on which they worked is the same. There is a similar implement, called *raksa*, which is used for levelling the surface of a rice-field. This is longer and narrower, and two holes are cut through the wooden board, through which the yoke chains are passed. The argom or clod-crusher is an implement used for levelling the earth after ploughing or sowing. It is a piece of wood some six to nine feet long and six to eight inches broad and thick. Usually it has a beam to which the yoke is fixed, but sometimes there are two beams and sometimes none at all ; in the later case the chains are run through holes in the wood.*

"The Santals are a musical people, one of their favourite instruments being a flute with six holes for stops and one for blowing. Nowadays these flutes are generally bought from low caste Hindus, but some Santals still know how to make them. They have also some small pipes, made by themselves. Another instrument of their own manufacture is a one-stringed fiddle with a hollow 'breast', as they call it, covered with a piece of skin, often of an iguana or some large snake. When playing, the operator keeps it in front of him, with the string turned away. Other varieties of stringed instruments include a hollow piece of wood or a pumpkin, covered at one end with a bit of skin through which a double string is run. It is kept in the left arm-pit and the left hand stretches the two strings with small piece of wood tied to them. It is said to produce a marvellous sound, and its use is confined to the disciples of *ojha* when they go begging. Similar in tone and employed for the same purpose, is a bamboo instrument (often an old flute) to which pins are affixed, and to these again two strings. At the middle point of the bamboo an empty hollowed out piece of a pumpkin is tied. When this is played, the pumpkin is held against the stomach and the playing is done with a wooden pin. They have a dancing drum of earthenware, covered at the

*Mr. W. G. Lacey, I. C. S., *Census Report of Bihar and Orissa* 1931, Appendix, VI.

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ends with skin and strengthened with leather thongs running round the body ; this drum is conical in shape. Their kettle-drums are many and varied, and some of their other instruments appear to be designed for the sole purpose of producing noise as a means of giving vent to their high spirits. They have eymbals also and a number of wind instruments, including one made from the horn of a buffalo. An interesting point to note is that their flutes and horns are always made in pairs with the same pitch. This serves a double purpose, for if one instrument is lost or stolen the owner is able to identify it, while they have resorted to this practice in their fights with other tribes and people.

"Socially, they are a jolly, cheerful people, contented with their lot, so long as they have enough to eat and drink, and to spend on religious and social ceremonies. 'As he is unfettered with caste, the Santal enjoys existence in a far greater degree than does his neighbour, the priest-ridden and caste-crushed Hindu. The Santal eats his buffalo-beef, his kinds, poultry, pork or pigeons, enjoys a hearty carouse enlivened with the spirit *pachwai*, and dances with his wives and comrades to express his joy and thankfulness.'* Hard drinking is a peculiar failure of the Santals, who enjoy nothing so much as a carouse ; but so far the physique of the race does not seem to be impaired. Their fondness for drink may be gathered from the attitude of an old *Manjhi*, who asked whether the God of the Christians would allow old people to get drunk twice a week. When he heard the horrified answer of the missionary, he simply replied. 'Then teach our boys and girls, but leave us alone.' 'Rice is their chief food, but they are able to live on all sorts of roots and vegetables ; when food is scarce, they will have recourse to other fare. They will, for instance, eat two kinds of snake (the *dhamin* and rock-snake), a few kinds of rats, one kind of frog, one lizard, etc. The lizard is considered excellent eating ; but the rest are generally only partaken of by children, especially shepherd boys. Though living mostly on vegetables they enjoy animal food when they can get it, and nothing so much as pig curry. Except at certain sacrifices, they never eat cows, bullocks or buffaloes, unless they die from disease or have to be killed because they have broken a leg, etc., or are too old to be used as draught cattle. They rather enjoy chewing the tough meat, but certain kinds of meat they abhor, e.g., horse-flesh.

"The Santal's bow is generally made of bamboo, but sometimes of some other resilient wood. As a rule , the string is of hemp, though bamboo is not infrequently used for the purpose. The string is always fixed permanently to one end of the bow ; at the other (upper) end it is tied loosely. Here there is a loop, and when

*W. S. Sherwill, *A Tour through the Rajmahal Hills*, J. A. S. B., 1851.

the bow is to be used this loop is slipped on to the end. Until this is done, the bow is more or less straight and could not be used. The Santals have a large assortment of arrows, suitable to special different purposes. They are mostly made of sar grass—sar being the Santali word for an arrow. Generally the arrow has cut feathers fixed to its end, which help to steady its flight ; an arrow without feathers is called naked. To shoot birds and small animals a blunt arrow is used, with a piece of wood some three inches long fixed to the point. For other animals they employ arrows with iron heads, which vary greatly in size and shapes. 'I have seen' says Mr. Bodding, 'some twenty different arrow heads'. One variety, designed for shooting fish, has for its head a curved blade instead of a point. There is also a special kind of bow with which they shoot off, not arrows, but small stones. Of spears they had formerly several kinds, but these are no longer found. Battle-axes of different shapes are still to be seen in a few houses, but they are now used for sacrificial purposes only. The Santals have a number of other hunting implements, fishing nets, etc., all of which go to show that they have studied the nature and habits of wild animals, birds, and so forth, and have fashioned their implements accordingly. They indulge in a curious practice of keeping certain hairs, claws, etc., of tigers and leopards which they have killed and even of eating their flesh, in the hope that they will thereby assimilate some of the qualities of these animals. They are not head-hunters, and no case is known in which the distinctive note also serves to advertise the whereabouts of the player. Dancing drums, too, are made in pairs. Mr. Bodding considers that the flute, the horn and the fiddle are probably the original Santal instruments.*

"Their food may be divided into two main classes, *viz.*, (1) cereals, prepared as *bhat*, with curry of some kind added and (2) other food eaten raw or roasted, but without cereals. A list prepared by Mr. Bodding gives the following details :—Cereals (19 kinds) besides a large number of varieties of rice ; vegetable curries composed of (*a*) leguminous plants (14), (*b*) cultivated vegetables (18) and (*c*) leaves of wild plants and trees (59); mushrooms (24) ; resins (10) ; fruits (wild or cultivated) (65) ; tubers (25) ; all domestic animals, except dogs, horses and cats, and wild animals including tigers, leopards, jackals, foxes, five kinds of rats, etc., (30) ; snakes (2) ; lizards (1) ; tortoises and crocodiles (6) ; birds, with the eggs of every bird eaten (72) ; fishes (at least 30) ; wild grains, fruits, etc., eaten during times of scarcity (21) ; oilseeds and kernels (16) ; and the ordinary Indian spices. A gourmand could not wish for more miscellaneous material, and it is not certain that the list is quite complete.

*Mr. W. G. Lacey, I. C. S., *Census Report of Bihar and Orissa*, 1931, Appendix VI.

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"As will be mentioned later, it is probable that the social system of the Santals was originally communistic ; and if their traditions are to be believed, they were formerly a self-contained nation having very few social relations with other races. It is possible to trace, even at the present time, a distinct idea among them that a Santal has a right to possess and appropriate any part of nature not previously in the occupation of anybody else. Land is common property till it has been held under a title, or, at least, 'trampled round'. All forests and forest produce are considered free to all, if they have not been definitely occupied by others. Any wild animal is also lawful prey, but belongs to the man who first wounds it, not to the man who kills it, although the latter and the village headman get portions of the animal as determined by custom. River fish belong to anybody, and if a man dams up a water-course or has a natural pond, he does not enjoy the fish alone, but on some day or other invites the villagers and neighbours to catch all the fish there. They give the owner of the water-course a small share, and the bigger fish are also divided ; the idea of public property is thus apparent. This does not of course apply in the case of fish stocked in a tank, a very recent innovation with the Santals. As soon as anyone takes possession of anything with the consent of the village, he is treated as the owner.

"It is possible that the same feeling may partially explain the sexual relations of the people. As long as the girls are not owned by anybody, it does not much concern anyone what is done with them or what they do as long as they are not 'spoilt'. But if they are anybody's property, it is different. If anything goes wrong, it is the male who suffers ; the female is regarded more or less as a domestic animal—formerly she might even be killed. It is a curious fact that the adulterer is called a thief in their legal phraseology ; further that the people say that in olden times theft was unknown among the people, the only exception being that they might occasionally kill and eat by stealth a stray goat or sheep.

"Under such conditions it will easily be understood that the Santals in the old days did not and could not have any regular business transactions among themselves or with outsiders. They did not use money, and did not buy or sell, but bartered. They grew or made or found what they needed. They manufactured their own salt, wove their own cloths, and made their weapons, implements and utensils. If any one wanted a cow or a wife, they were obtained by barter. The old *gurus* say that the Baske sept started a kind of bartering business ; and it is curious that to this day a mixed mustard oil, used for culinary purposes, is never called anything else than "barter oil".

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"As the forests have been thinned and the Santals have come into contact with other races, their circumstances have greatly altered. They have got money, and now understand its value. It may almost be said that up till the beginning of the twentieth century they knew the worth of a pice, but not of a rupee. They hanker after the fineries of others, and will give away their substance to obtain them. Under the influence of Hindu caste ideas they are gradually developing into a kind of cultivator caste, whose real occupation is agriculture of an inferior kind, and whose leisure time is spent in idleness. There is no doubt that the Santals are not as yet equipped to take up the struggle with outsiders; if they are not helped, they will go to the wall. Their ideals are in the past, not in the future, and another great drawback is that they are liable to hopelessness as to their future as a people. But let them see a thing succeed, and they are quick enough to adopt it. The Santals are at the same time rigid formalists. They do not go outside the old forms and regard any omission or aberration therefrom as serious faults. This love of ceremonial formalism is another obstacle to their development. As to personal characteristics, the Santals are easy-going and, on the whole, easily contented. The most frequent causes of strife are, on the one hand, land disputes and sexual relations, and on the other, their belief in witchcraft. The men are more peaceable than the women, who besides having a quicker wit and a more fluent tongue, know very well that if a man complains against his wife, he has to pay any fine that may be imposed.

"Generally speaking the Santals, with their reckless gaiety, their bluntness and simple honesty, and their undoubted zest for all outdoor amusements and particularly for hunting, are a very attractive race to an officer accustomed to deal with other races in Bihar. They are, on the whole, truthful, law-abiding and honest people; their word is their bond, and a knot on a string is as good as a receipt*. Their manners are straightforward, simple and independent, and the women in particular show a certain native freedom, without, however, being bold or brazen. An amusing instance of this freedom has been quoted. On every market day a number of Santal women used to frequent the garden of a former Assistant Commissioner, plucking his flowers amd making themselves quite at home. They would then walk into his house and deck themselves before the looking glass in his dressing-room, thinking no evil and fearing none. The Santals are, however, not industrious, and if anything contrary to custom and habit is required, or if they suspect that evil spirits are at work, they do not display much endurance. Cases, for instance, are known of people attacked by fever dying

*This is still current in the interior of the district and in the Damin areas, (P. C. R. C.).

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in a very short time through fear. Their food and exposed life many account for much, but it seems to be a fact that they have not the power of resisting disease that Europeans possess, and old people are comparatively few.*"

E. G. Man in his book "*Sonthalia and Sonthals*" (1867), however, gave a somewhat different theory regarding the origin of the Santhals on the basis of the information gathered from a Santhal *manjhi*. According to him the word *Sonthal* or *Sonthar* is quite a mongrel epithet. This tribe first came from a place called 'Chai Cumpa' in the Nagpore district, but having been greatly oppressed bya certain Mahadeo Sing, they were obliged to quit and retreated into the jungles lying to the north-east of their former habitation. They went ahead, cleared and cultivated their lands until they settled in this area. A small tribe originally united for self-protection, they first called themselves, and were called *Shaitals* which in course of time became corrupted into *Sonthar* and *Santal*. Some of them state that they were originally *kewars* and while in the jungle, suffering from great privation, a *Deb* or spirit put it into their heads to eat rats, snakes, field mice and other vermin. The physical and general characteristics of the Santals given by Man still continue. The complexion of the Santals is dark but not very dark.

Internal Structure

"The tradition of the Santals is that the parents of mankind were Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi, who sprang from two eggs laid by a wild gander and goose. *Pilchu*, it may be explained, means 'original'; *haram*, an old or elderly man, or a married man; and *budhi*, an old woman or a married woman; while *haram budhi* is used to denote a married couple, or a pair living together as husband and wife, except those recently married. The traditional names do not mean more than that the human race sprang from one pair, hatched from two eggs laid by a pair of swans or geese. *Hans* is the name for the gander, *hasil* for the goose; but the words, which are of Aryan origin, may also mean swans. This first pair has seven boys and seven girls; the names of about half of these are mentioned in the traditions, and are also probably of Aryan origin. When they were married and had children, the seven parents (and the grand parents) decided that hanceforth brothers and sisters should not marry. They therefore divided themselves into seven exogamous septs, called (1) Hansdak, (2) Murmu, (3) Kisku, (4) Hembrom, (5) Marandi, (6) Saren and (7) Tudu. When the first race was exterminated in Khoj-kaman,

*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas, 1938, pp. 119—129.

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only one righteous pair being saved in the cave of Harata, the new race which sprang from this pair was again divided into seven exogamous septs with the same names as the original septs, to which five more were added, viz., Baske, Besra, Paunria, Chore and Bedea; the last sept has been lost. These names are all sept names, not *nomina propria.*

"There is a diffuse kind of traditional story relating how the sept names were given after a big hunt, but they are really totemistic in origin. Each sept (*paris*) has a pass-word peculiar to itself and is divided into a number of sub-septs (*khunt*). No Santal may marry within his father's sept or any of its sub-septs, or into his mother's sub-sept; but he may marry into her sept, a Santal proverb saying—'No one heeds a cow track or his mother's sept'. The pass-words, which specially belong to the original septs (*nij-Hansdak, nij-Murmu,* etc.) and frequently are unknown to other sub-septs, are generally names of ancestors, chiefs or other important persons or places, forts, etc. They refer to places and persons in Champa, and are thus of no very great antiquity."*

Communal System

"The basis of the Santal communal system is the village. A Santal will never settle alone in an uncultivated area; when they have found a place, which by a curious mixture of common sense and superstition (e. g., omens) they judge to be good, they go there in a body and settle with a leader and his assistants. The first leader becomes the village headman, the others his subordinate officers. The village headman (*manjhi*) is *primus inter pares,* being chosen by the village people to administer the rights, rules and ceremonies of the Santal village community. No public sacrifice, no festival, no ceremony, such as marriage—in short, nothing of a public character—can be properly done without the *manjhi* participating or taking the initiative. If a village has got a headman of another race as a *pradhan,* the Santal will have for themselves an official called *handi manjhi,* i. e., literally a "liquor chief," who performs all the duties of a Santal village chief except collecting rent and doing work demanded by Government or landlord. Everything of a ceremonial kind is ratified by *handi.*

"The headman is the representative of the village both in its external and internal relations. For his trouble he gets the honour of the post and some material advantages, which formerly included rent-free land, certain portions of the animals killed in sacrifice,

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938), pp. 129-130.

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etc. If there is anything affecting the village interests, he calls the villagers together to discuss and settle it; or he may summon them to sit in judgment if a villager has complained to him. The village is here represented by the *more hor* (literally five men), a term which probably originally signified the headman and the four other village officials, but not always includes any adult male belonging to the village. They try as far as possible to settle all internal disputes, and it is considered very 'bad form' for anybody to take a case outside the village boundary. With proper control the system works well; for though the Santals take an unconscionably long time over a case, they end as a rule in doing justice.

"If there is any dispute with anyone belonging to another village, the people of both villages meet together and try to decide the case. If they cannot manage to do this, or if one or both of the parties are dissatisfied, they can, or rather could, appeal to the *pargana*, who is the head of a number of villages and generally also a village headman. When he sits in full bench to do judgment, his *panchayat* consists of the village headmen of his circle and other influential men in the neighbourhood—in fact, any male adult belonging to the place may be present. The *pargana* pronounces judgment, as also does the *manjhi*, but they will not, as a rule, do so without first being sure of having a majority for their verdict. As the *manjhi* has an assistant in the village, so the *pargana* has an assistant in his circle called the *des-manjhi*. The traditional perquisites of a *pargana* are one rupee, half a seer of *ghee* and four scores of Indian corn cobs annually from each village under him; those of the *des-manjhi* half this amount. Both have, as a matter of duty, to give a feast to the village chiefs when these things are paid to them. The village *panchayat* system works very well among the Santals; the same cannot be said about the *parganas*, many of whom abuse their position.

"Above the village headman and the *parganas* are the people themselves. During the hot weather the Santals have big hunts, in which every male who can possibly get away will try to participate. The convener of the hunt is called *dihri*, a Paharia word used by them for priest.* The *dihri* is a common Santal who acts as the priest, sacrificer and master of the hunt. He sends round word by means of a *sal* branch, notifying the date and place of the hunt and also the place where the people are to spend the night. They reach this spot at sunset, after the hunt is over, cook their food, etc., and then take up, under the presidency of the

*Cf. the Khon *dehuri*. This is a curious resemblance, and it is not the only one. A sub-sept of the Santals called Buru-beret-Marandi, has a peculiar sub-sept sacrifice, which has many points of resemblance with the old Khond human sacrifice, but Santals sacrifice a cock.

dihri, any matter which may be brought before the people in council assembled. Here the *manjhi* and *parganas* are, if necessary, brought to justice; and if anyone has to be excommunicated, his case is dealt with. Any matters, great or small, may be brought forward by anyone, if a case cannot be finally decided, it is kept in abeyance till next year's hunt.

"The people themselves are the final authority; the officials are only their representatives appointed to perform certain duties, to keep order and to represent them generally. Custom has made these positions practically hereditary, and has also established a kind of ownership in land. But there are many traces of the communal system, of which two may be mentioned. In *Magh* (January-February) the village people gather together after a sacrifice; the headman, taking the lead, resigns his post to the village people; all the other officials also resign their posts to one another as representing the village, and the villagers surrender their land to the headman, saying that they will keep only their old house-sites and their huts—a figurative expression for their wives and their own bodies, connoting personal freedom. After a few days everything is *pro forma* given and taken back again. Again, if a man leaves his village, he cannot, for instance, sell his house, for the timber of it belongs to the village; he cannot sell his land to outsiders, for it has to be taken up by a fellow-villager.

"In the Damin-i-Koh the *parganas* (also called *parganaits*, though the latter is not a Santali word) have an official position, the area within the jurisdiction of each forming the administrative unit or revenue division known as a 'Bungalow'. They are appointed by Government and exercise the powers of a Sub-Inspector of Police. They are generally responsible for the good behaviour of the *manjhis* or village headmen within their respective Bungalow areas and for the punctual payment of rent to Government by the village headmen. For this they were formerly remunerated by a commission of 2 per cent on the collections of the *manjhis* subordinate to them. This rate of commission has been enhanced as below, with effect from 1924-25 and is payable to the *parganait* when the rent for the whole Bungalow is fully collected :—

		Rs.
5 per cent for the first	..	2,000
4 per cent for the second	..	2,000
3 per cent for the third	..	2,000

and 2 per cent for all further collections.

"They are also bound to see that crimes are reported and that roads, embankments, boundary pillars and staging Bungalows are kept in proper repair. Under them, in the Damin-i-Koh, are

des-manjhis, who are their assistants, and *chakladars*, who act as their messengers. Outside the Damin-i-Koh there are no *parganas* (*parganaits*) except in Ambar and Sultanabad in the Pakaur Subdivision. Regarding these *parganaits*, Mr. Allanson writes, 'Unlike the adjoining Damin-i-Koh Estate, these *parganas* are under the jurisdiction of the ordinary police. The Damin *parganaits* and *manjhis* have well defined police duties. But the *parganaits* of Ambar and Sultanabad have no longer any place in the district administration, though no doubt their important position as heads of the Santal tribal organisation enables them to be used by local officers as the official representatives of their community, as presidents of *panchayats* or arbitrations, or as an enquiring and reporting agency in petty disputes. The *parganait* is a tribal head of a group of villages, and no doubt wherever Santal villages are found, the *parganait* is a necessary element in their social life. But ordinarily outside the Damin, the settlement records of Santal tracts contain no reference to the *parganait*. But in these two *parganas*, even the serial arrangement of villages is based on *parganaiti* jurisdiction'. Each headman pays annually Rs. 1/12/- for the *parganaits*, annas 14 for the *des-manjhi* (*parganait's* assistant) and annas 7 for the *chakladar* (messenger). In the non-police tract of Dumka and Jamtara there are *sardars* under Regulation IV of 1910 who exercise powers of officers in charge of police-station within their respective circles. In the police tracts of Godda and Rajmahal, there are *sardars* under the thana officers, but they have no powers like the non-police tract *sardars* of Dumka and Jamtara. They are middlemen between the village headmen and the thana officers. In the Deoghar subdivision, the Ghatwals under Regulation XXIX of 1814 are bound to perform the duties of the *sardars*.

The *manjhi* is also recognised officially.* He is not only the fiscal head of the village collecting the rents but is its police officer, being bound to report crimes. Through him the villagers, as a body, deal with the proprietor, the latter being merely a rent-receiver, who has properly no part in the internal economy of the village, though he frequently makes his proprietary rights felt. In virtue of his office the *manjhi* is, in the Damin-i-Koh, given by Government a commission of 8 per cent of the collections, while in the zamindari estates he retains 1½ per cent of them, viz., one anna in the rupee from the ryots and another from the zamindar. He is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner with the consent of the villagers and may be dismissed by him for misconduct; otherwise the office is by custom hereditary, descending from father to son, except where the son is palpably

*The present position of the *manjhi* has been discussed elsewhere. He is now born of much power and prestige of his predecessor (P.C.R.C.).

unfit. According to the Santal institutions, the *manjhi* is chosen by the villagers, and if they are dissatisfied they can get him dismissed and another man installed. At the present day the Deputy Commissioner has the right to appoint and dismiss; but it is only in exceptional cases that he will act counter to the wishes of the village people.

"The headman is not always known simply as a *manjhi*, but also as *pradhan* and *mustajir*. These three names are due to a difference of origin. The *manjhi* was the head *ryot* of an aboriginal or semi-aboriginal community, who had social as well as official functions to perform. The *mustajir* was the person to whom a proprietor leased a cultivated village or a piece of jungle for reclamation on *ijara* or *thika*, i. e., at a rent fixed for a term of years with the right to collect what he could from the *ryots*. Such a *mustajir* might be foreign to the rest of community or be an ordinary aboriginal headman. The title *pradhan* is a modern one used for all village headmen in the settlement records.

"In his official capacity the *manjhi* is assisted by a sub-headman called a *paranik*, the Santal form of *paramanik*. The *paranik* is the principal assistant and representative of the *manjhi*, by whom he is originally chosen, i. e., when a village is founded. If the *manjhi* should abscond or die having no male issue or brothers in the village, the old rule is that the *paranik* should be *manjhi*. In his social functions the *manjhi* is assisted by the *jog-manjhi*,* who acts as *custos morum* to the young people of the village, as the name implies, *jog* being of Sanskrit derivation and meaning practically *mores*. His duty is not to prevent sexual intercourse between the two sexes when unmarried (except when they are non-marriageable relatives), but to see that no scandal arises. If a girl becomes pregnant, the *jog-manjhi* has to find out who is responsible. If he does not, the village people take him to the *manjhi's* cow-shed and tie him with a buffalo's rope to a pole, scold him and also fine him. If he knows the young man, he brings him before the *panchayat*, who will deal with the culprit. During the *Sohroe* festival the village boys and girls live for five days and nights with the *jog-manjhi*, who is responsible for their behaviour. At the birth of a child and at marriages he is master of the ceremonies; he is also in a way responsible when the village youths attend certain night festivals which are always accompanied by revelry. Formerly the *jog-manjhi* was stricter and had a very important position in the village. Now-a-days he has less authority, but the young people still use him as a safe depository of their secrets.

*The *Jog-manjhi* is in some ways more powerful in the Santal society, he has been discussed elsewhere (P.C.R.C.).

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If a girl has a liaison, she may, as a precaution, tell the *jogmanjhi* of it in confidence and give him *handi* to purchase his silence. The young men also try to bribe him. The *jogmanjhi* has an assistant called *jog-paranik*, who officiates when he is absent.

"The last secular village official is the *gorait*, or as he is styled by the Santals the *godet* who acts as the *manjhi's* orderly, calls the villagers together at his command, and also collects sacrificial fowls for the village sacrifices. The *godet* has a peculiar reputation among the Santals, because he is prone to misuse his position for his own benefit. They call him *marang manjhi*, i. e., the great chief, and there are many instances of *godets* having ousted a *manjhi* or even a *pargana*. If a *paranik* becomes *manjhi*, it is considered proper that the *godet* should become *paranik*. The *noeke* is the village priest who performs all the public sacrifices to the national godlings; and the *kudam noeke* (*kudam* means the back of a thing) is a subsidiary officer. Whenever the *noeke* performs a sacrifice, the *kudam noeke* has to offer rice dipped in his own blood (drawn by pricking with a thorn) to Pargana Bonga and the boundary *bongas*. He does the same when the villagers go hunting, in order to bring them luck and to ensure their safe return. This double set of village priests may perhaps point to different origin.

"Every village official formerly held some land rent-free (*man*), its area varying with the importance of the official and the size of the village. The *manjhi* had four shares, the *paranik* three shares, the *jogmanjhi* two shares, and all others one share. The *manjhi's man* land was originally half a *rek* of rice land with a corresponding amount of higher land, about sufficient for one plough. It has now been assessed to rent, but is held by the *pradhan* as such, i. e., by virtue of his position. When a man ceases to be *manjhi* it passes to his successor, not his heirs. The *man* land is now a kind of security for the zamindar, ensuring the realisation of his rents.

Panchayats

"The *panchayat* or committee of village elders is a cherished institution among the Santals. The indigenous officials of a Santal village described above are *ex-officio* members of the *panchayat*; and every village has its council place (the *manjhithan*) where they assemble to discuss the affairs of the village and its inhabitants. All petty disputes, both of a civil and criminal nature, are settled there, but if the matter to be settled is of an immoral and shameful character, they go to the end of the village street or some other convenient place where they need not fear hurting the feelings

of their womenkind. Those that are of too weighty a nature to be decided by the village assembly are referred to a *panchayat* consisting of five neighbouring *manjhis* under the control of the *parganait*. If this special council is unable to decide any matter, it is brought to the notice of a Government officer, but this is not the old custom. The *panchayat* also disposes of all disputed social questions, such as disputes about marriage and inheritance, and punishes the guilty. This system of self-government constitutes a fair bond of union amongst the Santals, who look with great suspicion on any measure calculated to destroy it."*

Bitlaha

For the ex-communication of a man from Santal society formal outcasting which the Santals call *bitlaha* is necessary, and the act can only be performed by an order of the people assembled in council. Outcasting is resorted to for breaches by persons in the prohibitory table of kindred and affinity of either the endogamous or the exogamous law of the Santals. The offence is usually a traditionally prohibited sexual intimacy between a Santal woman and a non-Santal commonly known as *dikku*. *Bitlaha* is almost the last mode of punishment for committing sexual crime against the tribal law and the Santal society. The Santals though backward or uncivilised have a simple but a highly respected social code of morality for keeping up the solidarity of the Santals. The code is quite elastic and accommodating so far as the Santals are concerned. *Bitlaha* is an extreme step which is resorted to as the last measure for keeping the bonds of Santal society intact and to keep the *bongas* or tribal gods satisfied†.

In spite of the onslaughts of the present trends the Santal lives in a world of his own. To him the tribal gods or the *bongas* are a part and parcel of his daily life. The displeasure of the *bongas*, which causes outbreak of epidemics and failure of crops, is dreaded and is the concern of the village elders. If the Santal boy or girl goes against the tribal law, he or she has to atone for it. There is always a provision for punishment which is not at all severe. But if the offence is such that the tribe is dishonoured, it is taken that the *bongas* will be thoroughly displeased and the whole tribe will be punished by the *bongas*. A *dikku* having intimacy with a Santal girl is an offence of this type. If anyone commits any prohibitory sexual offence, the chief of the village in question calls his neighbouring colleagues together and inform them. If the charge is believed to be true, they warn

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938), pp. 130—136.
† *Inside Bihar* by Shri P. C. Roy Chaudhury, Bookland, Calcutta (1962), p. 279.

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the people of their respective villages not to eat or drink with the offenders and not to enter into marriage relations with them or their families. The villagers cannot proceed further, and nothing more is done till the annual national hunt takes place in the hot weather. Here the matter is brought forward; if the people hold that the case is not proved, those who started the rumour are very severely punished. If it is proved, the people's assembly gives an order for outcasting, and they proceed to carry it out the day after the hunt. The *parganait* of the district and some other influential men are generally commissioned to superintend the operations.

When it is finally decided that *bitlaha* has to be performed on a date fixed by five *manjhis*, a message is sent to the various markets (*hats*) through a messenger. The messenger is usually the complainant. A branch of *sal* (*Sorea robusta*) wood with a few leaves stripped (to indicate the date of *bitlaha*) is taken by the messenger and exposed. A symbol is made out of some leaves which are left to indicate that a sexual offence has been committed. The Santals at the *hats* would query and a wide publicity of the offence and the date of *bitlaha* would be publicised. The *sal* twig sent out is known as the *Dharwak* and has a terrific traditional force behind it. It is only in very exceptional circumstances when the punishment has been realised a *Dharwak* may be recalled.

On the previous evening of the *bitlaha* people start coming in batches headed by their *manjhis* or their deputies with drums, flutes and buffalo horns. There is a strange frenzied abandon and the dance known as *Dungar* starts the ritual. Vulgar songs are sung and folk tales with strong sexual slant are recited. The night passes in this manner and the stage is set for the actual *bitlaha* next morning.

In the early morning the males meet with flutes, drums, bows and arrows a short way beyond the end of the village street where the offender lives. They compose extempore obscene songs in which he is mentioned by name and his sin satirically dilated on, while drumming is kept up so loudly that the din is heard for miles around. At a sign from the leader, the crowd with wild yells and uplifted hands holding a bow or some other article, rush to the village drumming and blowing their flutes and singing obscene songs. If, however, the headman of the village meets the people at the street entrance with water in a *lota* (waterpot), the people will stop singing. The offender is sent for but usually the offender has run away days before. If, however, the offender comes up, admits his guilt, pays the fine and throws himself on the mercy

of the council, the *bitlaha* is not performed. If otherwise, the people go to the house of the offender with pole or bamboo to which they have tied a short charred bit of firewood, a wornout broom and some used up leaf-plates, and fix it at the entrance to the courtyard. In the courtyard the people break the fire-places, pots, etc., while the young men strip and commit nuisance in and round about the house. The fury of the mob is only on the houses of the offenders. There is a complete publicity of the offence, the offender is ex-communicated. Some sacrifice is offered to the *bongas*. The sacrifice being over, the naked jokers and dancers put on their clothes and the crowd disperses. The scene is utterly revolting; so all women take good care to be outside the village when it takes place. The Santals are apt to carry these *bitlaha* operations in excess.

The *bitlaha* means not only an ex-communication from the society but also the consequent loss of civil rights. No Santals will have any dealing with a person subjected to a *bitlaha*. The *bitlaha* man is contaminated and any touch with him leads to contamination. The persons outcasted are debarred from eating with others and especially from getting their children married, and have to suffer a good deal, but not so much as might be expected. In addition to the offenders themselves, the parents on both sides should be outcasted; and if anyone receives the outcastes in his house, the whole household will suffer in the same way. The villagers have also to a certain extent to suffer with the outcasted ones, and therefore harass them in many ways so as to make them either run away or take steps to be taken into society again. Such persons usually leave the village. The Santal code, however, provides for *jamjati* (literally eating so as to give *jat*, i. e., eating one's way back to the race). The procedure is as follows :—

> The outcaste first gives up his old ways—this is a *sine qua non*—then he provides the necessary funds. When he knows he has sufficient, he tells the *manjhi*, who again informs the *pargana* of the district, and the latter makes it known to the *parganas* of twelve. other districts, i. e., virtually the whole countryside A day is fixed for the ceremony, and the person who is to be readmitted prepares for a big feast. When everything is ready, the outcasted man goes out to the end of the village street with a twisted cloth round his neck (to show symbolically that he is willing to be led) and water in a *lota*; he must look very miserable and downcast. The most venerable *pargana* present says to his colleagues and the village chiefs "Come, let us comfort him; it is a pity to see him".

He then leads them to the repentant sinner, who says : "Father, I have sinned grievously; I acknowledge my transgression. Have pity on me". The venerable *pargana*—formerly it was the privilege of a man of the Mumu sept—takes the *lota* from the hands of the man, worships (i. e., bows to) the sun, and says to the outcaste: "Since you have acknowledged your transgression, we do now take and carry all that for you". He then takes a little of the water and rinses his mouth with it, and passes the *lota* round to all the leading men, who do the same.

After this they enter the village and the courtyard of the outcaste who personally washes the feet of the leaders of the people. All then sit down in rows to eat, leaf-plates being put before them; the outcaste serves them all personally, gives them rice and curry, and puts five rupees on the plate of every *pargana* and on that of the *manjhi* of the village and one rupee on the plate of every other *manjhi*. After the feast the old *pargana* says : "From today we have taken this man into our society again; all pollution has been washed away. From today we shall drink a cup of water of his; we shall also smoke his tobacco pipe, we shall give him our daughters in marriage and also take his daughters for our sons; we have made everything clear and pure as percolated river water and spring water. If after today anyone talks about this matter or speaks evil, we shall fine him a hundred rupees and a feast for a hundred more". Thereupon they dig a small hole, in which they bury a lump of cowdung and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the matter is buried forever. Thus the man becomes a Santal again.*

The incidence of *bitlaha* is declining due to alertness of the police and the administrators. It is reported by the Subdivisional Officers, Godda, Deoghar, Jamtara and Sahibganj subdivisions that no *bitlaha* was performed in their subdivisions in the course of the last one decade (1953—1963). In the Dumka and Pakaur subdivisions there had been 7 and 1 *bitlaha* cases respectively.

On the 25th February, 1953 about five thousand Santals performed *bitlaha* at village Pipra, police-station Gopikandar. The reason for *bitlaha* was illicit sexual connection. The dwelling-houses of both the boy and girl were damaged. The second *bitlaha* case was reported from the village Kunji in Jarmundi police-station on the 10th June, 1957. The reason for *bitlaha* was an illicit sexual relation between a cousin brother and sister. About 3,000

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas*, pp. 138-139.

Santals participated in the *bitlaha*—the house of the offender was damaged, about eight to nine maunds of paddy and 10 maunds of maize plundered and some fowls were killed. The third *bitlaha* was committed on the 2nd July, 1957 at village Baratanr, police-station Jarmundi. The reason for *bitlaha* was illicit connection between the *bokat bahu* (younger brother's wife) and the *dadat* (elder brother). About four to five thousand Santals had committed a peaceful *bitlaha* for the violation of the Santal code. The fourth *bitlaha* was performed on the 23rd April, 1958 at village Kaurigarh in Shikaripara police-station. About 5,000 Santals had assembled and planted a branch of *sal* tree in the courtyard of the offender and sprinkled water brought by the *Pradhan*. An illicit liaison between a Santal girl and a Paharia boy was the cause of the *bitlaha* in the house of the former. The fifth *bitlaha* was committed at village Khangrakhil, police-station Ramgarh, on the 22nd November, 1959. About 800 Santals assembled in the village and paraded the streets, singing and dancing. The reason for the *bitlaha* was the illegal marriage between a boy and a girl who were said to be related. The girl's mother and the boy's father were said to be cousin sister in relation. The sixth *bitlaha* was committed at the village Lilatari on the 13th June, 1962. About one thousand Santals armed with *lathi, bhala, tangis*, etc., paraded the streets of the village, sang obscene songs and danced. The reason for the *bitlaha* was the secret friendship between a boy and girl related to each other. *Bitlaha* was performed in the houses of both the boy and girl. There was some damage of the roof of the dwelling-houses. The seventh *bitlaha* was performed on the 17th July, 1962 at village Kusmaha in Ramgarh police-station. The reason for the *bitlaha* was adultery with a married girl. About five thousand Santals entered the village armed with deadly weapons and performed the *bitlaha*. It appeared that due to some feud considerable damage was caused to the house of the *Pradhan* as well.

The *bitlaha* which was performed at village Kharibari, police-station Maheshpur, subdivision Pakaur, on the 27th June, 1956, was of a more severe type. Firing had to be resorted to disperse the Santals. The reason for the *bitlaha* was the sexual intercourse between a Santal woman with a *dikku* (non-tribal). It was reported that twenty thousand Santals armed with deadly weapons entered the house of the parents of the woman to perform *bitlaha*. Almost the entire house of the offender was demolished. The Santal mob also surrounded the police party and the Magistrate on deputation and fire had to be opened in the course of which 10 Santals had died at the spot.

A question arises if the Santals should be allowed to practise the *bitlaha*, which is probably, out of tune in the present trends.

According to the report of the Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas, the incidence of *bitlaha* is now on the decline. Under such circumstance one is constrained to take the argument that the *bitlahas* should not be stopped but should be regulated. A Santal can never reconcile himself to the fact that the *bitlaha* which is lawful in his eye for the preservation of the Santal code should be subject to punishment under the Indian Penal Code for unlawful assembly, riot and criminal trespass. A *bitlaha*, according to experienced administrators, is to be controlled and the expression of resentment should be regimented and be done in accordance with custom but as far as possible without the bacchanalian element or unnecessary excesses. In order to perform the *bitlaha* ceremony in a peaceful manner a Magistrate should attend the ceremony in the capacity of a friendly observer. He should remind the Santals through their headmen that the ritual should be done in the customary manner without violence or damage. These principles had been applied to more than 20 *bitlahas* in 1943-44 and in every case the ceremony was performed in perfect order. As a matter of fact, the *bitlaha* is a ritual and a part and parcel of Santal life and an interference should only be done in a very extreme case of administrative expediency.*

A close study of the institution of *bitlaha* shows that the institution was primarily an indigenous one, meant only for the Santals. It was a process through which the solidarity of the Santals as a society according to their tradition could be maintained. Originally a *bitlaha* used to be perpetrated to punish a delinquent among the Santal who would commit a social outrage on a woman within the group so that the offence could be remitted by a marriage or a fine. In that case if the marriage could not be performed or the offender was not amenable to pay the fine a *bitlaha* would be decided upon. But slowly the institution extended its ambit and *bitlahas* have been perpetrated where the offender is not of the Santal community at all but belongs to other classes or religion. In the case of the *bitlaha* at Maheshpur where firing had to be resorted to and ten Santals had died at the spot, the alleged offender was a Bengali. After this incident Government had to think seriously on the problem and now the policy is to see that *bitlahas* are not allowed to be performed as far as possible if the offender is not a Santal. The idea is that if a non-Santal has committed rape or has indulged in sexual intimacy with the consent of a Santal woman, the punishment should be according to the ordinary law and the Santals should not be allowed to take the law into their own hands and mete out a *bitlaha* which is a traditional Santal punishment. The police and the magistracy

**Inside Bihar* by Shri P. C. Roy Chaudhury, Bookland, Calcutta (1962), pp. 282-283.

have now the obligation of being on the alert and if possible to remove the culprit with his belongings as far as possible and give him protection and divert the wrath of the Santals to the ordinary police investigation. A case where a non-Santal is involved should be treated as an ordinary lawless act and police or magisterial action has to be taken or the aggrieved party will move the administrative authority. Luckily this is possible to a large extent as a *bitlaha* is never committed all on a sudden but is a premeditated act and the *dharawak* is circulated giving a fixed date for *bitlaha*.

The institution of *bitlaha*, by and large, shows what a Santal is. As an individual, a Santal is extremely meek and mild and has a sense of humour but collectively the Santals may be a menace as their ideas could easily be canalised into an aggressive action. This is what happened in 1855 and this is what happens invariably whenever a *bitlaha* is committed. This institution also shows what great attachment the Santals have for their tradition and for keeping up their social purity and solidarity. The *jogmanjhi* who has been referred to elsewhere plays a very great role in the Santal society as a mentor and almost like the censor of the Santal morals. It is the duty of the *jogmanjhi* to watch the Santal boys and girls and if somehow or other, he comes to know that any Santal girl has been going out with a Santal boy. If the boy and the girl are within the marriageable group he will carry the information to the parents and will ask them to get them married; if not, he will warn the parents and the parents will see that the boy and the girl do not meet again. If there cannot be a marriage the *jogmanjhi's* warning will be taken very seriously by the parents and the affair will be nipped in the bud and hushed up or a fine will be imposed which will be realised and no other stigma will remain. If in spite of the warning the *jogmanjhi* finds that the boy and the girl are still misconducting themselves it may be that he will take the initiative for a *bitlaha* in extreme cases.

Change in Communal System.

The communal system of the Santals as depicted earlier on the basis of the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has undergone a change due to the forces which were at work since long. The village is still the basis of the communal life. The village headman (*manjhi* or *pradhan*) is still the head of the village community. Every Santal village has its own *pradhan* who not only collects rents from the *raiyats* but presides over the social functions of the village. Our investigation shows that the *pradhan* has still double functions—he is the village headman, an intermediary between the tenants and the Government and the *handi*

chief or liquor chief, who performs all the social duties of the Santal village.

Except rent collection work the other secular functions of the *pradhan* or village headman have been curtailed. Formerly, all the *dykes*, *bands* and village roads were constructed and repaired by the villagers under the guidance of the village headman. Problems arising out of breaches in the *bands* or water reservoirs or ravages of wild animals were problems for the whole village and not for any individual or individuals. Now with the establishment of the Community Development Block the community spirit of the Santal for their own small needs has almost disappeared. They have been told to go to the block office for redress of the grievances. The common responsibility of the entire tribal population has practically become the responsibility of nobody. The village headman was the corner stone of the institution and the curtailment of his powers has shaken the edifice to the foundation. Even with his shattered prestige the village *pradhan* still does better rent collection than the *karamcharies* or the *Gram Panchayats*. The *pradhan* continues to be still the social chief and as the rent collector but he is no longer the only man whom the Santal knew for approaching for all his grievances.

As mentioned elsewhere the police powers of the *Parganait* in the Damin area had been immensely curtailed with the starting of the regular police thanas. The *Parganait* can investigate certain crimes only under a few sections of the Indian Penal Code. With the decline of the police power of the *Parganait*, the influence of his subordinate *manjhi* or *pradhan* has also declined. There are reasons to believe that the incidence of crime in the Damin area has increased, although many crimes may not be reported. Previously *ipso facto* the village council could decide all the petty cases both civil and criminal. Sex crimes were also suitably dealt with according to their standard. Only the prohibitory sex crimes had to be met by *bitlaha*.

Police thanas have been set up in the Damin area as well and thereby the Damin area has been put at par with other parts of the district. This fact and the dwindling of the civil power of the *manjhi* and *Parganait* have in a way, multiplied cases. To give one example, many of the sex offences could be compounded through punishments ordered by the *Manjhi* or the *Parganait*. Even a rape or adultery need not have come to the police. But now the parties have got an indirect encouragement to go to the thanas since the police thanas are there. A rape or an adultery can no longer be compounded by a *manjhi* and the police could take cognizance of cognizable offences. It is also the common

complaint which was not investigated that the *mahajans* have more chances of making extortion if they could be friendly with the police.

The institution of *Gram Panchayat* working with almost the same objective of the village community system works somewhat at cross purposes and the poor unsophisticated Santal does not know where he stands in between the two for the redress of his grievances. The virus of groupism, casteism and factions may soon contaminate the Santals as well. It was reported at Ghagharjani and Haripur villages that in the recent *Gram Panchayat* election groupism and factions raised their ugly head in the Santal villages also.

The *Jogmanjhi*, another village dignitary was the guardian of the morals of the young boys and girls and scandals or reports of sex-offences were first looked into by him and often compromised by the traditional methods of fine or in extreme cases by marriage if permissible. It is said that some of the hereditary *Jogmanjhis* have got the common land of the villages recorded in their own names and since the creation of the record-of-rights they have not much interest in their work either.

From the investigation in the villages it was found that the post is formally created especially during the *Bandana* festival when the possibility of the sex crime is large. But the new incumbent is hardly expected to control the young boys and girls of the village. Moreover, in a society where pre-marital sexual intercourse, intimacy with *hili* and wife's younger sister is tolerated and a certain amount of sexual abandon is the tradition in *Bandana* festival, a newly-appointed *jogmanjhi* shorn of his former prestige is not expected to function as well as before.

Dwellings.

Regarding the villages and dwelling-houses the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has mentioned as follows* :—

> "The Santal village consists, as a rule, of a long straggling street with houses on either side. A village has also very frequently some *tolas* or hamlets, which are practically small separate villages, but all are under one *manjhi*, though the *paranik* will live in his separate *tola*. The dwelling-houses are built in several ways. The old way is to bring nine poles and fix them in the ground, three at either side of the site selected

* *District Gazetteer ofSantal Parganas* (1938), pp. 139—142.

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and three in the middle to support the roof. The roof is made with rafters of *sal* wood, over which bamboo saplings, climbers, etc., are tied, the whole being thatched with jungle-grass. Then the walls are made by fixing thin poles of any suitable material in the ground, tying them with cross saplings, finishing the whole off with a plaster of clay and cowdung, and glossing it over with white earth. The roof of this kind of houses is two-sided; another kind of roof is four-sided, in which case there are only two central poles. The sept and sub-sept to which a man belongs determine whether one or other of these two kinds of roof is used for the dwelling-houses that have a *bhitar*. If there is no *bhitar*, any roof will do. Now-a-days the walls are frequently made of mud dried in the sun, and well-to-do Santals often build houses of a better kind like those they see built by prosperous members of other races.

"Inside every dwelling-house a Santal partitions off with a low wall a small compartment in one corner, this is the so-called *bhitar*, the place where the ancestors are worshipped and also the *orak bonga*. Only certain persons outside the family are permitted to enter this place, and never any women other than those belonging to the house. In front of the house the caves of the roof are generally elongated so as to form a kind of verandah. Well-to-do people, as a rule, have in front a partially walled-in verandah, which sometimes runs round the two sides. The floor of the house is always more or less raised above the ground, the space being filled up with earth firmly beaten down. Every house has one door, generally low but with a comparatively broad opening. The door itself is made, like the walls, of wattle and daub, and is tied with loops to the door-post on which it swings. It is seldom that a lock is used; generally the door is shut with a wooden bar. If the inmates go away for sometime, they affix a thorn branch to the door. More modern houses have door-frames with wooden doors and padlocks.

"The verandah is a receptacle for all kinds of miscellaneous articles. Here too the Santals generally keep their *dhenki* (rice-husker) and their hand mill (*jante*) at least till they have some other house to set them up in. Inside the house itself they keep their paddy

and other cereals, packed either in straw bundles (called *bandi*) or in gourds or earthenware pots, as well as their clothes and valuables. Generally the fireplace (made of earth, with one or more openings) is also here. Except when it is cold or raining, they do not live much inside the house; it is not pleasant, being filled with smoke and dark, as it has no window, but only one or two tiny smoke-holes. When it is cold, however, they seem to enjoy being smoked. The food is preferably prepared and also eaten inside, to ensure safety from the evil eye and other dangers. It is customary, especially in the modern mud-walled houses, to have a kind of narrow platform running round the sides and back of the house, which serves to strengthen the foundation. People may sit on this ledge; otherwise, one part of it is used for putting water-pots on. The latter are always kept outside, either here, or on a special structure (formerly always of wood) put up somewhere in the courtyard.

"As soon as convenient and necessary, a Santal will build one or more other houses round a square courtyard, which all the houses face, the only exception being the pigsty, which is situated at the side or back of the houses and often has its door to the village street. A Santal door never opens direct on the village street though it may face it, but then there is the courtyard between the house and the street. The second house erected is usually a cowshed, built in the same way as a dwelling-house, but frequently without solid walls. On the third side may come a house, with or without a *bhitar*, which is used for general purposes, as a kitchen, a married son's quarters, etc. On the fourth side there may be a second cowshed or goatshed, or a dwelling-house. Finally a kind of wall may be put up joining the several houses, with an entrance from the street and an exit towards the fields, but this is considered advanced civilization. The courtyard is kept clean by smearing it with cowdung. In the middle a pigeon-shed is frequently erected. It should be remarked that a Santal often changes his dwelling-house site. If members of the family suffer much from fever or die from some infectious disease, it often happens that he gives up his old house altogether and builds a new one in some other place in the village, or moves away to some other village.

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"In the main street is the *manjhithan*, which consists of a small mud mound, with a thatched roof over it, which is supported by five posts, one in the centre and four at each corner. Occasionally the *manjhithan* is built with mud walls; and in some villages there is only a small mud mound with a central post. The latter seems to be indispensable. At the foot of the central post is a stone or roughly carved piece of wood, which is sacred to the spirits of former *manjhis*, more especially the spirit of the first *manjhi*, although the Santals' ideas on the subject seem to make it possible to infer that it is the spirit of the manjhiship in general. Frequently a second stone or head is seen beside the principal one; this is said to represent the wife of the old *manjhi*, and some say the one is for Pilchu Haram (probably the original *manjhi*), the other for Manjhi Haram. From the roof is suspended an earthen pot containing water for the spirits to drink. Here sacrifices are offered by the villagers, and here, as already mentioned, the elders meet to discuss village affairs and settle disputes.

"On the outskirts of the village is the *Jaher* or sacred grove. It should consist of trees belonging to the primeval forest, and a cluster of trees is always permitted to stand round it; but only five trees are essential, viz., four *sal* trees and one *mahua* tree. Three of the *sal* trees must stand in one row; at the foot of each tree is one stone for each of the following gods :—Jaherera (the lady of the grove), Moreko and Marang Buru. A fourth *sal* tree standing anywhere near has a stone for the Pargana Bonga, and at the foot of a *mahua* tree is a stone for the Gosainera. The stones are said to be put in their places at the command of the gods themselves, who speak by the mouths of persons who are possessed by them for the purpose. This is done at the foundation of a village, or when, as may happen though very seldom, the villagers for some reason give up the old and establish a new *jaher*. The gods of the *jaher* are national deities worshipped by all Santals; and the sacrifices are performed by the village *noeke*."*

The investigator did not find in the investigated villages any old *dochalia* house which is built by fixing poles in the ground, tying them with cross saplings, finishing the whole off with the

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plaster of clay and cowdung and with two-sided roofs. It was gathered that the poor Santals of the extreme interior still build such *dochalia* houses. Now the Santals mostly prefer *Char Chalia* house the roof of which is four-sided. *Dochalia* house is now on the wane. The houses are mostly mud-built and thatched with grass. Brick-built house is rarely seen. The Santals generally have no separate *baithak-khana* for males. The surrounding *pindi* (platform) mostly serves the purpose. The *pindi* is built about three feet wide so that a small cot may conveniently be put in to entertain the guest or outsiders. The *pindi* is kept dried and clean and *prima facie* given the view of cemented plaster. Some well-to-do convert Santals of Haripur have separate *baithak-khanas* and their houses have tiled roof. Better type tiles are brought from Dhulian. The Santals do not as a rule have windows in their house.

Their stock of furniture is very limited, and generally consists of a few cots made of four sticks rough hewn from the neighbouring jungle, the ends of which are made into four wooden legs, and the frame-work thus filled in with grass string or *kudrum* (a plant) string. These cots (*parkom*) are generally short in size hardly sufficient for the full length of a man. These cots are very light and can be lifted and put to any place. A few converted rich Santal families have chairs and benches. The wooden *chauki* is rarely seen. The raised platform (*pindi*) around the house which supports the foundation of the house also serves the purpose of the cots. The bamboo-made umbrella and hats of the ploughmen are a common sight. The artistically-woven *chhopis* (rainy coats) of palm-leavs are seen in almost every household. The umbrella is also common, especially for visiting the *hats* and the *melas*. Bamboo seats and stools are common.

The Santal has an eye for decoration according to his standard. The common stuff for decoration are clay of various colours mixed with cowdung. The *pindi* is built with clay mixed with cowdung and charcoal dust which gives the polish of the black stone to the casual on-looker. The house is washed regularly with clay and cowdung. Some houses are white-washed with white clay found in the locality. Some houses are decorated with niches of several designs. The yard is scrupulously clean.

The walls have rudiments of painting. Here the inner artisfice carving of the primitive tribe has displayed itself. In some places the walls are painted with a variety of colours, white, yellow, black, red and chocolate, sometimes with one colour and sometimes with alternate stripes, again with queer patches of triangles and rectangles. Various designs such as tigers, deer, jungle, cycles, etc., associated with Santal life are depicted on the walls*.

**The Santals* by Charulal Mukherjee, p. 68.

Position of Women.

A Santal woman plays a very important role in Santal community. Seemingly she occupies an inferior position but she has her rights along with obligations according to custom and tradition. The civil condition of a Santal woman has been undergoing changes along with the impact of modernism. There have been some investigations into the position of a Santal woman by several scholars. Mr. W. G. Archer, who was a Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas some years back has also made some investigations.

A common expression "*Jinis Kanako*" (they are things) is an index of the position of a woman. She is, according to tribal law and tradition, an attachment to a man. As a child she is under the guardianship of her father ; as a wife, to her husband ; as a widow, to her husband's family, her father or her sons and as a sister to her brother.

Another Santali expression "*saus shamrao hivale*" ("the wife is the husband's property") defines the position of the wife. Until a girl is married, she is completely under the tutelage of her father and the father is responsible to the society for her conduct. If her modesty is infringed on, it is for the father or her guardian to take steps. If she has a lover and is detected, her value for marriage is impaired. It is, therefore, the father's rights which are infringed. The *Jogmanjhi* who is a sort of a guardian of the morals and is deeply regarded has a great hold and any complaint by the *Jogmanjhi* to the father cannot be ignored. The *Jogmanjhi* will bring it to the notice of the father that his daughter is going out a lot with a particualr boy and that she should be married to the boy if marriage is permissible. If not, the *Jogmanjhi* will ask the father to wean away the girl from the boy's influence and if the father fails, the *Jogmanjhi* will make the affair public and the father will be fined or even outcasted. The theory is that the father is more responsible for his ward's conduct.

It is a mistake to think that a Santal girl is cheap in her love affairs. She has the training by social tradition and instinct to fix up a lover within the marriageable group. There is no *dhamkuria* system among the Santals as some of the aboriginals in Chotanagpur have. In a *dhamkuria* system the young unmarried boys and girls pass their nights in separate dormitories and have a great latitude to mix with each other. The Santal girls can only get an opportunity to mix with boys more on the sly, while grazing the cattle, picking up fuel or jungle fruits or when returning from the *hatia*. It is, unfortunately, a fact that in the last Great War the Santal women were in great demand in constructional works like the

aerodromes, roads, etc. The Santal males also had large employment chances and had to stay away from the village for months at a stretch. Their employment in the collieries and in Assam Tea Gardens also kept them away for years. The contact with the outer world that the Santal girls have had through the contracting coolies, etc., did have some effect in upsetting their traditional morals. That phase has now gone.

After marriage a Santal girl becomes more of "a child-producing housekeeper". She bears children for a husband and manages her household. It is she who collects paddy, and borrows seed-grains. It is she who contacts the *Mahajan* more for loans. It is a fact that many of the Santal husbands do not even know the borrowings and at the time of harvesting the *Mahajans* will come in bullock-carts to take away the paddy as payment of the loan and will have dealings with the womenfolk. As a wife if she is guilty of misconduct, it is again the husband that will have to bear the consequence as the owner of the woman. If a Santal woman commits a serious offence which goes to the very roots of their communal life the matter is brought before the village "Five" and any fine imposed will have to be paid by the husband.

In everyday life there is a sort of division of work based on convenience and propriety between a Santal male and female which has almost assumed a traditional sanctity. For certain acts, men are taken to be more fit than women. Women, for example, cannot plough, thatch a roof or use a leveller. They may not shoot arrows, use a razor, chisel holes, strike with an axe or fish with line and hook. They cannot weave cloth or string a cot. They cannot wear male clothes and play musical instruments. Besides women are debarred from sacrificing animals, as well as from witnessing sacrifices. They cannot assist in certain ceremonies but can share only certain portions of the sacrificial meat (not the head). In certain circumstances, certain women cannot enter the *bhitar* or private shrine. This is because the sex of women will contaminate the *bongas*. These avocations are man's reservations. On the other hand collection of fuel, drawing of drinking water and cooking are almost exclusively a woman's task.

In other respects, a Santal woman is virtually as free as a man. She can go about alone. She may dance in public, she may take her wares to the bazar and open her own shop there and she may drink and smoke in her husband's presence. In household matters she has a big say. In arranging marriages her voice and influence are often decisive. Even in village meetings, women are virtually at par with men. " A woman's words are like an arrow in the shoulder

blade". In Santal society only women are witches while men are witchfinders and healers.

Duties of unmarried daughters.—In the Santal code, the rights of daughters presuppose a number of duties. The mother teaches the daughter her duty and imparts her practical training in household matters. It is the duty of the daughter to husk rice, sweep the house and courtyard and smear them with cowdung, bring drinking water from spring and wells and make plates and cups of *sal* leaves. She learns to cook and wash clothes with ashes. In agricultural operations, she assists in uprooting and transplanting the seedlings of paddy and in harvesting the crop. She brings firewood, twigs and leaves and grazes the cattle. In the evening she joins the village dancing and worship. She helps her parents in certain religious acts. So long as she is unmarried she belongs to her father's *bongas*. She assists her parents in cleaning the *bhitar* or private shrine. She could eat all the sacrificial meat except the head. During the period of maidenhood her father is responsible for her acts of omissions and commissions. He is responsible to the society for both her conduct and her marriage.

The unmarried girl is the owner of certain types of property. So long as she is unmarried, the wages earned by her are the property of the head of the family. But there are six kinds of wages on which she has absolute right. The first of these is the *irarpa* or a bundle of harvested crop. *Irarpa* is given in almost all the well-to-do Santal family. The second type of property consists of any animal which her maternal uncle may have given her out of affection. There are a number of customary presents on which an unmarried girl has absolute possession. If her grandfather or elder sister's husband or her father's sister's husband come to the house, she washes their feet and they make a gift out of affection, the gift is her property. At the wedding of her elder sister she acts as a leading girl or *ak vuric*. She receives an anna for her act when the bridegroom enters the house. If she cowdungs the place where the bride and bridegroom sit, she receives four annas from the bridegroom's father and an anna from her mother. If she herself gives the pair a rupee, she can demand a calf from the bridegroom's father. If she is an elder sister and the younger sister is married she can claim two rupees from the bridegroom's father. If this is not given to her at the wedding she can force herself into the basket and insist on being given *sindur* also.

A fifth type consists of all the property which she may have inherited on the death of her father and mother. If her mother is already dead and she has no brothers, she gets her father's movable property on his death and retain it till her marriage. If she is a

major she can dispose of it as she likes otherwise it will be kept for her by her guardian until she is married or attains majority. If her mother dies she will have no claim in her father's movables if there are brothers. Finally, if there is a partition in the family before the girl is married she is given *danguahisa* in form of cattle.

As a rule, as mentioned elsewhere she has no right in the immovable property. She cannot ask for a partition if her brothers separate, but normally a piece of land is kept in reserve for financing her marriage. At the same time her right to maintenance continues if she is adult and can claim it from her father, brother or father's agnates. She can claim sufficient land for maintenance till her marriage. Moreover, she can acquire land of her own out of the wages received in form of *irarpa* and out of other presents from her kindred. On such land she has absolute right. Similarly, in certain circumstances an ummarried daugther can inherit land of her father if there are neither brothers nor agnates. If later she is married in *gharjamai* form, the land continues to be her own.

Succession of the property of the unmarried daughter devolves on the order—first to her father, after that her brothers or their sons, then to her mother, then to her own paternal uncles and finally in the absence of all male agnates to her sister or their heirs.

The unmarried girl has certain rights over her own person. If any one violates her modesty the culprit has to pay five rupees or some other sum decided as *lajao marao*. This *lajao marao* money is her absolute property.

When a Santal girl is married her legal position is at once altered and she acquires a double status. On the one hand she acquires the right of a wife while on the other she retains the privileges of a daughter. But the latter rights are partly modified by her marriage and her claim on her father or brother, etc., for maintenance lapses. But the position is somewhat different if she is married in the *gharjamai* form.

On the other hand, all the utensils, articles, ornaments, cash or cattle possessed by her as an unmarried daughter remain her own. If after marriage she comes to her father to assist him in harvesting operations, she earns fresh gleanings and these are added to the original stock. If the *irarpa* consists of fowls, pigs, goats, cattle or cash, it is usually kept at her father's house until she is finally settled in her new house after marriage. The settlement of the married daughter generally starts after the birth of the first child.

During her lifetime a married daughter has full control of ownership in all types of property whether movables or immovables.

In the case of movables her property is not inherited by her husband but is divided equally by her sons.

In the case of land, inheritance varies according to its character. If the land has been acquired as *taben jom* (forever) the children of the married daughter inherit it. If there are sons they receive the landed property and if there are no sons, daughters, whether married or unmarried, will get the property. Her husband or his agnates will not, however, have any claim, for the land was never theirs. If the woman does not have any children the land will return to her father, brothers, mother or male agnates.

For almost every Santal girl, the first ambition is to be a wife. After her marriage she becomes the property of her husband. If anybody violates her person it is husband's right which has been interfered. If "her skin is stolen" it is the husband who must be compensated. The husband can claim from the adulterer a sum of money known as *celan gitil* "for scouring the pot" and the culprit must also pay the *manjhi* of his village five rupees "for shaving his head". This payment is now regarded as a fine as the survival from a time when an adulterer could be slain by the woman's husband. If sexual intercourse with another man is primarily the infringement of a husband's rights, a wife is also entitled to *lajao marao* or private damages if the act is done by force.

A second consequence of marriage is that a woman acquires a new religious relation. The marriage provides a girl with a new set of *bonga*. Marriage also gives her a new domestic focus. Instead of working for her father the wife must now work for her husband. So long as her husband is joint with his father the wife's position differs little from what it was in her father's house. She is equally subordinate to the senior women and must work according to their bidding. But after separation of the husband with his father her responsibility increases. She becomes the trustee of all his possessions.

The married couple has reciprocal rights and obligations. The husband lightens the burden of his wife and wife that of her husband. There is a sense of partnership.

Claims of the first wife.—If a Santal desires a co-wife he usually seeks the approval of the first wife. But her consent is not always decisive if the village elders approve the second marriage. Though the first wife cannot prevent a second marriage, her attitude has important bearings on its method. The second marriage is called *hiromcitan bapla* (the taking

of a co-wife). If the first wife agreed to a second marriage and the girl is *dangua* or unmarried there is nothing to prevent a full dress celebration by the village.

The first wife is entitled for certain relief called *hirom baiha* or compensation if she is not responsible for co-wife. The earlier custom was that the first wife awaited at the door of the house with a broom and burning firewood to compel the co-wife to purchase her entry by paying *hirom baiha*. Usually a cow or five rupees are given in *hirom baiha*. Besides the claim of *hirom baiha* she can also claim for *chadaodi* or divorce money. But if the first wife consents to live with her husband along with the co-wife neither *hirom baiha* nor *chadaodi* is paid. But if the first wife elopes with a lover, her husband's rights remain and he can still claim a double bride price. Similarly if after living with the co-wife, the first wife deserts her husband, he can claim return of the bride price if he is not responsible for desertion.

If a co-wife or *chutki* is married with the approval of the first wife, she is given a cow, some ornaments or some lands as *monrofa* or gift. The gift is an insurance against friction and like *hirom baiha* is designed to protect the co-wife against a break-down of the union. *Monrofa* is given when the first wife accepts the marriage. If the first wife opposes the marriage no *monrofa* can be claimed. Once a co-wife is installed, she acquires the same civil rights as the first wife. There is, however, a difference of the economic position if the co-wives live separately or jointly. If they share the same house they have equal rights in everything. But if the co-wife lives separately, certain movables are allotted to the first wife and it is only in respect of these that she acts as the custodian. After the death of the husband movables are inherited on the basis of the household. All the sons, both of the first and second wife inherit their father's land equally. Status of a widow—Bodding describes a widow as "a piece of masterless property, utterly destitute except for what people may give her or for what she may be able to earn through her own work". It is difficult to say how far Bodding's observation is now true. A Santal widow has a number of rights and these are determined by whether she is young or old and with or without children. "A widow neighs like a stallion", "A woman and rice land do not lie vacant" are the common sayings in the Santal society. A widow, if she is young even with children, it is inconceivable that she will remain unmarried for long.

If a childless widow remarries, the first result is to sever connection with her dead husband, his family and his property. She can take her own property which she owned as a married daughter and she will also retain any land which she has either acquired

herself or in which she possesses rights of *taben jom* (forever). As stated elsewhere the widow has no claim in her deceased husband's property if there are agnates. The widow can keep the landed property of her husband only with the consent of the agnates. If she remarries, she severs connection with her first husband's *parish*. When a widow has children and then remarries, the position is much more complicated. If the children of the widow are minor, she will retain the property until they reach majority. But if there are agnates with stronger claims, the custody of the land and movable passes to them until the children reach majority. If her deceased husband leaves brother, paternal uncle or nephew, they become the guardian of the children. If all the children are girls, they inherit the land and movables but must meet the expenses of their maintenance and arrange for marriage. If they fail to maintain her properly, the widow can request the village elders to take necessary action for the support of the children of her deceased husband.

If the widow remains as a widow of her deceased husband and does not remarry, she acts as his representative. If her husband was joint with his brothers, her right to maintenance will continue and if her husband's family neglects her she can demand sufficient land for maintenance.

If her husband was separate, the widow will remain under the control of her major sons. The land will be held jointly by all her sons subject to the obligation of maintaining their mother and unmarried sister and if they neglect her, she can demand sufficient land as *khorposh*. If her sons die unmarried she inherits the property until her death or remarriage.

When all the sons are minors, the widow acts like their father. She supervises the cultivation, administers the movables and runs the joint household. She must not, however, leave the village; if she does, her rights lapse. The position in fact is that while a son is his father's ultimate heir, his minority makes a substitute. During the period of the minority of the sons the widow is expected to take due care of the family movables and sell them only for food, clothing and for cultivation expenses. If she begins to waste the movables the villagers can interfere and appoint a manager to administer the property of the minors.

If a widow marries or elopes, her rights in her deceased husband's property lapse. If she is criminally assaulted by a Santal, the accused is fined by the villagers and out of fine a share is given to the widow as *lajao marao* or *khiti puran*. But if she herself colludes with a lover, her husband's kinsmen can intervene. Her act

is then equivalent to a second marriage and she must leave the house and property. After becoming widow her relation to her husband's *bongas* is also affected. A widow is debarred from entering the *bhitar* or private shrine to offer worship to appease the family's *bongas*.

Mythology.*—The Santal's tradition about the creation of the world and the origin of mankind is as follows:—In the beginning there was only water, and below the water earth. Thakur Jiu created certain animals and fishes and then decided to create man. He made a pair of earth, but when he was going to give them souls a horse came and kicked them to pieces. Thereupon the Thakur decided first to make birds, and made the goose and the gander. He took them in his hands, and they looked most beautiful. So he breathed on them, and they became living beings and flew up into the air, but as they could nowhere find a resting place they came back and settled on the Thakur's hand. Then the horse came down along a gossamer thread to drink water ; whilst he was doing this, some froth fell down from his mouth. It became foam, and the goose and the gander went along, using it as a boat. Then they implored the Thakur to give them food, and he called successively on several animals (the alligator, the prawn, the *boar*, fish and the crab) to bring up earth ; but none of them succeeded, for the earth melted. Finally he called for the earthworm, who promised to do what was wanted if only the tortoise would stand on the water. Thus having been agreed to, the worm placed one end of his body on the back of the tortoise, and putting his mouth down started eating earth, which came out at the other end and settled on the back of the tortoise. The Thakur harrowed this deposit, and from the earth thus coagulated mountains were formed. The foam abovementioned fastened itself to the earth, and in it Thakur sowed the seed of *sirom* (*Andropogon muricatus*) and other kinds of seeds.

The two birds made their nest in the *sirom*, and the goose laid two eggs, on which she sat whilst the gander brought her food. In the end a pair of human beings were hatched. The Thakur now ordered the goose and the gander to soak a piece of cotton, which he gave them, in their own food and press it out in the mouths of the children. In this way they were reared. When they grew big the birds did not know where to put them. The Thakur ordered them to find a place ; whereupon they found

* *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938).

Hihiri-pipiri towards the west and took them there. There they grew up eating the seeds of the *sumtu bukuch* (*Eleusine agyptica*, Pers.) and *sama* (*Panicum colonum*, L.). They were naked, but not ashamed and lived in great happiness. One day Lita came to them, announced himself as their grandfather, and expressed his pleasure at finding them so happy. Still there was one great joy which they had not experienced ; so he taught them to ferment liquor and to brew rice-beer. When all was ready, Lita said they should make a libation to Marang Buru and then drink. They did so, drank, became intoxicated and had intercourse with one another. The following morning Lita came and called out to them ; but now their eyes were opened, they saw that they were naked and would not come out. Later on they made shirts of big (*Ficus indica*) leaves to cover their nakedness.

The conception of the Creator (Thakur Jiu) in the mind of the modern Santal appears to be that of a kind of bird. The Thakur is undoubtedly the same word as *Thakkura* found in very late Sanskrit, and the Santals have probably borrowed the name from the Aryans. It is a custom of theirs to avoid, as much as possible, mentioning anybody's proper name, and they may have used this one to cover an older, now forgotten, name. A curious addition to the name of the Creator is Jiu, which means spirit. Lita is, according to the traditions, the real name of Marang Buru, and is preserved in the word *lita-ak*, meaning the rainbow.

The Santals account for the division of mankind into different communities by a story that all men were brothers until Marang Buru created dissension among them. He arranged a race in which different representatives of mankind competed for the prizes he offered. The first prize was a large supply of cooked beef, the others were neither so large nor so good, and the last consisted of a little rice and milk. The strongest and swiftest runners carried off the beef and were the ancestors of the Santals ; the hindmost, who got only the rice and milk, were Brahmans. This division of mankind into different races took place in Sasanbeda. The traditions, if we are to judge from the expressions used, mix up the division of the human race into nations and of the ancestors of the Santals into septs.

*Astrology**.—The sun, moon and stars are considered to be animate beings, the sun being the male, the moon the female and the stars their children. A shooting-star is called a star-excrement, and a comet a

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938).

tail-star. The four stars in the Great Bear constellation which form the rectangle of the plough are known as the *budhi parkom* or the old woman's bedstead, while the other three stars are called *bursi kombroko*, the fire-pan thieves ; the star furthest out from the bed is always kept so far away because he is laughing. The three stars of Orion's belt are *arar ipilko*, the yoke stars ; and three others close by are *arar lalakko*, the yoke-cutters or dressers. The Pleiades are known as *sorenko*. "What *sorenko* means", writes Mr. Bodding, "I am not at present prepared to say, but it may be mentioned that one of the twelve Santal septs is called Soren and Soren *sipahi* (the Soren soldier) is very frequent combination". Two small stars near Vega in Lyra are called *potam bela*, or the dove's eggs. For the Milky way they have a name meaning the way of the Market-place, but according to some it is also called the Elephant's Path. The "morning star" (whether Jupiter or Venus) is sometimes styled *corkheda*, or the thief pursuing star, because it is believed that thieves when they see this star appear, cease from their nefarious business and make their way home. The most favoured explanation of an eclipse is that once upon a time the sun or the moon (or both together) stood security for the human race when the latter were compelled to borrow food from a certain godling, called Dusad. The debt has never been repaid, and now and again the Dusad stretches out his hand to catch hold of the sun or the moon and exact his dues ; this causes an eclipse. At such times the Santals beat their kettledrums and bring out their stores of grain into the open, and with much shouting offer to liquidate the debt if the godling will but relinquish his hold. During the eclipse a fast is observed and none may look upon a woman who is with child. To explain the phases of the moon they have a story that in olden days the sun and the moon had many children. The boys were living with their father the sun, the girls with their mother the moon. By reason of the terrible heat of the sun and his children (the stars) it was feared that the earth would be burnt up ; so the moon suggested to the sun that they should devour their children in order to avert the catastrophe. The sun bade his wife eat up her daughters in the first place ; if that were sufficient, said he, he would also eat his sons. Then the moon—"a woman", adds the narrator, "and we know their tricky ways"—put all her daughters in a large bamboo basket and hid them after which she went to the sun and said that she had devoured all her girls but still the heat was as bad as ever, and if he did not devour the boys too mankind would surely perish. The foolish husband believed her and ate up all his sons, the day-stars. But when it became night he saw that the daughters were still unharmed, and in great anger he took a sword and pursued his wife and overtaking her he cut her. He might indeed have destroyed her utterly, but when she gave up two of her daughters he relented and

left her. These two stars are the planets Venus and Jupiter, which may be seen during the day time. Yet every month the sun remembers his wife's deceit, and pursues and cuts her, so that the moon has very little rest except on two days in each month. Thunder and lightning, like all other natural phenomena, are believed by the Santals to be acts of the Supreme Being, so that they say "he rains" or "he blows" or "he thunders". They have various names for thunder, most of which appear to be enomatopoeic. In common with other races, they think that stone implements found in the ground are thunderbolts and call them ceterdiri, which means stroke-of-lightning stones. They have heard the tale of Rama's shooting, but it is doubtful whether they place any credence in it. Some Santals try to guard themselves against lightning by keeping an arrow on the bowstring in aim against the threatening cloud*.

Witchcraft.†—The Santal has an inveterate dread of the evil eye and of witches who are supposed to have intercourse with the *bongas* and to have power to kill people by eating their entrails, to cause illness, blights, murrain, etc. On this subject Mr. Bodding writes :—

"A most interesting book might be written on the witches, their supposed origin, their doings, etc., and how the Santals try to guard themselves against them, although their own traditions maintain that the witches always blind the witch-finders, so that they will never be able to tell the right woman. I believe it is a mistake to pay no attention to this belief of the Santals. It is not nonsense, pure and simple, when every Santal fears witches. They have some reason for their belief. It is a fact that there are witches among the Santals, viz., women who meet in secret in the dead of night at certain fixed places, generally on the Sunday night nearest to a new moon, who have their peculiar secret songs and *mantras*, who perform sacrifices, and who also try to kill people by magic very much in the same way as the old witches of Europe tried to. Sometimes they do it by drawing a picture of the person to be killed and then doing the killing in *effigie* ; sometimes they bury *bongas* in places, expecting them to do what is wanted ; often they bury a tuft of hair with *sindur*, etc.

"It is, of course, out of the question that they can do anything by magic, although they themselves may believe so ; but they can do a great deal by suggestion and by keeping people in fear ; and I have no doubt that they know some vegetable poisons which

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*Mr. W.G. Lacey, I. C. S., *Census Report of B. & O.* 1931, Appendix.

†*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938).

they administer themselves or by proxy. It is significant that in one of their *mantras* they mention *kambru guru*, who is the old *guru* of the medicine men (*ojhas*). That witches are found, I believe, may to some extent be accounted for by the peculiarity of the Santal religion as essentially a man's religion. The women are not permitted to approach any deity themselves ; it has all to be done through the men. The two sexes have not much confidence in each other ; on the contrary, the male and female sections of the community live their lives rather separate from one another, the one not having the courage or the inclination to trust the other. Now the women want, just as much as the men, to have an opportunity—for good or for evil—for direct appeal to the supernatural. It cannot be done in public or with the consent of the men : hence it must be done in secret, if it is to be done at all. I cannot say for certain, but I am inclined to think that we have here an explanation of much witchcraft. It is a secret practice of religion, but like most secret things it is liable to develop into bad practices."

The Santals call a witch a *dan*, a word which, though Hindi, has come from Sanskrit. They have several methods of witch-finding, and go to work in a very deliberate manner. If a person is ill and does not get well in a couple of days, an *ojha* is called in. He proceeds to divine with the help of oil and two sal leaves, marking the different parts of the leaf, one "house" (place) in it meaning a *bonga*, etc., and one a witch. Then oil is applied, and muttering a *mantra*, the *ojha* rubs the leaves together. If the oil and dirt show up in the "house" of witches, the villagers act upon the knowledge thus imparted. In the evening all the people, with the *manjhi* at their head, walk through the street, calling out that such and such a person is ill, and if he does not recover they will not call "her" (i.e., the witch) good. If after this the sick person does not recover, i.e., if the witch does not obey, the headman sends pair of men to the different *ojhas* in the vicinity to verify the divination. If the three *ojhas* confirm it, its truth is considered certain ; if not, they go on till they get enough divinations to support the first verdict. No one has really any doubt of its truth ; it is merely desired to secure a kind of moral support.

The next step is to locate the witch. This is done by the people fixing fresh branches in the ground and then observing which branch first withers. In order to be fair to the witches, another test is made. A large number of branches are put in the ground, first one as a witness on the part of the sun-god (Sing Bonga) one for the Orak Bonga of the sick person, one for *bonga* of the wife's father, one for the male relatives, etc., one for disease, and one for each house in the village. The branches are smeared with *sindur*, Sing Bonga is invoked, and after some hours they come

back to see which branches have withered. To make quite sure, the test is repeated at other places outside the village boundary. The same object is also attained by putting a leaf with rice in a white-ant hill and observing which is first touched by the ants.

The sick man is now asked whether he wants the investigation to go on. If so, they go to the *Jan* (i.e., the man who knows), who is supposed to be able to tell the name of the witch by relevation. The Santals imagine that they test the ability of the *Jan*, and they act upon his declaration when he names anybody. "As a matter of fact", writes Mr. Bodding, "all *Jans* are unmitigated scoundrels, who through spies get all necessary information respecting the sick and the suspected, so as to be able to denounce anyone they like. They are responsible for much misery and many crimes. A witch may be beaten to death ; formerly she was certain of being driven away from her home in a horribly degrading way". Various attempts have been made to stop such murders, one curious device being employed by a former Assistant Commissioner. Whenever he heard that women had been denounced, he brought out a galvanic battery. The girl was told to hold the handles, but the electric current was disconnected. Her accusers were next told to do the same, and, the current being turned on, received a good shock, remaining prisoners until they acknowledge that they had made a mistake. The Santals still cling to their belief in witches, and not a year passes without some poor women being convicted and killed for the mysterious mischief she is supposed to have done.

Taboo.—The custom of taboo is common among the Santals. Names are tabooed in the cases of (1) a man and his younger brother's wife, (2) a man and his wife's younger brother's wife, (3) a woman and her younger sister's husband, and (4) a woman and her younger brother's wife. Husband and wife are also prohibited from mentioning each other's names, not only when they are speaking of or to each other but also if they are speaking of another person bearing the same name. This custom is strictly observed, and in the case of brothers and sisters-in-law a breach of it is considered a sin which will be punished both in this world and the next. The Santals also taboo the totems which have given names to their septs and sub-septs. For instance, the Mal Saren may not utter the word *mal* when engaged in a religious ceremony or when sitting on a *panchayat* to determine any tribal questions. The Jihu-Saran may not kill or eat the *Jihu* or babbler bird, nor may they wear a particular sort of necklace known as *jihu mala* from the resemblance which it bears to the babbler's eggs. The *jihu* is said to have guided the ancestor of the sept to water when he was dying of thirst in the forest.

The Sankh-Saran may not wear shell necklaces or ornaments, and are forbidden to eat, carry, cut or use shells. The custom of taboo also prevents women joining in religious ceremonies* (*District Gazetteer of Santhal Parganas*, 1938).

Sympathetic Magic†—There is a curious practice of sympathetic magic in connection with the annual national hunt of the Santals, which is presided over by a master of the hunt called the *dihri*. The *dihri* is responsible for the hunt, i.e., that all goes well and no calamity happens. He himself seeks by divination to find out who are threatened by any danger during its continuance, and advises them to turn back ; but they generally make him sacrifice fowls for them to Sing Bonga to avert the calamity. He further performs sacrifices to the *bongas* of the forest where the hunt is held, to ensure success and safety. The wife of the *dihri* is also held responsible. She must remain at home absolutely quiet, doing nothing and harbouring only pure thoughts ; and she has to remain in this state till she knows that the men have had success or something has happened. She looks into a cup of water ; if she sees this turn to blood, she knows that blood has flown, i.e., an animal has been killed, and she is released. Otherwise she must wait till she can calculate that they have reached the place of meeting. In the same way the *dihri* must not touch any food till an animal has been shot or wounded. If there is any disaster, the people will accuse the *dihri* of being responsible, and the latter will accuse his wife, holding that she must have misbehaved in some way.

Santal religion.‡—Coming now to the religion of the Santals we find almost all the authorities agreeing in conceding that the Santals have the idea of a supreme being. But there is a great diversity of opinion as to what he is called. According to Dalton, he is *Sing Bonga* amongst the Santals of Chota Nagpur. Risely§, on the authority of Skrefsurd, says that the supreme deity is called Thakur. E.G. Man**, working in Orissa about fifty years ago, gives the name of the supreme being of the *Santals* as *Chando* or *Chando Bonga*. Bompass†† in one of his folklores describes that Thakur Baba had

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*The Revd. P. O. Bodding, *Taboo Customs amongst the Santals J.A.S.B.*, Part III, 1898 : *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 228.

†*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas*, 1938.

‡This section is partially based on Mr. P.C. Biswas's book, *Primitive Religion Social Organisation, Law and Government amongst the Santals.*

§Risley : *People of India*, Appendix VII, p. 446.

**E. G. Man : *Sonthal and Sonthalia* Chapter VI.

††Bompass. *Folklore of the Santhal Parganas*, p. 402.

made everything very convenient for mankind, etc. Rev. Bodding, an exhaustive worker on Santal beliefs and customs specially in the Mohulpaharia area in Santal Parganas, gives the name as *Cando*, 'the creator, the only one who gives and restores life, Bodding further says that this name is often confounded with *Cando* the Sun. In his enquiries at village Katikund within Dumka Damin and elsewhere in 1932, P.C. Biswas elicited the information that the general name for God is *Kando* and the name for the Sun in that area is *Sin Kando* and for the moon is *Ninda Kando*.

The Santal lives in harmony with the surroundings, having no temple and stooping to no idol made by his hand for the purpose of worship. His surroundings, the hill, the dale, the spring or the grove are the objects of the Santal's reverential fear. They are the abodes of a supreme supernatural energy or the departmental spirits or the *bongas*. The *bongas* are friendly beings at times, but very often mischievous. These *bongas* are supposed at times to harass men and they even eat up people (as the Santals express it) because they are hungry, displeased, hurt or envious. These spirits may further be used by, or themselves use, the witches as their medium. The Santal religion consists of a belief in the Supreme Being and in the various other spirits and to secure their good-will for their own well-being and that of the crops and the cattle. They believe in an active contact with the spirits of the ancestors and other dead persons. The rites employed to establish relations with them are mainly supplications and prayers, offerings of sacrifices and the ceremonial sharing of sacrificial food besides certain special observances and taboos.

The Santals believe that the supernatural influence is not often inimical and evil. Their idea is that there is no possibility of malevolent influence being turned to a benevolent or good one, the only practical question for them is how to stop it and, in the case of witches, how to stop and punish them. *Bongas* and witches know how to do evil to people but more often than not also how to do them good.

The Santal religion in its social aspect has helped to strengthen the social unity and quickened the sense of social responsibility and the Santal's concept of righteousness is bound up with his social or tribal consciousness.

The basis of the Santal religion, as seen earlier is the belief that there are a number of good and bad spirits. But it may be pointed out that in the old days they appear to have worshipped only the Thakur and picked up their belief in other spirits particularly in *bongas* during their wanderings. Thakur Jiu, the supreme deity,

is supposed to be passive and he does not generally do harm and so the Santals do not bother much about him. The Santals have a number of spirits, the chief of whom is Marang Buru. *The Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* mentions—"Buru means a mountain, but as every mountain is supposed to be the residence of some spirit, the word has come to be applied to a spirit. Thus, Marang Buru means great mountain, but is used as a *nomen appellativum* for the spirit of it ; his real name, according to tradition, is Lita. The Santals have a curious legend about him, somewhat like the account of the fall of the angels. They say that formerly all the *bongas* were the *godets* of God, i.e., his messengers. One day some of them said, 'We are doing all the work, we want to have the power also'. They tried to fight God, with the result that they were driven away from Thakur. They then came and settled down on all the hills and other places on earth. Their leader was *Marang Buru* ; and now they are evil spirits, the enemies of God and man, held in great fear and also in contempt".* A description about Thakur Jiu, Marang Buru and other deities has been separately given.

The Santals have a vague idea of life in a future world, called *Hanapuri*, in which they locate both a heaven and hell, the name meaning literally "that world" as opposed to *Noapuri* or "this world". Their ideas about their state in the future world are rather confused, but apparently they believe that in heaven the good Santal will live at his ease for ever, enjoying the tillage of his land, hunting, eating, and drinking. Their conceptions about hell, and the punishments inflicted there, are curious. Whatever has been a man's besetting sin in this world, he will be eager to commit in the next, but without being able to gratify his desire. Those who have been addicted to stealing meat, will have to walk about all day with some rotten meat on their heads ; they will inhale the stench but cannot eat. Those who die without paying their debts will be called upon to pay them there ; as they have nothing to pay with, they will have their backs flayed and salt rubbed into the sore. Their hell is sometimes called *ich-kund*, which means literally "excrement heap". The spirits grind the bones of dead, from which the bodies of children are formed. Men, however, can escape this task if they say they are preparing tobacco for chewing, and women if they are nursing babies. The entry of the spirits of the dead into the spirit world is facilitated and their comfort secured, if a man's left arm has marks burnt on it between the elbow and the wrist, and in the case of a female if her arms and chest are tattooed. It is said that if they have no *Sika* (brand mark), a caterpillar as big as a log of wood will be plunged into their bosom in the other world. The *Sika* is a tribal emblem with the

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 146.

Santals, and the story sounds as if it has been invented to encourage the youngsters to stand the pain of getting the *Sika*.

Mr. Bodding observes that one may sometimes hear a Santal speculate whether he will become a lizard or a grass-hopper after death, and there are tales extant among them which presupposes a belief that the soul of a living man may issue through his mouth in the shape of a small lizard. Mr. Bodding is of opinion that the Santals have no real belief in transmigration.*

The religion of the Santals is essentially a man's religion. Women are not allowed to be present at sacrifices except when they are offered in the house to the ancestors and family gods, and then only if there are no men to help the sacrificer. When a sacrifice takes place in the holy grove, they may not eat the meat of the offering, and the men burn what they do not eat. This prohibition does not apply in the case of animals sacrificed to the ancestors and family gods, except that women may not eat the meat of an animal sacrificed to Marang Buru or the head of any animal ; the latter is cooked with rice and eaten by the men. No woman is permitted to climb the consecrated trees in the holy grove, and no woman belonging to another household—in most cases not even a daughter of the house if she is married—is allowed to enter the *bhitar*, a small closet inside the house partitioned off by a low wall, where the family gods and ancestors are supposed to reside and where offerings are made to them and to Marang Buru. If any one breaks either of these rules, sacrifices must be offered to appease the offended *bongas*, who otherwise will revenge by sending sickness and death on their worshippers.†

Santal religion as discussed indicates a certain moral order and a good deal of emotion and thrill. At first their religion was described as animism but in the 1961 census the term 'Animism' in describing the religion of the Santals was given up. Shri Sarat Chandra Roy had used the expression 'Spiritism' while discussing the religion of the Kharias, a Munda tribe and probably this expression may be used.‡

Totemism and magic.—One of the aspects of Santal religion which could be more observed today on the social side rather

*W. G. Lacey, I. C. S., *Census Report of Bihar and Orissa*, 1931, Appendix VI as mentioned in the *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), p. 146.

†P. O. Bodding, *Taboo Customs amongst the Santals*, J.A.S.B. Part III, 1898 as mentioned in the *Santal Parganas District Gazetteer* (1938), p. 148.

‡Charulal Mukherjee. *The Santals* (1962), p. 286.

than any religious belief and ceremonial, is the definite association of some of the exogamous clans and sub-clans with names of plants, trees and some animals, generally termed as totemism. Thus of the total of twelve clans, nine are totemic and of the seventy-four sub-clans twenty-two are totemic, which are as follows :—

Clans	Totems	Clans	Totems
Besra	Hawk	Hasdak	Wild-goose.
Hembram	Betal-palm	Marandi	Grass.
Murmu	Nilgai	Saren	Constellation. Pleiades.
Pauria	Pigeon	Chore	Lizard.
Bedea	Sheep.		
Sub-clans	Totems	Sub-clans	Totems.
Kahu	Crow	Kara	Buffalo.
Chilbindha	Eagle-Slayer	Jihu	Bird.
Gua	Areca-nut	Kachua	Tortoise.
Nag	Cobra	Somal	Deer.
Buru-birit	Hill	Kekra	Crab.
Roht	Panjaun tree	Boar	Fish.
Ganr	Fort	Handi	Earthen vessel.
Sikiya	Chain	Barchi.	Spear-men.
Mundu or Badar	Dense Jungle	Sidup	Bundle of Straw.
Agaria	Charcoal-burner	Dantela	Breed pigs with large tusks for sacrificial purposes.
Lat	Bake meat in a leaf platter.		
Roh-Lutur	Ear-pierced.		

None of these appear to be associated with the idea of culture heroes as amongst the Amerindians. The folklore shows indeed some stories centering round the plants (betel-palm, panjaun tree, sabai grass) and animals (tiger, jackal, leopard, crab). Besides these some of the clans' names centre round industrial objects and articles of usefulness such as chain, earthen vessel, etc. These would be more in line with a belief in objects possessing *mana* and venerated as such and gradually getting associated with exogamous subdivisions which might have had a hand in the invention or diffusion of

those useful objects. There is no seasonal recurring ceremonial round these objects meant for the preservation or propagation of the animals or plants venerated as ancestors as in Australia. There is indeed some taboo to the use by the particular sub-clan of the plant and animal venerated as its ancestor. The animal and plant thus venerated are taboo to the clans ; none can hunt it, nor can they partake of its flesh. But for the observation of this taboo the Santals are in no sense plant and animal worshippers. It seems that their ideas of *bongas* inhabiting all creeks and corners of nature have been extended only to the region of certain animals and plants. In the folklore the *bongas* are generally represented as using seats of hooded cobra and certain serpents are naturally venerated as clan-ancestors ; on the other hand, the common snake (*Dhamoa*) is eaten by almost all the Santals. Of the animals not eaten by the Santal all are not associated with clan-names such as the frog, gibbon, elephant, dog, etc.

As mentioned earlier if the religion of the Santals may be described as veneration of a Supreme Being and reverential awe or fear of certain good or evil spirits surrounding him, his practical life may be said to centre round certain other pseudo-scientific or magical rites and ceremonies. He is constantly trying to dodge, control or press into service the innumerable mischievous spirits (*bongas*, etc.) and forces (*tejo*, etc.) that bring all the misery and disaste in life.

Thus in magic the attitude of the Santal is mainly one of the defiance of control and domination over the unseen mysterious powers and the result intended is the expulsion of evil or compulsion of natural or supernatural forces and powers in the production of desired favourable conditions or results. The Santal magic referred to above, is primarily concerned with mysterious impersonal forces and powers residing mostly in natural or artificial objects and the instruments employed in dealing with them are principally charms and spells, adjurations and incantations as also certain traditional observances and taboos.

As has been beautifully and lucidly explained by Mr. S.C. Roy in the case of the Oraons, the Santal attitude to religion and magic is not mutually exclusive but complementary and supplementary. His magical practices are the result or part of his science and constitute his applied pseudo-science. They never crowd out those simple religious rites of veneration to and propitiation of the mysterious author of our being. But whereas in daily affairs of life of the civilized man the scientific physician is at hand, the Santal, like other primitive people, has recourse to his medicine-man and *Bonga* doctor. The latter come with their knowledge of herbs as well as the mysterious processes of evil caused by malevolent,

natural or human agencies and profess to cure the Santal of his daily ailments and afflictions. Thus the magic ritualism is the speciality of Santal society and centre of the individual's life, whereas the religious ceremonials are more or less communal group affairs. The complicated cross section of the Santal belief would be well studied in the functional differentiation of the communal priest, the *Ato Naeke*, his assistant, *Kudam Naeke*, and *Dehri* (hunt-priest), the herbalist (medicine-man), the *Bonga* doctor or *Ojha* and the witch-detector or *Jan-guru*.

*Classification of the Supreme, Superior and Supernatural Beings.**— It is very difficult to attempt a precise classification of the orders of the supernatural beings which constitute the religious belief of a community. The classification would often imply the existence of a notion of hierarchy of the supernatural beings, one being far superior to the rest. It is curious to observe that this supreme being is never worshipped in the faith that he can never work out any evil. As for the rest the rank may be determined in the order in which worship is offered to them. But here again the difficulty would lie in the fact that a particular occasion would demand predominance being given to particular spirits. Thus the classification would be more or less a division in parallel lines, for it would be hard to decide the superiority or inferiority of the ancestral spirits on the one hand and the departmental deities of nature on the other. However, eight classes may be said to differentiate the types of these supernatural beings in Santal belief.

(1) The highest divinity recognised by the Santal is *Kando*, or Thakur Jiu, the Supreme Being, the Creator. He is the only one who can give and restore life and who has created the trees, plants, animals, etc.

The '*Horkoren Mare Hapramko Reak Katha*, while discussing the Santal theory of Creation mentions Thakur Jiu as the Creator of the world. The Santals regard him as the supreme deity. Sri Charu Lal Mukherjee in his book '*The Santals*' mentions that there are some variations with the traditions as noted by '*Horkoren Mare Hapramko Reak Katha*' from that obtaining in Mayurbhanj. Here the old Santals insist on calling 'Thakur Jiu" as "Dhorom" who is the Creator of the world according to Santal belief. The deity is invoked during all marriage ceremonies with offerings of pure water and nothing else. He is also invoked on certain other occasions specially in the most solemn oaths which are administered at the annual hunt, when the people are not able to decide who is the

**Primitive Religion, Social Organisation, Law and Government amongst the Santals*, by P. C. Biswas.

rightful owner of any animals. The deity is said to be '*Nirakar*' (formless)*. But many Santals are at variance with this view. The educated Santals, living under the Hindu influence identify their Supreme Deity with the Hindu idea in the *Upanishads* and the Christian Santals attribute to him biblical ideas. There are some who identify Thakur Jiu with *Sin Bonga*, the Sun-god worshipped every tenth year by the Santals. But this concept of Supreme Deity is confusing and cannot be accepted.

The Hindu name 'Thakur' forming a part of the original system of Santals and his exercise of supreme powers led Risley to associate the deity with a later stage of theological development.

2. The spirits of dead ancestors are placed by the Santals in a separate class by themselves.

The Santals regard the dead ancestors with religious awe and reverence. In all the festivals, public or private, *Haramko* or *Burha-Burhi* (the old man and woman) are offered a cock and a hen respectively together with a liberal share of rice-beer. During harvest festivals like *Sohrae* or the flower festival (*Baha*) fowls are sacrificed in their honour praying that the members of the tribe may have no disease such as bowels-complaints. The departed spirits of the dead brothers and unmarried sisters are worshipped after the propitiation of *Burha-Burhi*.

3. The next is composed of household spirits known as *Orak bongas* and the tutelary spirits known as *Abge bongas*. The names of the *Orak bongas* are the following :—

1. *Baspahar.*
2. *Deswali.*
3. *Sas.*
4. *Goraya.*
5. *Barpahar.*
6. *Sarchawdi.*
7. *Thuntatursa.*

The names of the *Abge bongas* are the following :—

1. *Darasore or Dharasanda.*
2. *Ketkomkundra.*
3. *Champa denagarh.*

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*Charulal Mukherjee : *The Santals*, pp. 32-33.

4. *Garsinka.*
5. *Lilachandi.*
6. *Dhanghara.*
7. *Kudracandi.*
8. *Barhara.*
9. *Duarseri.*
10. *Kudraj.*
11. *Gasain Era.*
12. *Achali.*
13. *Deswali.*
14. *Pahardana.*

It may be noted here that the Santal would not normally divulge the name of his *Orak bonga* to anyone but his eldest son.

The object of this secrecy is to avoid incurring the jealousy of the other spirits by letting them know which spirit is preferred by the family. The *Orak bongas* are invoked for the welfare of the house during the winter harvest, flower harvest and the sowing festivals with offerings of goats, fowls and pigs. The *Abge bongas* are worshipped near the white-ant hills with offerings of ram, fowl and pig. The whole family can partake of the sacrificial offerings to *Orak bongas* but men alone can touch those offerings presented to the *Abge bongas.* The sacrifice to be offered to *Abge bongas* is performed outside the village and only the male relatives are allowed to be present. What is left of the sacrifice is burnt on the spot.

4. The fourth class is the hunting spirit known as *Rongo ruji,* a *bonga* to whom worship is made on the night before the men start for the annual tribal hunt with utterly obscene songs and practices.

5. The fifth class of spirits are the village deities, which are the following :—

1. *Jaher Era* (female).
2. *Gosain Era* (female).
3. *Turuko Muruko* (male).
4. *Marang Buru* (male).
5. *Parganat* (male).

The Santals worship the above deities periodically in the sacred grove.

'Marang Buru', the chief presiding deity, possesses the widest possible powers and is associated both with good and mischievous godlings. The deity is offered a white fowl, and sometimes white and uncastrated goat is also offered. He is also propitiated with a liberal offer of rice-beer during all Santal festivals, and birth, death and marriage ceremonies.

'Monrenko Turuiko'—is a single entity, but it is addressed in the plural (the suffix *ko* indicates plurality) as the Santals believe that they were five brothers who were wedded to six sisters named *Dangi*, *Pungi*, *Hisi*, *Dumni*, *Chita* and *Kapra*. They are supposed to preside over the welfare of the village. His younger sister *"Gosain era"* constitutes a separate deity of the *Jaherthan* (Holy Grove) and is offered worship in a different hut. *'Jaher era'*, another sister of *"Monrenko"* is the goddess of *Jaherthan* named after her. She has a stone assigned as her symbol. The Santals worship her for the general welfare of the village so that their children may have good health, crops may grow and youths and maids may be married soon. She is offered, in propitiation, a brown hen and if a goat is to be sacrificed, it must be a red she-goat.

In Santal Parganas only *"Jaher era"*, *"Gosain era"*, Marang Buru and Monrenko have huts for them in the holy grove. The *Manjhi* has his own place, but he is worshipped at the *Manjhi-than*, a separate shrine in the village. *Manjhi bonga* is supposed to represent the spirits of dead *Manjhis* (village headmen). But he is only second to another dignitary, *"Parganat"* who has power over witches.

6. There are spirits of the village boundary known as *Sima bongas*, and of the outskirts of the village known as *Bahre bongas*.

7. Next come the tramp or stray spirits who are spirits of persons and children dying an unnatural death.

8. The spirit of the father-in-law's household, as is believed, sometimes follows the bride to her new house which is known as *Naihar bonga*. As soon as a Santal is convinced that the *Naihar bonga* has come along, he will either make yearly sacrifices to him, or, as there is some risk connected with it as one does not know the requirements of the foreign *bonga*, he will make arrangements to send him back at once, for by himself, he will not return. If either is not done the consequences are disease and death in the house.

Another spirit that must be exercised is *Kisar bonga*. The *Kisar bonga* is of a rather uncertain character. A man who has got

such a *bonga* into his house will be wealthy through him as he steals from others and carries all to the house of his master, but if he is offended there is no end to the mischief he will make. If on his account disease is brought into a family, the whole of it will be exterminated if the *Kisar bonga* is not effectually sent away from the house.

9. The last to be grouped are the spirits or rather mysterious powers residing in or connected with certain objects such as battle-axe (*Kapi Karan bonga* and *Bhalua Bijai bonga*. *Bhalua* is most likely a shortened form of *Bhalua Kapi*, the name of a common form of their battle-axe), and some weird natural objects such as an abnormally gnarled bamboo-shoot, tree-roots, some weird-looking fantastic-shaped hills or a roaring cataract, waterfall or a tank-side. These spirits are not objects of worship nor do they receive sacrifices but are mischievous spirits who have to be scared away or exorcised by the *ojha* (spirit-doctor).

In addition to the above classification of deities as mentioned* the Santals also associate their hills with several superhuman agencies called *Pats*. These spirits inspire them with a fear and so naturally they are propitiated so that they may not do harm. The important *pat* spirits are *Behra Pat*, *Mangar Pat*, *Budha Pahar*, *Pauri Pat*, *Chandra Pat*, *Duarsani Pat*, *Dagarsila*, *Sula Pat*, etc. *Behra Pat* is the chief hill spirit worshipped with offerings of red fowls and uncastrated he-goats for success in hunting and protecting people in undertaking any journey. *Mangar* is worshipped for the similar reasons. There were times when this god received human sacrifices. Both *Budha Pahar* a male deity and *Pauri Pat*, a female deity, are invoked for success in journey. *Chandra Pat* and *Duarsani Pat* are worshipped with offerings of sweets, bananas, hens of any colour and uncastrated goats, if there is no rain. *Dagarsila* is invoked during warfare and *Sula Pat* during litigation, epidemics, among men or cattle or during drought.

Mischievous Spirits.

A number of mischievous spirits are propitiated with appropriate rituals so that they may not bring epidemics to men or cattle. There are mainly three such representatives, *Kalachandi*, a male spirit, *Kalamahichandi* and *Nason-kudra*, both female evil spirits. The offerings that please them are *jhitipitti* (Oriya, a kind of worm), frogs, grass-hoppers, fowls, human blood, vermilion, sun-dried rice, powdered charcoal and burnt clay from ovens. Earthen images are made to represent these deities which are first invoked in the

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household and thereafter, at the junction of two roads. Human blood can only be offered at the latter place. Among lesser *bongas*, *Acraeli bonga*, who presides over the interests of the family may be mentioned. This godling keeps a close watch over the property, stolen by the wife of a Santal and taken to her parents' home and punishes the household by bringing illness and even death. It involves costly offerings to make him return to his domain. The *Baghut bonga* or tiger spirit is worshipped during the annual winter in order that tigers may not kill the cattle of the Santals.

Some *bongas* of this description take the form of young men and women for the purpose of meeting with Santals of the opposite sex. The result of such unions leads to illness and the bonga-lovers can be prevented by elaborate magic and charms practised by the witch-doctors.

Selection of Village Priest.

When the priest dies childless or resigns voluntarily village elders assemble at the house of the headman or the priest and then the six deities of holy grove are invoked. As usual some begin to shake their heads in a hypnotic trance and get possessed by some spirits. These men in trance are asked as to who they are and whom they recommend for the post of priesthood. They give reply. But it is customary that *Marang Buru* first proposes a name and the other actor-deities invariably support it.

*Religious ceremonies and festivals.**

The Santals have no temple nor any shed for worship but they have a *Sthan* (Place) known as *Jahirsthan* which is a place where religious ceremonies of the village are performed by the Santals. It is situated at the end of the village and it must be within the boundary of the village. It should consist of trees belonging to the primeval forest. A cluster of *Sal* trees, about twenty to twenty-five in number, is always required. Among these trees three are essential and they must stand in a row. At the base of each of these three trees a small stone is placed representing the *deities Jaher era*, *Turukomonrako* and *Marang Buru*. The fourth is an *Asan* tree which grows anywhere near those three *Sal* trees, and a stone is put on its base representing the deity *Pargana bonga*. The fifth and the last is a *Mohua* tree ; on its foot a stone representing the deity *Gosain Era* is kept. This is the most important one and is known as *Lady of the Grove*.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938).

In the Santal villages there is a succession of festivals throughout the year, nearly all connected with agricultural operations. The chief of these is the *Sohrai* or *Bandna parab* or the harvest festival, celebrated in the Bengali month *Pous* (i.e., at the beginning of the month of January) after the rice crop of the year has been harvested. This festival generally lasts for five days. Previously there was no fixed date, villages of one locality performing this festival one day, others performing it on some other day. But nowadays the Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas fixes the date for this festival, and this date is proclaimed by a man with a *sal* branch in his hand in every *hat*. Before this *Parab*, Santal women buy large earthen vessels and replace the old ones which they bought in the previous year. When the day has been fixed all houses prepare "*handia*" (rice beer) and people invite their relatives. The night before the festival commences, the *naeka* is religiously abstinent—for before any sacrifice the sacrificer must not have relations with a woman and will have to sleep on the ground on a mat. At daybreak the *godet* goes round and collects sacrificial fowls from every house. In the middle of the forenoon the *naeka* goes somewhere near a tank together with some of the village people, the *godet* taking the fowls with him. The *naeka* bathes and then sacrifices the fowls to the different *bongas* after which the villagers cook the fowls with rice and eat them, and also drink rice beer. After this the villagers go to *Kulimucha* (i.e., the meadow on the outskirts of the village), and there they draw rectangular compartments side by side, and in each compartment they put some *arwa* rice and in one compartment they put an egg of hen. They then call the cowboys with the cattle and make the latter tread out the above figures. The cow which treads on and breaks the eggs or simply smells at it, is caught. They wash her feet, anoint the horns with oils and also smear vermilion on them. The idea is that the owner of the cow will have good luck. The cow is then lifted up and carried on shoulder and put down before the *manjhi* (headman) whom he salutes and then all the elderly men of the village. This the Santals call *Gote Puja*.

On the second day in each house of the village within the cowshed the eldest member of the house performs a *puja*. In the centre of the cowshed he draws a circle and within it puts *arwa* rice and paints vermilion and kills white and red fowls and sacrifices pig to *Marang Buru* the household gods and their ancestors. All the men of the village go with their plough-yokes, battle axes and knives to bathe. On that day no outsiders are allowed to enter into the house. The Santals call this *Gora bonga puja*.

The third day they set wooden poles in the village street, a bundle of straw being tied on the top of the poles, put some flowers

on the poles and also tie five pieces of bread made of powdered rice. Then a bull, after washing and smearing oil on its horns and painting vermilion on them, is tied to the pole. Then the bachelors and little boys of the village begin to drum, dance and scream so furiously that the animal becomes excited and begins to jump and to the horns of all the cows and buffaloes of the villages a piece of straw is tied and vermilion with mustard oil painted. Friends come and go visiting one another, all (both male and female) more or less drunk and wild with excitement. After all is over, the young people drink and eat in the house of the *jogmanjhi*.

The other two days are only to enjoy life-merry-making going on in full swing with full sex license. For the five days and nights during which the festival lasts the Santals indulge in a veritable saturnalia giving themselves up to dancing, eating, drinking, singing and sexual license. Although this license does not allow adultery nor does it sanction intercourse between persons of the same sept, yet if the latter offence is committed it is punished less severely than at other times.

Sakrat.

After the Bandna festival, on the last day of the month of *Pous* (December-January) this *Sakrat* takes place. This is an imitation of the Hindu *Pous-Sankranti* festival. On the previous day, the Santals (only males), go out for catching fish. On the day of *Sakrat* they eat curd and parched rice (*chura*) and go out hunting, while the women parch rice and make cakes which the men offer to the ancestors. In the afternoon the *jogmanjhi* collects the men to shoot at a target with bows and arrows after which they dance a war dance and have various kinds of amusements. The day ends with drinking and dancing. On the third day they go out to the *mela* or *hat* afterwards eating boiled rice and *dal* cooked together.

*Baha Parab.**

Next in importance is the *Baha parab* which is held in the Bengali month *Phalgun* (February-March). This festival takes place when the *sal* trees (*shorea robusta*) begin to flower. *Baha* is a Santali word which means flower. The purpose of holding this festival is that the new year is well commenced. Drinking, dancing and singing go on in this festival also. The festival takes place in the *Jahersthan*, and the *Naeke* and *Kudum Naeke* worship in the *Jahersthan*. On the first day of the festival the young people of the village build two sheds in *Jahersthan*, one for *Jaher-era*, *Turuko Moreko* and *Marang Buru* and the other for *Gosain* era. The *sthans* are cleansed by plastering with cowdung. Then they go

* Also observed by some of the tribals of Chotanagpur.

to bathe and oil several articles (winnowing-fan, basket, bow and arrows, battle-axe, broom, a wristlet, a necklace and horn of a buffalo which they call *sakua*) which are to be used next day, when three persons become possessed by the three first *bongas* mentioned above. The whole night is spent in drumming at the house of the *naeka*, where all assemble with *bongas* (the persons who will be possessed with *bongas* are called *bongas*). *Jaher-era* is a female deity and a man who is possessed with this *bonga* takes the ornaments, the basket and the broom; *Moreka* takes the bow and arrow and *Marang Buru* carried the battle-axe. With these articles they start running for the *Jahersthan* followed by boys who carry drums, cymbals, bungle and bull roarer. On arriving at the *Jahersthan Jaher-era* sweeps the place; the *naeka* asks the *bonga* (i.e., those who are possessed with the deities) for the things they have brought and places them on a mat. He then asks them questions about the happenings of the coming year. The *naeka* then washes the *bongas* and throws the surplus water over them, whereupon the *bongas* jump up howling. Then they return home.

Next day they again go to the *Jahersthan*. When they see a fine *Sal* tree in bloom, *Moreko* shoots an arrow into it, while *Marang Buru* climbs it and cuts down the flowering branches, *Jaher-era* receiving the flowers in basket. On the road *Marang Buru* gathers *mowah* blossoms. In the *Jahersthan* the *bongas* are again placed on a mat under the shed, and the *naek*, sitting in front of them, sacrifices the fowls, and places a bunch of flowers with a *mowah* flower before each *bonga*. The *bongas* suck the blood of the fowls, whereupon the *naeka* washes their feet, *Jaher-era* doing the same to the *naeka*. The *naeka*, together with his wife who is now brought to the *Jahersthan* for the purpose, eats one of the fowls cooked with rice; some of the villagers eat the rest in the *Jahersthan*. After this all leave, except the *naeka* who remains alone in the *Jahersthan*. The villagers then proceed to sacrifice fowls and pigs in their own houses, and to eat and drink. In the afternoon they go to the *Jahersthan* to bring the *naeka* back and the rest of the day is spent in general merry-making. The women also enjoy to their hearts content.

Erok-puja.

This is the sowing festival, celebrated in the month of *Asadh* (June-July) in the *Jahersthan*. *Naeke* and his assistant *Kudum Naeka* perform the function. Five fowls are sacrificed in the *Jahersthan*. There they cook these fowls and eat. The heads of the fowls are taken by the *Naeka* and *Kudum Naeke*.

Janthar Puja.

This puja is held in the month of *Agrahayan* (November-December) in the *Jahersthan* with a view to celebrate the first fruits of

the winter rice crops. At this time only one fowl is sacrificed in the *parganasthan* in the *Jahersthan* by the *Kudum Naika*, the flesh of which is taken by the men only.

Hariar Sim.

This festival is observed after the paddy has been planted. This is held in the month of *Sraban* (July-August). Fowls are sacrificed to all the tribal and village deities and prayers are offered for a bounteous harvest.

Mak More.

This festival is observed by the Santals generally at intervals of five years or so in the *Jahersthan* as a result of vows made at times of distress or epidemics. Fowls are sacrificed and a white goat is sacrificed in the name of the village community to *Moreko*, one of the five deities of the Santals which they worship in the *Jahersthan*.

Jom Sim.

This festival is observed in honour of the sun. It is not observed at regular intervals but each family strives to observe it once in a life time. But generally when a man suffers with some disease he makes this vow to the sun (*Sin Cando*), "Please cure me, I shall propitiate you after my recovery". After five years he fulfils his vow with due respect and sacrifices two goats which he rears for these five years. According to tradition *Jom Sim* was originally a sacrifice only to the sun, but now the Santals have got separate *Jom Sim Bongas* ; so now *Jom Sim* the sun (sin bonga) receives the sacrifice of a goat and the special *Jom Sim Bonga* that of another. This is why the Santals rear two goats for five years sometimes ; it can be one goat and one ram, the first one for *Sim Bongas* and the second for special *Jom Sim Bonga*. The *Jom Sim* is performed with many quaint ceremonies which differ somewhat for the different septs. It is probably the oldest sacrifice the Santals have because it has more aboriginal features in it than any other sacrifice of theirs.

Magh Sim.

Magh Sim is held in the month of Magh (January-February) when the jungle grass is mown ; fowls are sacrificed to all the *bongas* by the *Naeke* and *Kudum Naeke*. This festival marks the end of the Santal year. All the village officials go through the form of resigning their offices and the cultivators give notice of gi ing up their lands. After a week the headman of the village ays

before all the villagers that he has changed his mind and will work in that post, if they accept it ; this is followed with free drinks of *handia* (rice beer). One by one all the other officials do the same.

We now propose to describe here festivals which are believed to have been borrowed by the Santals from others. These are as follows:—

Jatra Parab.

The Santals have probably borrowed this from the Bhuiyas. The Santals perform it outside the village in the month of January or February. Pieces of stone are imbedded in raised mounds of earth and are first painted with vermilion. The *Naeke* then mixes some *arwa* rice, milk and betel-nut together and offers this compound to the *bonga*. Then a pigeon and a goat are sacrificed and their blood poured out as an oblation. During the performance oracles are chanted by three or five persons in number, who sit close in a row on some adjacent spot, wag their heads to and fro all the time and work themselves into a frenzy. Any Santal, who consults them in a reverent manner, will at once get an answer to his questions whether as to his bodily ailments, the death of his cattle or the suspected presence of a witch in his village. For this at least four annas are thrown down at the feet of those five persons.

The Chata Parab.

This is a Hindu festival which takes place in rainy season in the month of *Bhadra* and is observed by one sept, the Hasdah and by their *Kamars* (blacksmiths). The preliminary function of this festival resembles that of the other festivals but at the end of the offering a particular ceremony takes place. A wooden pole, about twelve cubits long, is erected and made to turn a half circle perpendicularly and horizontally. The pole is fastened on a loose but strong iron pivot which rests in holes made in two upright pieces of wood about six feet in height from the ground. On the top of this revolving pole is tied a small ornamented umbrella and this is caused to jerk first one way and then the other. The erection of this pole is followed with shouts and other noisy demonstrations of delight, the people gather with handfuls of dust and dirt and forthwith begin to pelt the umbrella. This novel mode of veneration is at the sametime accompanied with dances both by males and females. Refreshments and *handia* (rice beer) are dealt out from sheds erected for the purpose and the whole assembled population regale themselves in the open air with it. The sacrifices in this festival are always eaten at home and not on the spot.

Pata Parab.

This festival is held in the month of Baisakh in honour of *Pata Bonga*. It is really a Hindu festival in honour of Mahadeo. It is a corrupt form of the Hindu *Charak Puja*. Formerly the Santals used to be suspended from a high revolving pole by hooks inserted in their back and swung round and round. The swinging apparatus still exists but if anybody swings he is suspended by ropes, not by hooks. In this festival the same sacrifices are offered as at the *Jatra Parab*.

Other festivals.

Besides these the Santals join in many of the Hindu festivals. In the *Durga Puja* ceremony the Santals come to see the ceremony and rejoice. Within their village they, both males and females, sing and dance together for these five days. The Santal performs the *Kali Puja*. Evidence of this can be ascertained from the news published in one of the daily newspapers in the year 1933 on February 16th.

"The Santal *Guru Sannyasi Baba* has sent the following letter to the District Magistrate, Malda :—

About a hundred Santals from Malda bring it to my notice that their annual *Kali Puja* which was so long performed by their *Sardar Jitu* under my orders is going to be stopped. Unhappily, Jitu under a sad mistake died and the Santal *Kali Puja* should not, on that account, be stopped. On the other hand, to allay this strained feeling amongst the Santals I propose to hold the Santal *Kali Puja* at Malda myself. I assure you there will be no disturbance and not only that it will bring back the old good feelings so far as practicable under the circumstances.

As the *puja* will be held in the month of *Falgun* I shall be highly obliged to receive an early reply to this letter at your earliest convenience. The annual Santal *Kali Puja* at District Dinajpur in spite of Gangarampur Santal shooting passed off smoothly and the authorities allowed it and were satisfied."[1]

TOTEMISM OF THE SANTALS.*

The Santals as mentioned above are divided into a number of septs and sub-septs mostly named after some animals, plants, fruits or other material objects. It is now worth enquiring how far the septs and sub-septs have totemic relations with such

1. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, February 16, 1933.
*P.C. Biswas—Primitive Religion etc. referred to earlier (P.C.R.C.)

things. Totemism, in the truest form is not present amongst the Santals. The Santals of our days do not believe in the actual descent of a clan from its totem, and the few legends of the Santals about the origin of some of their clans do not point to any belief in the descent of men from their totems. All that they indicate is that the totem animal and plant had had some accidental connection with the birth of the ancestor of the clan. As for example the sept Pauria is called after the pigeon and Chore after the lizard ; and the story is that on the occasion of famous tribal hunting party the members of these two septs failed to kill anything but pigeons and lizards, so they were called by the names of these animals.

As with the other totemic people a Santal also abstains from eating, killing, hunting or destroying the animal, plant or other objects that form his clan totem. Eating, killing, hunting and destroying one's clan totem is regarded by the Santal as equivalent to killing a human member of his own clan. The idea of brotherly feeling between the members of the same clan is present among them. The marriage between persons of the same clan is considered incestuous which may be taken as a confirmatory test of the above idea.

Descent, of the Santal, is always reckoned in the male line and a man has the same totem as his father ; the totem of the mother's father's line is not respected. As a female has no clan of her own, she is not a recognised member of her father's or of her husband's clan and has not, therefore, to observe the taboos relating to their totems. But actually the Santal women do not kill any totem animal or any totem plant, just as their husbands do not kill or destroy any totem animal, plant and other objects.

Individual or sex totem is unknown to the Santals. Their totem is hereditary and not acquired. The members of a clan do not wear any distinguishing emblem or peculiar dress nor have they representations of their totem out or tattooed on their persons or curved or painted on their houses or any personal belongings.

Terms of Relationship.

English	*Santali*
Father's father Mother's father ..	Gorom apum.
Father's mother Mother's mother ..	Gorom aye.
Father	Apum.
Mother	Aye.
Father's elder brother	Gonge apum.

English	*Santali*
His wife.	Gonge aye.
Father's younger brother	Hopon.
His wife	Hopon aye.
Father's sister	Hatom.
Father's sister's husband	Kumari.
Mother's brother	Mama.
His wife	Hatom or Mami.
Mother's sister (elder younger) ..	Maran ayo Kaki or Hopon aye.
Their husband	Kaka.
Wife's father	Honhar baba.
Wife's mother	Honhar aye.
Mother's sister's son Mother's brother's son	Same as for own brother.
Mother's sister's daughter Mother's brother's daughter	Same as for own daughter.
Husband	Herel.
Wife	Era or Orak-hor.
Wife's brother (elder) (younger) ..	Baho'nhar Erwelin.
Wife's sister (elder) (younger) ..	Ajhnarin Erwelin.
Husband's (elder brother)	Maranic Bahotharic.
Husband's sister (elder) (younger) ..	Ajhnarin Erwelin.
Wife's sister's husband	Sadgoa.
Husband's brother's wife (elder) (younger)	Ajhnarin
Husband's father	Honhar baba.
Husband's mother	Honhar aye.
Elder brother (M.S.)	Dada.
Younger brother (M.S.)	Bokom.
Elder brother (W.S.)	Bahon'har.
Younger brother (W.S.)	Erwelin.
Elder sister (M.S.)	Ajhnarin.
Younger sister (M.S.)	Erwelin.
Elder sister (W.S.)	Ajhnarin.
Younger sister (W.S.)	Erwelin.
Father's brother's son	Baktata.
Father's brother's son (younger) ..	Eya.

English	*Santali*
Father's brother's daughter	Doi.
Father's brother's daughter (younger) ..	Paku.
Father's sister's son	Same as above.
Father's sister's daughter	Same as above.
Daughter's husband	Jawae.
Son's wife	Bahu.
Son's son	Gorom Kora.
Son's daughter	Gorom Kuri.
Daughter's daughter	Same as above.
Daughter's son	Same as above.

(M. S.—Male speaking. W. S.—Woman speaking)

Birth and Birth Ceremonies.*

When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut with an arrow, and the placenta buried in the floor inside the house. The house and village become religiously unclean. No sacrifice, and consequently no festival, can be held in the village, and no one can go and eat in the house where the birth has taken place till they are purified by the *janam chhatiar* ceremony. The procedure is as follows. All the males of the village are shaved in the house of birth, first the *naeke*, then the *kudam naeke*, then the *manjhi* and other officials, and, last of all, the father of the child. Then the child is brought out by the midwife who has two small leaf cups, one filled with water and the other empty. The head of the child having been shaved, the midwife puts the hair in the empty cup and ties two threads to the arrow with which the umbilical cord was cut. Then the men, led by the father go to bathe at the place whence water is fetched : when they return, the midwife takes the women to the same place, carrying with her oil and turmeric, the arrow and the hair. The midwife throws the hair with one of the two threads into the water after having made five *sindur* marks at the spot. This is called "buying the watering place". When they have finished they return, the midwife last of all, bringing back with her other thread and the arrow. This second thread is soaked in turmeric and then tied round the waist of the child. After this the mother sits under the eaves of the house with the child in her lap and also some leaves of the *atnak tree* (*Terminalia tomentosa*).

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pages 158 to 162.

The midwife then kneads some cowdung with water on the eaves of the house, lets some of the mixure drip down on the mother, smears a little on her own head and also sucks a little of the same stuff. The mother now puts her child on a *charpai* inside the house, and the midwife proceeds to mix flour with water in three leaf cups. The contents of one she sprinkles on the breast of the *naeke*, *kudam naeke*, *manjhi* and other officials, and thereafter on the breasts of all the men of the village. The last cup is for the women, who are sprinkled in the same order, first the *naeke's* wife, then the *kudam naeke's* wife and so on.

The father and mother having decided (inside the house) what name is to be given to the child, the midwife comes out, salutes all those present and announces the name, saying: "From today call him at the hunt by this name"; or, in the case of a girl, "Come, so-and-so, if you are going to fetch water". Then they bring out rice soup cooked with *nim* leaves, giving it to the *naeke*, the *kudam naeke* and so on, according to the table of *chhatiar* precedence, and, after the men have been served, to the women. After five days the child is shaved again. This ceremony of *janam chhatiar* is regarded as giving the child a place amongst human beings. The important part which the women play in it may be noted; they are the real actors.

Janam chhatiar is, as a rule, celebrated in the case of a male child five days and in case of a girl three days after birth. It may be postponed, but is always celebrated on uneven days (e.g., the seventh) after birth. If, however, the child is born within three days before a new moon, it receives its name earlier, and even on the day of birth, the belief being that to give a child its name in another month than that in which it was born will bring misfortune of some kind upon it, especially when he or she is married. The eldest son takes the name of his paternal grandfather; a second son that of his maternal grandfather; a third son that of the paternal grandfather's brother; the fourth son that of the maternal grandfather's brother, etc. A similar custom is observed in the case of girls, the names of relations on the female side being taken in same order. This custom is rigorously observed, there being only two exceptions. If the father is a *ghardi jawae* (*vide infra*), the name of the maternal grandfather or grandmother is given first; and if a woman takes medicine to get children—a rather frequent practice—the child receives the name of the man who gave the medicine or of his wife.

There is a curious practice of giving a child two names, viz., its real (*mul*) name, and a second (*bahna*) name, by which it is always known. This practice is especially observed when the child is named after a relative whose name it would be improper

for some members of the family to mention. If the namesake has had two names, the child generally gets both ; if there is something peculiar or abnormal about him, he is very soon known by a name denoting this peculiarity. The Santals are reluctant to mention the real name of any person, fearing it may bring about something untoward. Many persons, however, have only one name.

Chacho Chhatiar.

To enable anybody to take his place in Santal society and participate in its rights, rules, ceremonies, etc., they have another ceremony called *Chacho Chhatiar* (*chacho* meaning to toddle or walk). Without having been through this no one can be married and no one can be cremated, but has to be buried. There is no age fixed for this ceremony; only it must precede marriage. If a man has several children he tries to have it at one and the same time for all of them. The procedure is as follows :—The father brews *handi* is ready he calls *manjhi* and *paranik* in the morning and gives them a drink. They ask him what *handi* it is, and, after drinking, the headman bids the *godet* call the villagers together. When they have come, the girls of the village anoint the *naeke* and his wife, who sit on a mat, with oil and turmeric ; next the *kudam naeke* and his wife, then the *manjhi* and his wife and all the officials in the same order as at the *janam chhatiar*; last of all, all the women are anointed. The *handi* is now served in leaf cup to the *manjhi* and *paranik* and then to the other people ; after which all are ready for further proceedings. They ask how many children the *handi* is for, and for each child four small leaf cups are given to all those present. Then they ask the father :"How many *iri* (*Panicum crusgalli*) and how many *ebra* (*Setaria Italica*) ears have ripened for you ?" This is a figurative expression for "How many boys and girls have you." On receiving an answer they ask again : "Where is the land ?" The father tells them where the namesakes of the children live, whereupon they call for "namesake handi", i.e., beer which the namesakes present have brought with them. The people then sing a special song and dance and drink.

A *Guru*, who in a way officiates for the father of the family, now starts the *binti*, i.e., a mythical, historical recitation. He begins with the creation of the earth and relates the Santal history of mankind, their wanderings, etc. according to tradition, and recounts how their ancestors spread abroad, some of them coming to Sikhar, where the first *pargana* was Hikim, who said to the people. "Let us settle here ; we have found primeval forest and virgin soil." The ancestors said : "Let us help him ;

we will burn and clear jungle, we will live and prosper." Then they came to their present abode and married, cleared jungle and multiplied. Thereupon the *guru* on behalf of the family enters into a colloquy with the people, in which *inter alia* he says—"We implore you to let us be with you to brew and drink beer, to fetch water, to pin leaves together on the day of marriage, the day of *chhatiar*, the day of cremation. We were like crows, we are become white like paddy birds. You, villagers, be our witnesses." This ends the formal part of the proceedings.

The festival is concluded by further drinking and singing of *chhatiar* and other songs. It will be seen that there is no special or formal act done by the village people. They are invited for the occasion ; the father (or his representative) implores the community to recognize the young ones as participators at the three great social occasions, and the people acknowledge this by drinking *handi*, the Santal mode of ratification. There is no kind of sacrifice at either *janam* or *Chacho Chhatiar*.

Marriage and Morals.

There has been practically no change so far as the marriage system is concerned. The description of marriage given in the *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) is given here verbatim.*

"Adult marriages are the rule among the Santals, a young-man generally marrying between the age of 18 and 22, i.e., as soon as he can afford it after he has grown up. Until their insurrection in 1855, the Santals did not marry before about 25 years of age, but now it very seldom happens that marriage is left till so late. Child-marriage is very rare, and is an innovation borrowed from the Hindus.

"Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated, except between members of the same sept ; in such cases the guilty parties are outcasted. It is, however, rare for illegitimate children to be born, for if a girl becomes pregnant, the young man is bound to marry her or get her a husband, who acts as the child's father and gives it his sept. The regular Santal name for all kinds of marriage is *bapla*, a word which very probably meant originally mutual strengthening, i.e., of the two families. There are two essential features of the marriage ceremony. The first is *sindurdan*, i.e., the smearing of vermilion on the bride's forehead and the parting of her hair. The bride is seated in a basket held up by her relations and the bridegroom, who applies the *sindur* and rides on the shoulders of one of his relations. The second is a meal in

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**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) pp. 162—66.

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which the husband and wife eat together, for by so doing she passes to her husband's family. When the girl is unmarried, the binding ceremony is in all cases the *sindurdan*; but there is a difference in the methods in which *sindurdan* is reached. The following is a brief account of the latter.

KIRING-BAHU.

"The most common form is that called *kiring-bahu*, i.e., a bought daughter-in-law. The marriage is negotiated through a marriage-broker (*raebar*), even if the parents on both sides arrange everything, as is sometimes the case when they are friends and desire the match. Anyone may be a marriage-broker, but an elderly man or woman is most often employed. The *raebar* finds out where an eligible girl is, and arranges a day for the young man's friends to come and see the girl's house. On the way they look out very eagerly for good or bad omens, and will turn back if anything of ill omen occurs. On arriving at the girl's village the go-between gets hold of the *jog-manjhi* and says to him that they have come to look at a vessel, and asks him to show them it. The girl is then produced walking between two other girls. If the bridegroom's friends are satisfied, they are sometimes invited to the girl's house for food and drink. Sometime afterwards the girl's friends go in the same way to see the prospective bridegroom. Formerly it was not the custom to let the two see one another before marriage; now a days they are permitted a distant view of one another at a market-place or the like. When mutually satisfied the friends commence visiting and feasting one another, but not in a casual way, for every step is taken according to custom. The girl's friends come to see the house and door of the youngman, i.e., to ascertain his wordly means. Then follows betrothal ; the bridegroom's friends go to the other party and are feasted ; the future father-in-law takes the girl and seats her on his thigh, and in this position puts a solid brass necklet on her and kisses her on her mouth. Henceforward the parents commence to salute each other in the manner appropriate to their new relationship, and also to use the plural in addressing one another. Afterwards a feast of the same kind is held in the youngman's house.

Then comes the payment of the bride-price. For this a day is fixed, the date being remembered by knots on a string, one of which is untied everyday. After many ceremonies at the bridegroom's house they proceed in state to the bride's house, where the bride-price is paid and there is feasting and drinking. Two rupees of the price are handed over to the *jog-manjhi*, who gives them to the bride's father. This is called "track covering," and

is one of the few features which may point to the original Santal marriage being forcible abduction. The marriage takes place sometimes in the same year, sometimes the next or even later, and is performed with an astonishing amount of ceremonial and many quaint usages. The bride-price, which is paid by the bridegroom, is usually Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 or even Rs. 7. If more than Rs. 3 is paid, something is paid back in kind worth much more than the extra amount. The rule is that if Rs. 5 are paid a cow, a brass cup and clothes are given for the bridegroom, a goat for the bridegroom's friends and some rice; if Rs. 7, a cow with a calf, a brass cup, a brass plate and the other things above mentioned.

GHARDI-JAMAI AND GHAR-JAMAI.

"A man with daughters and no sons can take a son-in-law in his house as a *Ghar-jamai* and to give him thereby all the rights of a son. A *Ghar-jamai* can be adopted only by a deliberate act in the presence of the village community at the time of the marriage. A widow cannot create a *Ghar-jamai*. Some distinction is made between a *Ghar-jamai* and a *Ghardi-jamai*. In both cases the bridal party goes from the bride's house to fetch the prospective husband and no dowry (*pon*) is given, but whereas the *Ghar-jamai* is adopted permanently as a son, a *Ghar-jamai* merely lives and labours in his wife's house for a previously stipulated period which may extend up to five years. He thereby works off the debt due on account of the non-payment of *pon*.*

KIRING-JAWAE.

"*Kiring-jawae*, meaning a bought husband, is a form of marriage recognized when a girl has had an intrigue with or becomes pregnant by a man who cannot marry her because they both belong to the same sept. The rule is that, as he cannot marry her, he is bound to buy her a husband, whose consent is secured by giving him enough to make it worth his while. As a rule the name of the guilty man is kept secret, and the girl's father pays the bridegroom the money required, which he frequently gets from her lover. Rs. 20 are paid to the man willing to marry the girl, stand sponsor for the child, i.e., cause *janam chhatiar* to be performed, and obtain for it admission to his sub-sept. Formerly the custom was to pay one pair of plough bullocks, a cow with a calf and one *bandi* of paddy (about 10 to 12 maunds).

ITUT

"There are two forms of marriage for young people who settle matters for themselves without intermediaries, viz., *itut* and *vir-bolok*. *Itut* means paint-smearing and is so called because the

*Extract from Gauzer's Settlement Report on the subject is in the Appendix. (Para. 46 of his report) pp. 22-23.)

youngman, when he gets an opportunity, smears some red paint or mud-anything will do—on the forehead of the girl with whom he is in love and thus claims her as his wife. Having done this, he runs away to avoid the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations, if he is caught on the spot. The girl's people go to the youngman's house, smash all the earthenware pots they find in or about the house, and break the fireplace. If they find the boy they tie him up, beat him till he is half dead and lay him on his back in the courtyard. Then they kill two goats with a *kapi* or shoot with bow and arrow two pigs belonging to the offender. Next they go to the cattle shed and take away as bail about three pairs of the best bullocks or buffaloes they can find. After this they go to the *manjhi* and sit in judgment on the case. Besides the buffaloes or bullocks, they bring a goat belonging to the girl's family, and both parties eat the three animals together. The girl's father gets Rs. 16, and the headman of the youngman's village Rs. 5 for 'saving the boy's life'. Cases have been known of boys being killed on such occasions, and such cases have not been taken up, the popular opinion being that the boy has got his deserts.

"*Itut* is resorted to when the girl's parents are not agreeable to the match and the young people want to force their approval. In such cases the latter arrange matters beforehand, and as a rule their plans succeed; when all is settled, they are re-married in a regular way. In some cases, however, a youngman will resort to *itut* when he has some doubts about being able to gain the girl he wants in the regular way. It also sometimes happens that a youth will do so simply to revenge himself on a girl, having no intention to keep her as his wife, but merely to have her divorced and stigmatised as divorced, for if the girl declines to live with him she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster. On the whole *itut* is rare.

Nir-bolok.

"*Nir-bolok* (literally meaning 'run in') is a form of marriage used when a girl takes the initiative and is of two kinds. The first takes place when a youngman and a girl living in the same village have agreed to marry, but the former hesitates about the match. In this case, the girl goes to the *jog-manjhi* and reveals the secret to him, and he takes her to the house of the boy's parents. Two days afterwards the parents inform the *manjhi*, and they talk the matter over, temporarily separate the young couple, and end by having a regular marriage. The other kind of *nir-bolok* is resorted to when a youngman, after living with a girl, refuses to marry her ; then the girl forcibly enters his

house and sits in a corner, whilst the future mother-in-law tries to drive her out by burning tobacco leaves. If the youngman agrees to keep the girl, a marriage is arranged in the manner mentioned above ; otherwise the villagers fine both, and he must give the girl Rs. 3.

Tunki Dipil Bapla.

"There is another form of marriage called *tunki dipil bapla* (literally 'carying a basket-on-the head-marriage'), which is the poor man's marriage. The girl is simply brought without any ceremony to the bridegroom's house, where *sindurdan* is performed.

Sanga.

"The form called *sanga* is used for the marriage of widows and divorced women. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house attended by a small party of her own friends, and the binding portion of the ritual consists in the bridegroom taking a *dimbu* flower, marking it with *sindur* with his left hand, and with the same hand sticking it in the bridge's back hair.

'Widows are allowed to marry again, but the bride-price is only half that given for an unmarried girl. The reason for this is that the Santals believe that after death a widow will rejoin her first husband, and her second husband will only enjoy her in this life. Bigamy is not uncommon, nor is it regarded as irregular, but few Santals can afford more than one wife.'

Our investigation shows that on the eve of the *sindurdan* ceremony the basket in which the bride is seated is not lifted by her relations as erroneously mentioned in the ***District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas*** but by the elder brothers of the bridegroom.

It is the duty of the relatives of the bridgroom to hold up the basket and not of the relations of the bride. This is also corroborated by Charulal Mukherjia.*

More details regarding Sindurdan may be given. On the eve of the *sindurdan* ceremony the bride sits on a basket (*daura*) held up by the bridegroom's elder brother, and other members of the bridegroom party, while the bridegroom is carried on the shoulder of his *tenan* (sister's husband). The couple move round thrice, while they mutually (couple) throw sun-dried rice on their persons. The bridegroom next faces the east, while the bride faces the west. The bridgroom takes some vermilion with his middle finger and throws it on the ground. After this, he applies some

The Santals by Charulal Mukherjia (1962), p. 207.

vermilion on the bride's forehead amidst three shouts of *baribol* from those present.

The marriage broker (*raebar*) plays an important role in settling of marriage. For his labour the *raebar* gets some remuneration after marriage. The remuneration is called *chatki*, and is usually eight annas from the side of the bridegroom and four annas from the side of the bride. Sometimes cloth is also given.

The bride price or *pon* (*gonon*) which about three decades before varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 or even Rs. 7 has risen to Rs. 12 or sometimes even more. But there is no rigid fixation of *pon* which fluctuates according to social and economic position of the family concerned. Shri Charulal Mukherjia in his book on the Santals* has mentioned that in the Santal Parganas, rupees five is taken to be the average. Generally speaking, the rate of money payment for buying a bride varies between rupees three to rupees twelve in some quarters.

The *pon* is shared usually by the father, mother, bonga *burhi* (grandmother) and *henda burhi* (maternal grandmother). But as a rule the entire sum goes to the pocket of the father.

There are curious customs regarding the presents of cloth by the bridegroom to his bride's family. One is called *bonga sari*, fourteen cubits in length, has to be presented to his grandmother-in-law, even she is dead. The next one, called *ma-sari* (twelve cubits) goes to his mother-in-law, dead or alive. Custom has slackened a bit with regard to *bonga sari*, should the grandmother be dead, but *ma-sari* is always insisted upon as compulsory. The next cloth, *here* (eight cubits), is presented to the bride's father's sister.

Marriage Relations.

"The Santals, like other tribes in the same state of development, look upon marriage as naturally necessary. The people always try to get their children married as soon as they can afford it, so as to get them settled in life. Practically the only unmarried people are those physically unfit for marriage—and it is no easy matter for them to be certified unfit. The young people are not permitted to make one another's acquaintance before marriage if they do not happen to know each other already. Love is not an essential thing in a Santal marriage, and has nothing to do with the arrangement of a regular marriage. As a matter of fact, marriage is practically a leap into the dark, and it is a wonder that it turns out as well as it often does.

*Charulal Mukherjia—The Santals (Calcutta, 1962).

It may, however, happen that the affections of one or other are already engaged, or become engaged later on, in a wrong quarter ; or there may be incompatibility of temper. In these cases, if the man is at fault, the wife will be neglected, and as soon as she finds this out, she will run off to her old home. If the woman's affections have strayed, she will similarly seize the first opportunity to run home on the smallest pretext, for it will generally be found that she has a lover in or near her old village. If the married couple are not reconciled, a divorce will ensue within the first few years, but comparatively seldom afterwards. If they have got children, the chances are that they will become gradually attached, and a kind of genuine conjugal love may be found between old couples. If they have settled down quietly, conjugal fidelity is the rule; but in this respect the men are better than the women."*

It will not be quite correct to state that love is not an essential element in the Santal marriages. As stated before even the pre-marital sexual intercourse is not resented if both the boy and girl do not belong to the same sept. There is great freedom in Santal society in this respect. Even parents do not take notice of the intimacy of their daughters with the boys before marriage. The young people are permitted to make one another's acquaintance before marriage. The freedom of social intercourse that the Santals allow to their boys and girls, naturally leads to many love marriages, but the Santals, even when in love, have to go through certain formalities before living as man and wife. It was reported that the marriage is generally settled either in the own native village, so usually both boys and girls have chances to know each other even before marriage. There is also a wide chance in developing intimacy in the *hats*, *melas*, pilgrim centres, the fields and the forests.

There is scope for *Raja Raji* or love marriage in the Santals. When a party feel the urge for matrimony, they go to the house of the village headman and inform him their desire. The headman in the presence of the village elders asks the lover and the beloved formally as to whether they are consenting party. If the girl and boy answer in the affirmative, a day is fixed for the marriage when vermilion is applied on the bride's forehead. In this case, it is not necessary to go through all the formalities of the orthodox marriage.

An alternative form of *Raja Raji* is seen in marriages resulting from the boy and girl's elopement and living together as man and wife. Generally such run-away couples are traced and brought home, when, as in the previous case, the headman seeks the

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**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938).

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opinion of the bride and the marriage is solemnised with the application of the vermilion.

Marriage amongst the Santal serves as the stepping stone to the adult life of the tribesman. Apart from the biological needs the marriage makes a young Santal a full-fledged member of the community, endowed with all the rights and duties of the adult. On the economic side, the Santal now gets a partner in life on the payment of a price and its social aspect, it means the beginning of a new family, a further source of strength to the clan and then to the tribe.

Polygamy.

The Santal society is based on monogamy. There are a number of humorous proverbs in Santal language regarding the "dubious joy of plural marriage". But a plurality of wives is not uncommon if a Santal fails to get children. A co-wife is often inducted by the first wife herself in such circumstances. This is more because of the necessity to get a support in the old age. There are Santal folk-tales recorded by Bodding where a second wife has been taken to get children so that the line could be continued.*

A chronic disease in a wife may also be a circumstance for getting another wife. Incompatibility of temperament is not considered as a reason for taking a second wife. There may, however, be a peculiar case where a girl forces herself in the household and braves insult and physical torture but if she can go through them she will have to be taken as a second wife. This is one of the recognised forms of Santal marriage known as *Nir bolok*. Leviration is recognised. A widow of an elder brother is usually married to the younger brother. Sexual intimacy with the elder brother's wife (*hili*) is not uncommon. This intimacy may continue even when the younger brother is married but the affair has to remain within limits of decency.

If the younger brother takes the widow of his elder brother as a co-wife or as a wife, he does not pay the further bride price. Her children by the elder brother remain in the same household.

There are also some cases when a Santal takes a second wife if his first wife frequently deserts him and goes to live with her parents. In such cases although no misconduct is alleged against the wife the husband may take a second wife.

There is a Santal tradition that a Santal will meet his wife in the other world if only he had married a *dangua* (unmarried girl) ; this may also be a reason for a Santal to take a second wife if he was first married with a divorce or a widow.

**Santal Folk Tales*—Bodding, pp. 366-67.

A co-wife completely merges in the family and if a second wife is a widow with children, all the children will be treated as of one father. Thus if the first wife has two sons and after that two sons have born to the *Chutki* (the second wife), the first wife's two sons will be named after her husband's father (*Goram baba*) and her own father while those of the *Chutki* will be named after her husband's brothers (*Gongo baba* or *kaka*) and the *Chutki*'s father. If, on the other hand, the *Chutki* has a son before the first wife, the son will be named after his father's father and if the *batki* (first wife) has a son later, he will be named after his father's brother. If a son by the first wife was named after his father's father and died, a subsequent son by the *Chutki* can be given the same name. Even, if the first son by the first wife is alive, the first son by the *Chutki* can receive the same name.

There are complications when a widow with children marries and has children by her second husband. In such circumstances, the names of the latter children will follow the ordinary rules (as in *dolbapla*) but if a child by her first husband has already been named after widow's father or mother her second husband's brother or sister will take precedence. If a name has already been given, it will be omitted and the next name in order of preference will be given.

The children of the adopted son are named after the adopting parents. But if the adopted son has already sons or daughters before the adoption the next son and daughter will take their adopting parents' names.

Ordinary rules will apply in case of illegitimate children if a husband is procured for the child's mother under *kering jawah* marriage. But if there is no marriage and a man is merely bought to give the child his sept, the child is either given the name of its mother's father or mother's mother or is named after the parents of the man who gave his sept.

The old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has a section on "Polyandry" and mentioned:—"Fraternal polyandry is a recognised custom among the Santals". But now the Santals resent it and claim that there was never such custom among them. We have seen that the sexual intercourse between a husband's younger brother and his wife (*hili*) is tolerated. Similarly, a Santal woman's younger sisters (*erwel kuriko*) have a share of her husband's favours. It is, in fact, nor considered improper for a man to carry on an intrigue with his wife's younger sister, provided the girl is agreeable, the only condition being that if she becomes pregnant he must make her his wife. Such intimacy is not resented by his wife. On the contrary, she countenances and sometimes encourages it,

through Santal wives are usually extremely jealous. If taxed about it, she will often reply that it prevents her younger sister from having liaisons with other young men. It must not be supposed that such relations are universal. "All elder brothers do not submit tamely to their wives being enjoyed in common ; all wives are not complacent, nor do all younger brothers and younger sisters conform to what is asked of them. Families often become divided in consequence of an indulgence in these practices, but the fact that they are recognized and form a part of the social system of the Santal is incontestable."*

Polyandry is not a recognised custom in Santal, nor illicit intimacy is tolerated in the Santal Society. It is true that premarital sexual intercourse outside the prohibitory degree is no body's anxiety in Santal Society. The secret intimacy between a husband's younger brothers and his wife and similarly between a woman's younger sisters and her husband is no doubt overlooked. But it would be unwise to bring secret sexual intercourse at par with polyandry in which a woman is legally entitled to have several husbands.

The elder brother has by no means the same privileges as younger brothers, a familiar saying being "The younger brother's wife (*Bokot bahu*) is like a *bonga* or god." From the day of her marriage, a younger brother's wife and his elder brother (*dadat*) must never so much as touch one another ; they cannot enter the same room or remain togther in the courtyard unless others are present. Should she come in from work in the fields, and find the elder brother sitting alone in the courtyard, she must remain in the village street, or in another verandah of the house till some other people enter the house. She may not loosen or comb her hair before the elder brother ; to do so would be considered highly improper, and would imply that the relations between them had become much too familiar. She cannot usually sit down in his presence, and it is most improper for her to take a seat on a *parkom* or bed while he is close by. Should it be necessary for her to sit down while he is near, she must use a *gando* or low stool.†

The following explanation by Mr. Bodding of the relations of brothers and their wives is of interest as illustrating the Santal family life—"The first thing to be taken into consideration is the basis of the Santal matrimony, viz., the husband's rights of property. A Santal buys his wife, or rather the father buys wives for his

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Notes on fraternal polyandry among the Santals, by Mr. C. H. Craven and the Revd. L.O. Skrefsrud, J.A.S.B. Part III, 1903, pp. 88—90 and mentioned in the old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 166.

†*Notes on fraternal polyandry among the Santals*, by Mr. C.H. Craven and the Revd. L.O. Skrefsrud, J.A.S.B. Part III, 1903, pp. 88—90.

sons, if he is living ; and that this is real business is shown by many circumstances, besides the fact that a bride- price is paid, of which I shall mention only one. When at the marriage the bride has been brought to her future home and her friends and relations are going to take leave, the *lumti-budhi* *says to her—"Now remain my girl ; this is your house, this is the place where you shall go out and in. Eat and work industriously. Don't long for us ; this is your house (or home) for life. Both bones and ashes did we sell you." The meaning of the last expression is that whether alive or dead she will thenceforth belong to and be the property of her husband.

"When she becomes the property of her husband, his younger brothers, because they stand in a quasi-filial relation to him, seem also to get some rights in her together with him. A result of this is probably the circumstance mentioned above that the younger brothers are allowed such liberties with the wife of the elder one, and another custom, that in case the elder brother dies, the younger brother—if he wishes, for it is not enforced—takes the widow as his wife (or co-wife, if he has one before), without, however, going through any marriage ceremonies. They have already paid for her, they say ; she belongs to the family.

"Further, an elder brother, especially the eldest one, is looked upon as the representative of the father and after his death is the head and governor of the family. For this reason there are, in fact some Santals who look on the wife of their eldest brother as equal to their mother and pay her respect accordingly.

"But it must be borne in mind that this is only individualistic and not the general custom. I mention it only to show the feelings of the better Santals towards their elder brother, especially when there is some considerable difference in age between them. In case the father is dead, an elder brother manages the affairs of the household, and will have to buy the wife for his younger brother. The result of this position of an elder brother is that he is considered legally equal to a father-in-law of the wife of his younger brother."†

Divorce.

W. G. Archer mentions about marriage and divorce as follows :‡

"In Santal suits affecting marriage and divorce, the subject-matter is almost invariably a money claim arising out of the conduct

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*The *lumti-budhi* is the duenna who follows the bride to the house of the bridegroom, and is generally a relation of the bride's father, but other people may officiate as such.

†*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 167-68.

‡W.G. Archer's Report on Civil Law in Santal Society (unpublished).

of a party, the union itself, the process of negotiation or the ritual of a ceremony. In all such cases, the local rates of payment should be ascertained by consulting the parties and if they disagree the *pargana* and neighbouring *manjhis* should be asked for a ruling. Similarly in claims for a brother's bullock, for damages on account of wedding costs, the village officials are the best persons to testify the value of the animal and to state the actual expenses.

Although suits for divorce itself are very rare, suits for reliefs arising from a divorce situation are very common. These arise only when a man and his wife have either separated or are in process of separation. It is desirable, therefore, that before such suits are either decreed or dismissed the marriage itself should be reviewed. I myself have found on some occasions that an apparent breakdown in relations was due either to the fault of the parents or to a petty misunderstanding. A talk with the parties or a discussion with the villagers could sometimes put matters right and the claim for divorce money or return of bride price ended with the boy and girl returning together. On the other hand suits sometimes occur in which although divorce is not expressly asked for, it is yet the only way out of a disastrous situation. In all such cases, the court should explore the various solution, discuss the situation with the villagers and then proceed to do whatever is necessary to end the deadlock. If divorce is decided on, the terms must be worked out according to Santal law. If one side has evaded the village it is of the utmost importance that the court itself should decide. If in such circumstances the villagers and one party agree that the marriage should end, and the woman is also not beyond the age of divorce, the court should be prepared itself to give that verdict.

"There is, however, one case involving witchcraft when age may sometimes have to be ignored. We have seen that if a woman is a witch, that in itself is a valid ground for her divorce and that not only her husband but her children also can enforce a separation. It is obvious, however, that a court must be extremely cautious in granting this relief though it should not shrink from doing so if the circumstances justify it. A woman who herself admits witchcraft or who after repeated warnings and continued diagnosis by several *jan gurus* is adjudged guilty by the village should be pronounced divorced if her husband's family demands it."

Mr. Archer who spent a number of years in Santal Parganas thought that not less than one first marriage in seven ends in divorce and that at least two wives in ten have had previous husbands before settling finally into life long marriage. He further thought that the proportion of second divorce will be extremely low and if a first marriage is prone to break, it is the experience of marriage and divorce which often promotes stable domestic life.

The incidence of divorce does not, however, appear to be so high as appeared from the investigations which were made by us. Among the causes of divorce the most important factor is the existence of previous lovers.

There are a large number of Santal poems depicting the girl's laments in going away to another man's home after marriage and the boy's assurance that he will still be visiting the girl on the sly and continue his love affair. The other causes are infidelity, sickness, witchcraft and breach of taboos. The Santals as a class are quite virile and sexual mal-adjustment is also a potent cause for divorce. In this case it is usually the girl who complains of her husband's weakness in satisfying her sexual urge and if a girl expressed herself for this mal-adjustment, the society comes to her rescue. It is very noticeable that the Santals are a race of great common sense due to a realistic view of domestic relations. It seldom happens that the elders will force the parties to continue the married life if they are not suited to each other. It may be repeated here that incompatibility of temperament in the usual concept of expression is not much of a cause of divorce. The importance of children for stabilising a marriage is still well recognised. The breach of taboo as a cause of divorce is uncommon but does take place. Mr. Archer mentions that at Kulaipura Barka Soren found his wife had eaten uncooked rice. Uncooked rice is offered to the Bongas and if a Santal eats it, he pollutes a thing reserved for Bongas only. The pollution enrages the spirits and they rain illness on the village. Barka Soren at once divorced her.

The belief in witchcraft is still ingrained in the Santal's mind. If witchcraft is in issue, even the sons can divorce their mothers. Mr. Archer mentions the following :—

> "In Murbhanga there was a bout of sickness and a number of children died. The villagers consulted a *jan guru* who detected an old woman of Mohonpur. She was a widow and had grown up sons. After she had been detected, some village girls made a full confession. When the villagers heard this, they decided to expel her from the village. Her sons drove her from their house and sent her to her brothers. When I was told about this case in 1944 she was still in her own village of Mohonpur but living in lonely isolation."*

There are also cases where the parents take the responsibility themselves and cause the divorce of her children. It is rather

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*Mr. W.G. Archer's Report on Civil Law in Santal Society (unpublished).

unfortunate if the parents insist on divorce. It is almost impossible for the boy and the girl to withstand them even if they are unwilling.

The ritual of divorce has been described as follows*:—

"When a divorce is mooted, the matter is reported to the manjhi and the husband and wife with their kinsmen attend a village meeting. The matter is talked over, the responsibilities are fixed and if a divorce is approved, one of the two procedures is followed.

If the wife is not a witch and the man has given her *sindur* either in a *dol, tunki, dipil ghar jawae, ghardi jawae,* or *golaeti bapla,* tearing of leaves or *sakam orec* is done. This is described by Kolean Haram as follows :'The villagers meet together, led by the manjhis of the two villages concerned. A *lota* with water is placed on the ground, and husband and wife are made to stand facing one another, one on each side of the *lota*, the man facing the east. The headman of the husband's village then exhorts the man as follows : 'By the grace of Sing Bonga, the five mountain spirits and the ancestors, we, the people, took omens from the urich bird on the right side and the *ere* bird on the left and tied you together and joined you together with marriage chains like the *lar* and the *bando* climbers. We did not join you together for one day, but for ever and aye, like stone and rock, till you become hoary and moss-grown. Now it is no fault of ours, but if you cannot be united, what can we the people do ? Now, therefore, both of you think well and reflect carefully in your hearts ; otherwise you may at some future day say that the people made you separate. You, if you really want to renounce her, call on Sing Bonga, the five mountain spirits, and the ancestors, and tear the leaves, or else tear them not.'

"The man is then made to stand on his left leg facing the sun and with his hands in a suppliant posture. Thereupon they give him three *sal* leaves. He takes them and, with his cloth twisted round his neck, salutes *Sing Bonga* and tears the leaves with a jerk. Then he turns round and kicks the *lota* over with his right foot, and renounces any further connection with the woman. The man salutes all those present, commencing with the *manjhi* ; the woman does the same. If the leaves are not torn straight—there is an idea that the pair will come together again. If all the water in the *lota* is not split, the idea

*Mr. W. G. Archer's Report on Civil Law in Santal Society, Chapter XII (unpublished).

is the same. It is thought that there is probably still some love left. In any case, inspite of their being divorced in this world, they will meet again in the world to come*".

"In a divorce at Ranga at which I assisted in June, 1944, the procedure was almost identically the same but there were minor variations.

Surai Murmu of Chota Ranga had married Sumi Hansdak of Mahagama in 1939. The villages are about two miles apart. Sumi lived with him for two years. Then she became pregnant. Surai's father, Suphal Murmu, thought that she had got the child *enec' halan ta by'* (gathering it at a dance) and not from his son. He began to ill-treat her. Sumi had the child but it died in Suphal's house. She went back to her parents. Surai did not fetch her. Then a year later Suphal brought another girl for his son. Sumi tried to get it settled by the two villages but Suphal never went to the meeting. Finally she complained in camp and I sent the matter to the pargana. The pargana awarded her seven rupees as divorce money and her father five rupees for the brothers present. A day later *sakam orec'* was performed.

First Suphal paid five rupees to Suri's father who *dobok' johared* all present. Then he put seven rupees in Sumi's hands. After this, Sumi's father paid one rupee to the villagers as *"deke chedi"* (for unstiffening their buttocks) and Suphal, somewhat grudgingly, did the same. Suphal and Sumi now faced each other. Each took a single mango leaf and tore it down the middle vein. The Manjhi said to them 'Before the village five you have both torn the leaves. From today you are apart. If you meet at a *chata* or a *pata* and are caught together, you will have to pay another bride price.' After this, the two *johared* and went away.

This ceremony differed from the standard ritual in three respects. Mango and not sal leaves were used. Only one leaf was torn and not three. There was no lota and it was not kicked over. But the essence of the ceremony—the tearing of leaves—was done and it was this that solemnized the divorce. [1]

**Santal Parganas Gazetteer* (second edition), 168-9.

1. This ritual is paralleled among the Gonds and Baigas: 'The parties go before the *panch* and solemnly break a straw in half, letting the bits fall separately to the ground, but quickly recovered by one of the members of the *panch* and used for their refreshment. The *panch* then declared husband and wife formally separated and with no further claims on one another. Any jewllery given to the wife by her husband should now be returned. When a wife runs away, one of the first things the husband does is to recover all the ornaments he has given her. To see this in practice is sometimes pitiable indeed the husband seems to have no concern about the loss of the partner, no jealousy for the supplanter, but is simply concerned to recover the few pathetically cheap and tawdry orraments and to extract a few rupees from the man who has cuckolded him. But we must remember that we are dealing with people to whom the price of a cup of tea in a railway restaurant represents a whole day's labour; who think in terms not of rupees or even annas, but of pice and cowries, and to whom those things are of gigantic moment'. (Elwin: *The Baiga* 284).

In other areas there are similar minor variations and I have known cases in which jamun leaves were used instead of either sal or mango.

If the marriage has been in any other form, or *sindur* has been given by *baha saoha*—(not in the basket) but on a flower the leaves are not torn and the parties meet before the villagers, settle outstanding claims, pronounce the divorce and go away.*

Special Oaths

There are some special oaths which are often resorted to in Santal Community. The most common special oath is known as *Bansmati*. A little mound of earth is made and a piece of bamboo is stuck in it. The person taking the oath pulls out the bamboo repeating a few words which mean that if he was not speaking the truth *Chando Bonga* above will see that his family dies like a clump of bamboos. The words are recited by the Manjhi and the man repeats them. This oath is widely used in villages. A common belief is that no one can take the oath falsely and not suffer.

Another common oath (*Hopanbohok*) is taken when a man puts his right hand on the child's head and repeats that he is speaking the truth and if it be false let the child die. A variation of this oath is done when the ears and eyes are touched and the man repeats the oath.

Santal Parganas is a land of wild animals. It could only be expected that oaths will be taken mentioning that if truth is not being spoken the tiger will eat him up or the snake will bite him to death.

There are some oaths now common among the Santals which show clear Hindu influence. Now a Santal touches a copper coin and *Tulsi* leaves and takes an oath that he is speaking the truth. A variation of this oath is seen when a person takes a bit of cow-dung and Kend leaves in his hands and turns to the sun and mentions that before *Chando* he is speaking the truth.

Funeral Ceremonies†

When a Santal is dying, the door of his house is kept open, in order that his spirit may leave it and not haunt the family residence. After death, the body is taken to place where two roads meet, at the end of the village street, and is lamented over by the women folk. From this place it is taken to the place of burning

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*W.G. Archer's Report on Civil land in Santal Society, Chapter XII (unpublished).
†*District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), pp. 171 to 173.

which is preferably the bank of a *bandh* or pond belonging to the deceased; if there is no such *bandh* or pond, then to the bank of a stream, for cremation always takes place near water. The pyre is built north and south, the logs being kept together by four poles, one at each corner, and the head being placed towards the south. Before the body is placed on the pyre, the male relatives of the deceased—for only the men come here, wash his hands, feet and face, and pour a little water in his mouth. Then he is carried thrice round the pyre and put on the top. The clothes and everything else that he had on his body are taken away, and also all the articles sent with the corpse, which are sold by auction later. The body is covered with a branch, and four pieces of wood are put across it. A fowl is taken round the pyre thrice, and is finally nailed to the south-west corner pole, i.e., the pole at the left side of the head. Then the nearest relative takes a bit of sedge, wraps a bit of the fringe of the dead man's clothes round it, kindles it, and with averted face places it with the left hand on the mouth of the corpse. After this, all the relatives, and then the others, throw a branch of firewood on the pyre, and proceed to kindle it. The people sit at a distance and watch the body being consumed, and they are all shaved.

When the cremation is over, the relatives go and pick up the bones (a bit of the skull, of the collar-bone and of one of the bigger bones), wash them, pouring turmeric, water and milk over them, and put them in a new pot. This is covered with a potsherd with a hole in it (a breathing hole for the dead), in which they insert a special kind of grass for the spirit to go out and in on. The rest of the bones and the ashes are thrown into the water, a winnowing fan is placed upside down on the site of the pyre, and standing on this the carriers of the body dig round it, the last digger hacking at the fan. Cow-dung is then mixed with water in a cup, and the mixture sprinkled all over the place where the body has been. The pot with the bones is buried outside the village. Thereupon all bathe, and before they enter the village cense themselves with *sal* resin. The articles sent with the dead body are auctioned off the same day, and from the proceeds a goat is bought and eaten by all except those belonging to the dead man's house. Now-a-days the men generally go and drink with the proceeds.

Five days afterwards there is a ceremony called *tel nahan*. The villagers assemble at the dead man's house and shave. They go and bathe, the men to one place, the women to another. The men take with them a little earth (used as soap), oilcake, oil, three *sal* twigs (used as tooth-brushes) and a couple of leaves. The men put these at the water's edge on three separate leaves, and offer all

with the left hand, first to the dead, then to Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi. The last two are invoked to take the dead man under their care. Having returned to the house three persons are "possessed", one by the dead man, who is asked how he departed this world and declares whether he died a natural death or not. After this, there is some drinking. The bones are now brought, put into a bag made of the dead man's clothes, taken out by a couple of men and carried over the boundary of the village. They are then brought back, put into another pot and hung up in the house, to be taken later on to the Damodar river.

Whilst these men are away, the others sit down to eat ; a leaf cup with rice, a cup with curry, and a third cup with water are hung in sling close to where the person died. The people of the house pretend to eat with the left hand, a thing they never do ordinarily, for to use the left hand is considered the worst of had manners. At this time the village people sprinkle water over their persons with a *khas-khas* root ; this purifies them religiously. Next morning they look to see whether the dead person has eaten the food hung up for him. If any remains of food are found, it is a sure sign that he has eaten ; otherwise he has not. There is no fixed time for taking the bones to the Damodar river. It should strictly be done at once ; but the distance to be traversed makes it difficult to do so. The journey is, therefore, postponed to a convenient season, and till many can go together generally, they go in December. Along the river there are several *ghats*, where the relative who has brought the bones offers earth and tooth-brushes to the departed and to Pilchu Haram and Budhi, after he has thrown the bones, etc., into the river. He goes into deep water and, facing east, dives ; whilst under the water he lets the bones go. The finale is the *bhandan*, a great feast with a sacrifice to the dead. When this is over, the mourners can resume their ordinary life ; but till then they can neither sacrifice, nor use *sindur*, nor marry, etc.

Dress and Ornaments

The Santals believe that their progenitors were giants but the *marang buru* allowed them with very scanty clothing. The traditional dress of the females are *panchhi* and *parhan*. The *panchhi* is the upper garment sufficient to cover their breasts by winding the cloth once round their waist and over their right shoulder. This covers the body from waist to neck. The *parhan* is the unsewn lower garment which covers from waist to knee. The females have their head, arms and some parts of the back uncovered. The *panchhi* was common to males also. The males usually has a piece of cloth just to cover their nakedness and this piece is called *bhaqwah*

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The traditional *panchhi* and *parhan* are on the wane. The Santal women now generally wear bordered *sari*, not less than seven cubits in length. Half of this serves as the lower garment being knotted at the waist, the other half is passed over the left shoulder and hangs in the front. They use no veils for their heads of ravendark mass of the wavy hair. The Santal women attired in *sari* and blouse are commonly seen in the *hats* and the *melas*. The female labourers are usually found wearing blouse and *sari* in the urban areas. This change may also be due to the contacts with the non-Santals. Generally speaking *sari* and blouse are not the household garments of the Santal woman. The females still wear their old garments in homes and for working in the fields in the rural areas.

E. G. Man in his book *Sonthalia* and *Sonthals* mentions that they had weavers from their own tribe, and in every garden the cotton plant was a common sight. It was the duty of the females to spin with the spinning wheel. But this cottage industry appears to have long disappeared. The Santals now depend on the neighbouring Hindu weavers to supply their clothes. The Congress movement had given some encouragement to revive hand-spinning and hand-weaving. At one time the Jarmundi *Khaddar Ashram* under Pundit Binodananda Jha was the centre of spread of *Khaddar* in this district.

The unsewn *parhan* has been partially substituted by coloured *lungi* since the later years of the Second World War. The *lungi* is the common garment of both males and females. The Santals love colour in garments if they can afford just as they love gay-coloured flowers. The educated Santal uses the same dress as other educated Bihari does.

Ornaments

The Santal woman is crazy for ornaments. Primarily flowers and cheap coral-beads satisfied them. Brass was in common use. Nickel and silver are now in larger use. The old ornaments viz., *sankah* (for wrist), *paula mala* of lead, *sikki* (silver coins strewn in garland) *Khar churi* and *bank* (for foot) are getting out of use. Modern trends have influenced. The ornaments in common use now are weighty silver *hansuli* for neck, *har* or garland of silver, *madoli* of gold (small rosary) for neck, *pagara* of both gold and silver (ear-ring), *makuri* for neck, *bala* or bracelet for wrist and *hirpin* or hair pin. The Santal women still like weighty ornaments instead of workmanship. Often a Santal woman carry on her person a load of ornaments. It is not uncommon to find a woman with a pair of *paina* (anklets) weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers. and a *kharua* with rings on the first finger of the toe weighing about 2 seers. Col. Sherwill

found the entire weight sustained by a woman not less than 34 pounds of brass or bell metal*.

Some wives of the well-to-do Santals wear a head-ornament called *jhipjhipi*, silver tiaralike ornament, with a crescent moon glimmering in a locket. In some localities it is called *pan-pati*. On the waist danda *jhinjhir* is put on. Three silver strings fastened with a clasp, worn like a girdle round the waist with an ornamented centre shining on the back over the *sari* make up this ornament. For the ears they have *jhinka*, an ear-drop about an inch and half in circumference. The upper part of the ears are given *khutla* with five chains of silver swinging from it. The santal woman probably have a more variety of ornaments than some of the other tribal woman of Bihar. Some of the ornaments are clearly adopted from the Hindus and the Muslims. The markets and *hats* sell a large quality of chains of beads of various colours which are used in addition to the silver and brass ornaments for the neck.

The males are also fond of ornaments. The old necklaces of beads of various colour have practically disappeared. Previously they tied their arms with *golbaju*, a kind of black shield and iron bracelets on their arms. They have now disappeared. The male now wears silver *mathia* in the arms and *kora* or *khaga* as bracelets. The old *bulmala* or *kanthmala* of the dried shell of *bel* fruit has now almost disappeared. Silver rosary is the ornament of the children.

Food and Drink

As already mentioned cooked rice is the staple food of the Santals. The rice is usually *dhenki* husked. Their main edibles have also been mentioned. It may be added that they take a lot of rice water (*manr*) with salt. *Mahua* oil is the chief cooking medium. Various kinds of *pithas* (cakes) are relished—the usual ingredient is the sun-dried rice ground to powder. *Jil pitha* is a delicacy and minute pieces of raw meat with condiments are put in. *Dumu pitha* is shaped like eggs with powdered rice, *gur* and salt. There are various leaves and flowers, bamboo shoots and wild fruits which are edible. They love jack-fruit.

Rice-beer or *handia* is a must in every Santal home whether as an offering to the *bongas* or as a drink to go round in a social visit or as a part of the food. Mr. Charulal Mukherjea has mentioned the *modus operandi* of the preparation of the *handia*†.

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*The *Santals* by Charulal Mukherjea, p. 86.
†The *Santals* by Charulal Mukherjea, pp. 76-77.

"Sun dried rice is first ground and mixed with a powdered root, called *ranu*. The whole mass is then shaped into little balls. Next rice is boiled and spread out to dry and the balls and then powdered and mixed thoroughly with the rice. The next stage requires the mixture thus obtained to be kept in large earthen pots, covered with *sal* leaves for three or four days together, in course of which the rice is well fermented." The fluid of the rice beer is often allowed to trickle down a bamboo sieve being pressed by the hand with a handful of fibres. *Handia* is drunk from *sal* leaf cup.

Dances

In the last *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* by S. C. Mukherji it has been mentioned*—

> "The Santals have a large number of different dances and, with two or three exceptions, these are very decent to look at : but excluding a couple of war dances, the associations of the dance are always doubtful. Except at festivals they never dance during the day time, but at night ; and the dances give the two sexes an opportunity for illicit intercourse. In the Santal mind, therefore, dancing is always associated with sensuality".

These dances are mostly performed by men and women together; there are special ones reserved for either of the sexes. The Santals have special seasons and festivals for these dances and these are part and parcel for their tribal religious life. Shri Charulal Mukherjea in his book "*The Santals*" has elaborated some of the dances of the Santals†.

The most common of the Santal dances *lagren enec* is preferably held in moon-light, when the men beat the drums and *madals* to attract the youths and maids. They make a complete circle with a radius of seven to ten feet. *Lagren* is a very stimulating dance, and on these occasions the youths and maids get ample opportunity for love making and courtship, as the couples face side ways and talk as they dance. After the dances, it is not uncommon that parties in love would retire into the woods. There are certain *lagren* songs for invocation of the Rain-God that are sung on the failure of rains.

Don enec is danced during the marriages generally. Mixed men and women choose their groups and form a lively circle. The

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*District Gazetteer of Santal Pargana (1938), p. 129.

†The Santals by Charu'al Mukherjea (Calcutta, 1962).

women interlock their hands gracefully, whereas, men with *nagara* and *madal* stand in the centre forming an inner circle. The dance may also take place as a mark of joy when the volunteers help a Santal farmer in agricultural operation. The farmer entertains the volunteers and *don* dance is held after a liberal drink of rice-beer. According to Charulal Mukherjea the suggestive hip and body movements which form the special feature of the dance have only one meaning, viz., recreating in artistic forms the human urge to procreation. The very object of the dance is associated with marriage life, when the married pair might unite in love and affection and get children so that the Santals might increase in number.

Jhika dance is just followed by *don*. Here men and women form a circle, but they do not entwine the hands. It is a fascinating sight to see the ebony beauties bending their bodies half, and swinging up and down with a graceful lithe motion like a field of corn before the wind. Kettle drums, cymbals and flutes fill the atmosphere with a jocund din, while the dance goes on for about fifteen minutes with men singing and women replying in chorus.

Jatur dance is associated with religion. The time for this dance is the harvest festival (*Sohrae*) and the flower festival (*Baha*), when the village priest offers oblations to the deities of the Holy Grove at day time. Males and females dance separately in a circle. This is a purely devotional dance to propitiate the gods for bumper crops and the prosperity of the Santal tribe. It is customary for the Santals to promise a *jatur* dance to the deity, in case of apprehended calamities. The other religious dance is *Rinja* which is held during the *Karam puja*. The Santals believe that if *Rinja* is not danced during the *Karam puja*, there will be no rain.

Danta is danced during the *Sohrae* festival. Women generally do not join this dance, because the songs that accompany the dances are frequently too amorous. The other important dances are *Dahar* and *Baha* dances*.

The Santal children learn dances by imitation of their elders. Formerly the Santal women even did not hesitate to dance in the *melas* in day time before the non-Santals but that has practically disappeared. This is partly due to the fact that the Santal men and women used to be called for giving shows of dances almost *ad nauseam* by the officials and others interested parties. The political consciousness which has been dawning on the Santals due to the activities of the Jharkhand Party† and other parties is also

*The Section has been summarised from the book "The Santals" by Shri Charu Lal Mukherjea (1962), pp. 365—75.

†The Jharkhand Party has merged into the Congress as a political body in 1963.

responsible for giving them the idea that they were making themselves too cheap for the enjoyment of the *Dikkus*. They have been told by their own leaders that they must curb their dances if only for the enjoyment of others.

Painting

Regarding Santal Painting W. G. Archer, who was a Deputy Commissioner in Santal Parganas has made some observations in his book "The Vertical Man (London 1947)", which is quoted below. Although one may not agree with all that Mr. Archer has said and see the eroticism in vertical and horizontal line in Santal drawings and paintings the observations are worth a consideration.

"The basis of both styles is a will to what may be called vital geometry[1] ; and before we examine them in detail, it is necessary to make clear exactly what we mean by this fundamental term. An art may be said to be geometric when it uses the abstract forms of geometry the circle, the straight line, the square, and the angle ; and a purely geometric art is one which is severely limited to these forms. Examples are paintings by Helion or the village paintings in Singhbhum Santals[2] in which the square of the picture is analysed into a series of subtly poised rectangles ; or even by certain plaques by Ben Nicholson in which the basic forms are circles and rectangles. In these kinds of art the forms are abstract in the sense that they correspond to certain mathematical concepts and do not derive directly from any vital forms. But even the purest geometry is not completely abstract for the presence of geometric forms in nature evokes human responses and changes them with vital associations. It is not true as Worringer thought, that "the rigid line is essentially abstract and alien to life" or that "the abstract geometrical line embodies nor organic expression, no possibilities of organic interpretation[3]." The horizontal line is associated with the levels of plain, the absence of obstacles, the recumbent, the passive and the female. The vertical line is linked to the thrust of trees, to energy, opposition, division, to the erect and the male. Similarly, the square and triangle with their resolution into sharp points are associated with what is hard and brutal, the angular rock, the rational and masculine—the reverse of the curve with its yielding weakness, and feminine shrinkage,"

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1. I have adapted this term from Herbert Read's phrase "Vitalised geometry" in his translation of Wilhelm Worringer's *Form in Gothic*.
2. I have discussed this type of paintings in an article with Mildred Archer, W.G. and M. Archer, "Santal Painting" Axis (London), Autumn 1936.
3. Wilhelm Worringer, *Form in Gothic* transl. Herbert Read (London 1927). 7 and 41.

Property and Inheritance.

The Santal law of succession is patriarchal. The father has absolute control over the family property so long he is alive. The Santal customary law of inheritance does not recognise the female to succeed over the family property. The female has no claim in the property. The daughter cannot succeed over the property of her deceased father unless she is married in the *ghar-jamai* form. The *ghar-jamai* daughter to all intended purposes gets the reflection of the son. The Santal law of inheritance accepts the *ghar-jamai* daughter to succeed only to continue the family (*Parish*) line. If the *ghar-jamai* daughter dies issueless, the property of the deceased will not devolve on the *ghar-jamai* or son-in-law. The son-in-law is joint owner with his wife and his son. In absence of these two he has no legal claim in the property. He can only claim *khorposh* or maintenance so long he is alive and lives as a widower. But if he re-marries he forfeits even the claim of the maintenance. This is because the Santal customary law of inheritance does not allow the change-over of the property from one *Parish* (line) to another *Parish* except in the case of the *ghar-jamai* daughter. The old *District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938) has mentioned that the widow cannot create a *ghar-jamai**. But this is found to be wrong. The widow can create a *ghar-jamai* with the consent of the next heirs of her deceased husband.

The other married daughter has no claim over the property of her deceased father even in default of son or grandson. But recently there have been cases in which the married daughters had acquired valid title in the separate property of their fathers. But the daughter cannot succeed if the property is joint. In certain circumstances as stated elsewhere the daughters have absolute rights on the movables of her deceased father.

The widow if she has no issue from her deceased husband will not inherit the property of her deceased husband. But she is entitled for *Khorposh* sufficient for her maintenance. The widow can succeed to the separate property of her deceased husband with the consent of the next heir but after re-marriage the property passes to the heirs of the deceased, i.e., to the brothers and other agnates.

The married son or daughter is given *dangua-hissa* or marriage share on the eve of the partition of the family property. After marriage the *dangua-hissa* is again divided among the sharers.

**District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas* (1938), p. 164.

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the unmarried daughter gets cattle in *dangua-hissa* besides lands, the cattle are not divided but become the property of the daughter and she takes away the cattle to her new home. An unmarried son usually gets only lands in *dangua-hissa* and not cattle. The father in default of a son in the old age can create an *agumit*, i.e., bringing of the married daughter with her husband to his own house. After the death of the father his property passes as a *ghar-jamai* form of marriage.

Since the father has absolute right in the property the sons have no valid claim in the property. The unmarried son cannot demand partition. The married son can demand partition but it depends on the will of the father whether to give any share in the family property or not. But as a rule he cannot be forced. After the death of the father, the property is equally divided among the sons.

The joint family system of the Santal has undergone a great change. E.G.Man in his book"*Santhalia and the Sonthals*" (1867) had mentioned that a Santal is "blessed with large families.... .....nine olive branches being a common number to one man's quiver....." But from investigation it was found that the joint family system has become now a rarity. Hardly a son after marriage lives jointly with his father. The marriage *ipso facto* creates a separation and a Santal family now consists of the married couples and their unmarried children. Poverty due to small holding of the Santal cultivators seems to be the main cause of breaking the joint family tie. Joint family system envisages property, particularly landed property to create a co-partnership. The spread of literacy and education, especially among the Christian Santals seems to be also a factor for separation. There is a tendency among the educated service-holders to live separately. Sometimes the father is himself responsible for separation in case of re-marriage.

Kharwar Movement

The Kharwar movement is an important landmark in the Santal society. The Kharwar movement sponsored in 1871 aimed at social and religious purification by exhorting the Santals to worship the true God only and to abstain from intoxicating liquor and also from eating pork and fowls. Its early followers called themselves *Sapha Har*, i.e., the pure men. Its leaders were Bhagirath Manjhi and Gyan Parganait. It was preached that the land belonged to them and they need not pay rent for it. Though the movement was suppressed immediately, there was another outburst in 1874-75.

Bhagirath bore the title of *babaji* which he borrowed from the Hindus. The Santals took Bhagirath as the representative of their God *Chando*. Bhagirath preached that they should pray to *Chando* and worship him for all their sufferings and wishes.

As time went on, his mode of preaching was somewhat altered, probably because the people did not attain their wishes. He said that all evil had to be purged out and all the Santals must come to him with one heart. "We or our fathers have sinned utterly (sixteen annas); when our sins are fully atoned for, we shall be the owners of the country." In course of time he collected a large sum of money and there was belief in some quarters that he and his helpers kept the most. The famine of 1874 made the situation all the more aggravated. Bhagirath claimed that the imported Burma rice which was distributed among the Santals was rice formerly given by the Santals to the bongas, and now brought back under some pretext. It was for the Santals to eat the imported Burma rice, but they must be careful not to let fowls or pigs pollute it, and they should bathe daily and then cook their food. It was indeed a Hinduistic touch. Besides Hinduism it appears that some of the followers of Bhagirath had come into contact with Christianity. They declared that men did not cure people, but God did. Only those who believed were healed and the unbelievers would not benefit in anyway. The people must live a clean life and not use filthy language. Some of the *babajis* started regular meetings for the people on Sundays, and prohibited Sunday labour for them and their cattle. They further directed the people to be kind to their animals. One of them introduced Ram, the Hindu incarnation of God associating Him with their God *Chando*; "*Ram Chando duhai*".

In course of time the leaders of the religious movement of the Santals, gave the movement a political aspect by instigating the people to refuse the payment of rent. Two of the leaders, Bhagirath Manjhi and Gyan Parganait, were imprisoned and the military and police reinforcements were stationed at Dumka, but the movement took a formidable shape in 1880-81 under Dubia Gosain. He commanded the Santals to conform to the Hindu customs. As mentioned elsewhere the Santals became restive on the eve of the census of 1881. To overawe the Santals, the Government posted a body of military police in the district and a field force of 4,500 cavalry and infantry was also brought under Colonel (afterwards General Sir) Thomas Gordon. But the Kharwar movement did not become extinct*.

Subsequently, in 1891, the Kharwars appear again to have taken advantage of the census to frighten the Santals in the Rajmahal

Bihar Through The Ages by R.R. Diwakar (1958), p. 601.

subdivision. Besides the political movement against the British authorities it was also against the preachings of Christianity. There was a pronounced and widespread recrudescence of the Kharwar movement during the famine of 1897.

The Hindu practices already introduced received more fillip in the later phase of the movement. The followers of the movement (*babajis*) asserted that their ancestors had no *bongas*, but worshipped one God.

The *babajis* also claimed to have exorcising powers to deliver the women from the bad influence of the *bongas*. Some of the followers professed to be vegetarians, but they did not insist that others should adopt the same diet. Subsequently they declared that they had received a command from God that the people were to use earth, *dhubi* grass (*cynodan dactylon*) and cow-dung ashes, which would be blessed if they obeyed His commandments. These articles were divided into three parts, which were kept separate. One part had to be either drunk (mixed in water) or applied externally. Another part had to be given to the cattle to make them give milk. A third part was to bring personal prosperity if applied symbolically. In this connection it may be remarked that the Santals instinctively felt the importance of symbolical action. The exorcising of the *bongas* was done in a symbolic way. A good number of women who were under the bad influence of the *bongas* rallied under their banner.

In times of comparative plenty or prosperity very little was heard of the movement, but during the time of scarcity or famine it always got a momentum. But very little was heard during the famine of 1919. The movement was, however, not dead, but went underground. In course of time the followers of this sect were divided into three groups, viz., *Sapai*, *Samra* and the *babaji*, the last division representing the original sect.* A common practice for all the three sects is that they worship *Ram Chando*. The followers of the *Sapai* adopted the Hindu practice of a daily bath. Some of them offer oblation to the Sun God after the morning bath before sun rise. Some of them are particular about performing their worship before they touch food in the morning. The men only worship. The Samras meet their local leader once a week at night. The visitors have to bring sugar and sweets and offer to their leader. The leader after listening to the trouble of his followers invokes *Ram Chando* for redress. The followers of Samra have to give up belief in the *bongas* and believe only in *Ram Chando*.

District Gazetteer of Santal Parganas (1938), p. 180.

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Relation Between Santals and Non-Santals. *

Enquiries made in some of the villages in the Damin area show that the Santals have cordial relations with the non-Santals. The long association of the Santals with the non-Santals has had its impact on each other. Although the traditional distrust of the Santals towards the *dikkus* has practically disappeared the maxim propounded by the old *guru* still persits—"*Dikku pera Janma Jhanti*", i.e., the *dikku* though a friend is a born thorn. The long suffering of the Santals due to the exploitation of the non-Santal *mahajans* is the sole cause of the distrust. The *dikkus* are regarded as the exploiter class and the Santals consider them to be exploited. But at present it cannot be said that the same conditions prevail. Except a few well-to-do non-Santals the economic condition of the average *dikku* is more or less at the same level. The exploitation of the *mahajan* is common now for both, the Santals and the non-Santals. The incidence of the extortion by the *mahajans* has somewhat declined due to the starting of grain *golas* by the Welfare and Co-operative Departments and other welfare measures.

In a mixed village of the Santals and the non-Santals in spite of amity the two communities live apart and usually there is a space in between. The Santals are no longer in the splendid isolation of the olden days and yet they keep up their danish spirit by living separately. The Santal huts are quite distinct by their neatness and usually splash of colour on the outer walls. The Santals are no longer inhabitants of the inaccessible forests and hills. Now both the Santals and non-Santals share the common village shop, rural *hats* and *melas*. They work together in the agricultural farms and learns. Above all both have the common set of village officials. A few years before Santal women felt offended if per chance a non-Santal volunteered to unload their filled up baskets while working at the house of the latter. There was a tradition that in the Santal Community none but the husband could touch the head of the Santal woman. But this tradition is now disappearing.

The long association between the Santals and the non-Santals has created brotherly feeling. The mutual relation, viz., *chacha*, *kaka* and *bhaiya* is heard in common parlance. The same spirit is marked in assimilation of culture and religion also. Lord Shiva, the chief godling of the Hindu, is worshiped in the *charak puja* and *patta parva*. The complexion of the Santals is also slightly changing due to long association with the non-Santals. A jet

*Investigation was made in the tribal villages, viz., Barmasia, Hathigarh, Dhabdanga, Jabardoha and Ghogharjani in Hiranpur Block, Haripur and Kathikund in Kathikund Block, Sujuri and Gariapani in Gopikandar Block (P.C.R.C.).

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black Santal (an expression used in the last District Gazetteer) is hardly seen now. Some of the Santals abstain from taking beef. Neither cows nor bulls are slaughtered for meat but some still take carrion.

THE CHRISTIAN SANTALS. *

The Christian Missions.

The Christian Missions have been working in Santal Parganas areas for quite a number of decades and a good percentage of the Santals have been converted into Christianity. There are many families now who have been Santals through generations. Broadly speaking, about 3 to 4 per cent of the total Santal community in Santal Parganas may be taken to be Christians. Although this percentage is very small, the impact of the Christian Santals on the non-Christians and on the general population of the Santal Parganas is considerable and certainly much more than what the small percentage would indicate. It may be mentioned here that the Christian Missions that have been working in the Santal Parganas are the Scandinavian Mission of the Northern Churches, Seventh Day Aventists, Roman Catholics and the Plymouth Brethren

Tribal Law.

So far as the Law is concerned, Christian Santals are governed by the ordinary Santal tribal law. The Santals, along with the Mundas, Oraons, Hos, Bhumijis, Kharias, Gonds, etc., have been exempted from the operation of the Indian Succession Act by Government executive orders. Ordinary Santal tribal law has been partially modified by usages and conventions so far as the Christian Santals are concerned. It will be interesting to discuss the relationship of the Christian Santals to ordinary Santal tribal law. There has not been much of a detailed study on the subject although recently the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee (1938), W.G. Archer and a few others had made some investigations.

Taboos.

A large part of the efforts of every Christian Mission has been to liquidate as far as possible the faith of the Santals in the hierarchy of spirits (*bongas* and belief in witchcraft). No Christian Santal is expected to propitiate the *bongas* and *Bhuts*. Incidentally, some of the Christian Missions have tried to curb the innate passion of the Santals for drinking *Mohua liquor* and rice beer. A Santal Christian usually does not live absolutely isolated in the village if there are other Santal Christians. It is a common

*Investigations were spread over the district. For education among Santals see Prof. N. K. Das Gupta's. "Problems of Tribal Education and the Santals."

P.C.R.C.

feature that in a Santal village, the Christians would live in close neighbourhood as far as possible. A Christian Santal cannot naturally take part in the tribal conventions and festivals which are exclusively associated with the *bongas* or spirits. Bodding who had worked in Santal Parganas for many years had mentioned that they have tried to get not so much Santal Christians but to have Christian Santals. This expresses generally the attitude of the Christian Mission. The Missions have not, as a rule, tried to interfere with the Santal customs unless they are in direct conflict with the Christian faith such as the worship of the spirits or pure animism. Even regarding drinking, there has been a certain amount of latitude given. The Roman Catholics have not tabooed drinking and dancing with the festival of Christmas. The missions have tried to put down public drinking but do not taboo community dancing. The idea is not to discourage dancing in its pure form but dancing leading to an abandon linked up with sexual liberties is sought to be put down.

Social and Other Differences.

The marriages in a Christian Santal family are normally done by service in a church. The usual tribal rituals, religious or conventional, are cut down to the minimum and *Sindoor Dan* or applying vermilion is tabooed. This has become now a part and parcel of the marriage ceremony of the tribal Santals. Dancing is usually omitted as far as possible.

Common Points.

While the marriage itself is performed in the Church, the preliminaries of marriage in the family of a Christian Santal are very much akin to what we find in a non-Christian Santal. The role of the go-between, the exchange of presents, the payment of bride price, etc., are usually observed in Christian Santal families just as in non-Christian families. Regarding possible partners, Christian Santals do observe the same rules of exogamy and the same prohibited relationship as the non-Christian Santals. The great hold of tribalism on the Christian Santals is seen in the fact that in the rural areas the percentage of Christian Santals marrying a Christian *Dikku* (non-Santal) is almost nil. In spite of belonging to a Christian family for generations, a Christian Santal will look for his partner in the family of another Christian Santal normally. In this connection, it may be mentioned that matrimonial alliance of a non-Christian Santal with a non-Santal (*Dikku*) is not only looked down with abhorrence but often very closely followed by persecution if circumstances permit. We all know the famous institution of *Bitlaha* where a *Dikku* tampering

with a Santal girl is meted out dire punishment—his house may be burnt and he publicly assaulted. A *Bitlaha* has often been associated with ruthless assault, vandalism and crude obscenity perpetrated on the family members and the house burnt by the offenders. The tribal Santals get completely out of hands at this and the offending pair has to run away from the area permanently to escape persecution.

It will be difficult to find a Christian Santal married to a Christian *Dikku* in a Santal village. Usually such matrimonial alliances are followed by migration of parties to the towns or to the district or beyond the State. There have been so far very few of such cases.

Some Problems.

Peculiar circumstances arise when a married Santal male is converted to Christianity and his wife is not. According to the Roman Catholics there cannot be a valid marriag with a non-Catholic and Roman Catholic can have a non-Christian wife. There have been cases where such converts have taken Catholic Santal girls as their wives after some years. But the civil rights of the first non-Christian wife will continue unabated and will be binding on the husband. A Santal woman after her coming of age is given some civil rights. She will still be regarded as the senior wife by tribal law and in the event of the death of the husband, share of the property will have to devolve to the first non-Christian wife according to the tribal law.

Some Missions, however, are quite firm about the future of the convert if he is already married under the tribal law. He cannot take another wife nor his continuing to live with the non-Christian tribal wife will be encouraged. There is thus a constant pressure on the convert to get his wife converted as well. Usually the pair is converted together and such difficulties are obviated. If, however, a tribal Santal woman deserts her husband for quite a number of years and refuses to be converted, a second marriage by the convert to a Christian Santal girl is permitted but the marriage cannot be celebrated in the Church. The ceremony is held outside the Church but with the usual hymns and prayers.

As is well-known, there are quite a number of forms of Santal marriages. In a tabular form, they may be mentioned :

(1) *Dol bapla*—A full dress wedding celebrated with dancing and drumming in the two villages.

(2) *Golaeti*—Public celebrations but on a smaller scale. Golaetism is an exchange of brothers and sisters.

(3) *Tunki dipil*—A poor man's wedding.

(4) *Sangha*—Weddings of divorced girls and widows.

(5) *Jawal Kirinok bapla*—Marriage by the purchase of a husband for an unmarried mother.

(6) *Hirom Cetan*—The public induction of a co-wife.

(7) *Iputut*—Marriage by the forcible smearing of a girl with *sindoor* or its substitutes.

(8) *Or ader*—Marriage by capture, when a boy or girl pulls the other into a house.

(9) *Nir bolok*—Marriage by intrusion, when boys or girls force themselves into a family.

(10) *Kundal napam*—Meeting at bed time.

(11) *Apangir*—Elopement.

(12) *Ghardi jawae*—The taking of a temporary serving son-in-law.

(13) *Ghar Jawae*—The induction of a permanent serving son-in-law, the wedding being celebrated as in a *dol bapla* but with certain differences and the roles of a boy and girl reversed.

(14) *Agu hater*—A *ghar jawae* wedding by anticipation.

A Christian Santal may have *dol bapla, golaeti* or *tunki dipil* in a modified form but absolutely shorn of the tribal rites invoking the spirits, etc. Owing to the smallness of the number of Christian Santals, there has been recently a tendency for encouraging *Golaeti*. *Sangha* is entirely controlled for the Christian Santals according to the Christian rites. Here the law and convention of the Christians for the wedding of a divorcee or a divorced wife and widows will apply. The non-Christian tribals are rather relaxed on this matter but the Christian Santals are very strict about them. *Jawae Kirinok bapla* and *Hirom Cetan* are entirely tabooed for a Christian Santal. *Iputut* is discouraged particularly because association of *sindoor* with marriage is an anathema to a Christian Santal. There may be an occasion when choice is forced on a girl but this has to be immediately followed by a regular marriage in the church. *Or ader, Nir bolok* and *Kundal napam* do not exist among the Christian Santals. *Apangir* is entirely controlled by Christian law and convention and no Mission would encourage marriage after elopement. *Ghardi Jawae, Ghar jawae* and *Agu hater* are not taboos among the Christian Santals but the occasion of having a *Ghar Jawae* is getting rare.

Tribal Custom.

The fact that the old and honoured tribal customs are still continuing in the families of the Christian Santals unless they are in direct conflict with Christian faith is seen in all great crisis of Santal life. The birth of a child in a Christian family is followed by the same type of purification of the house, general bathing and festivities as among non-Christian Santals. Even during sickness the aid of the customary *ojhas* is sought. *Padres* may not like it. The *ojhas* while administering the country medicines and herbs will recite the *mantras* and would even sacrifice chickens or goats. Such sacrifices are associated for propitiating the *bongas* and this part will have to be done in a semi-secret manner. Christians are never cremated. It may be mentioned that the usual ceremonies after death among the tribal Santals like scattering of ashes and sale of dead man's things, *telnahan*, journey to the river, etc., are not observed in Christian families.

The customary tribal laws hold good on a Christian Santal as well for the ownership of the livestock, credit, hunting and fishing, the mortgage or sale of the land. The same restrictions that have been imposed by the State for the sale or mortgage of properties of the Santals apply to the Christian Santals as well.

Impact on Society.

The Christian pockets in the Santal Parganas have not got that degree of better outlook that the Christian pockets in the other districts of Chotanagpur have. This is due to the fact that the Santals as a class live in an extremely neat and tidy manner. A Santal village is in great contrast to the non-Santal villages. The Santal colony in the midst of a village is clearly marked out by the higher plinth of the huts, the neat painting on the outer wall, a small running verandah and the absence of accumulation of filth and dirt in front. The Oraons, Mundas and the other tribals in the other parts of Chotanagpur have not got that high standard of cleanliness and aesthetic outlook on life as the Santals have. That is why the Christian Santals live in a small upgraded manner than the non-Christian ones. This is due, more or less, to the better economic incidence of the Santal Christians and the help of the Missionaries. The household of a Santal Christian in a village boasts of a couple of wooden chairs or stools, a few cups and saucers for tea and probably a small table. They are more addicted to tea and their social functions are more marked by the sipping of tea than by drinking rice beer. Educationally the Christian Santals are more advanced and the result is seen that the Christian Santals are politically more

clamorous than non-Christian Santals. In the recent agitation for *Jharkhand* or the unification of the tribal areas under one State it is the Christians who had taken the lead.

The Missions have been careful not to upset the basic environments and the roots of the Santal society. The first advent of Christianity was more attuned to a process of probably what might be called detribalisation tearing them away from the moral and social sanctions under which they have grown up. The Lutheran Church was more prominent for this. But there seems to have been a change in the outlook now. The ancient ideas are not held in ridicule but are screened if necessary and accepted. There has been no suppression of the wearing of the ornaments or the tribal dress, no direct discouragement of dancing and drinking unless carried to excess, no rancour for their folk tales or riddles. On the other hand, it is the Christian Missionaries who are pioneers to collect the Santal folk tales and the compilation of dictionaries and books in Santal language. A discussion with the Santal Missionaries convinces the investigator that the Mission wants the Santals to live, as far as possible, as a Santal and they only want to give precision and a Christian outlook to the old ways of life.

The pioneers of education in the Santal Parganas were the Missionaries. The earliest advocates for the rights of Santal women came from the Missions. It is principally the agitation of the Missionaries that had led to the previous investigations into Santal laws and tribal customs and to put them on a statutory basis. The Christian Santals have not been detribalised exceptiing where the *bongas* are concerned.

As W.G. Archer has mentioned, "it is in matters affecting the *bongas* that Santal Christians are, as it were, demoted. Having themselves denied the *bongas*, they are no longer subjects of *bonga* interest. If a Chirstian Santal commits incest or goes with a *Dikku*, the *bongas* assume complete indifference. The Santal Christian is already out of the *bongas*, and is, therefore, in all essentials out of the tribe. He is no longer a true Santal and nothing he can do to induce the *bongas* either to warn or bless. It is this indifference of the tribe to his moral and religious conduct which is his greatest deprivation. Again the training of the Mission, while it may kill the fear of death, gives also in its place a fear of life. The Mission ban on song and dance, the substitution of the solemn hymn for the jolly song, the reverend walk for the hop and skip of the dance has not in fact checked the sexual intimacies which Bodding deplored but has produced instead a subconscious resentment, a respectful hatred of all that is a Mission. Some of the most educated Christian Santals have never

forgiven the Missions for making them Christians and thus depriving them of all that gives to Santal life its sanction and cohesion".*

Santal Folk Tales.

The Santal folk tales reflect Santals very faithfully and underline their character, traditions, religious beliefs and social customs. In the daily life of the Santals folk tales have a very important role. After nightfall the children gather round the granny or the grandfather and hear the oft-repeated folk stories. In the grazing fields the Santal boys sit together and one of them recites one story and then others do the same. Young girls collect for some festival in a Santal house and one of them refers to a story and others will ask her to recite the tale. In this way from generation to generation folk stories of the Santals have been repeated and are preserved.

The Santal folk tales cut across the barriers of the province and it is strange that some of them are basically the same that one would hear in Assam or in Kerala. The basic idea is to provide recreation and amusement and the sources are all that they see, hear and feel. Some of these stories are other versions in the legends of the Hindus or the Buddhists and some are either distorted or variegated forms of stories in the *Katha-sarit-sagar* or Aeshop's story. One does not find the flourish and the touch of the stories associated with Harun-al-Rashid or the stories that are usually associated with pomp, grandeur, golden cots, lavish food, or the silver chariots. There is no story of a white horse with golden saddlery or a king in resplendent robes in chariot drawn by four or eight horses. There is no story of the golden rod, the swing near the head of the princess which would put her to sleep and the same action near her feet would revive her. On the other hand, some of the basic ideas are common. The jealousy of the step-mother, the deeds of the cheats or the clever, vandalism of the ogre, animals endowed with human feelings, bestowal of gifts by an unseen power, and the belief in witchcraft are there. A large number of the Santal stories are naturally associated with the forests, beasts of prey, avifauna and the *bongas* which are associated with men and women. Customary beliefs of the Santals form the base of many of the Santal folk tales. The belief in witchcraft is firmly implanted in almost every Santal mind and naturally folk tales of the witches, how they trouble men and women and how they could be outwitted form a large part of the stories. The witches cause illness and the witch doctor prescribes incantations and medicines

*W.G. Archer's report (unpublished).

for the cure of the patients. This idea is woven closely in many of the stories. This is quite expected as even now Santal women have meetings at night at which *mantras* and songs are repeated and it is believed that uncanny powers can be acquired by such practice. If uncanny power acquired by women causes misfortune, the *Jan guru* can detect the source and spell out incantations whereby misfortune can be removed. Many of the stories oft-repeated in Santal community are associated with *marang buru*, the supreme deity, as it is believed that *marang buru* is the source of both witchcraft and the cure to the vandalism of the witches. In the lower hierarchy are the *bongas*—various kinds of spirits who are even anxious to marry girls and commit various mischiefs and pranks. Peculiarly enough witchcraft is more or less the preserve of the women in Santal community. *Ojhas* or the witch doctors are usually men. It is only expected that a large number of Santal folk tales will move round the pivot of these theories.

Animal stories are very common in the folk tales of every part of the world. It is only to be expected that the Santals who were originally the residents of various forest lands would have a large number of animal stories. The Santal stories with Rajas, Priests, and different Hindu communities apparently came into existence at a later stage in the Santal life. These stories refer more to a settled condition of the Santals with lands, cattle and poultry. But all the stories do reflect the strong element of tribalism that are still to be associated with the Santals. Sociologists and the historians can read into some of the stories the inner feelings of the Santals which have been agitating them since about one century. The trends are the spirit of unrest and mal-adjustment of their indigenous democracy and tribalism with the modern society. Their previous history and the evolution of the Santals through different stages can well be made out if the inner meanings of some of the stories are analysed. In spite of the changing pattern in their life and the present settled conditions where they have been brought under the ordinary common law, the police and the magistracy, the Santals still love to hear the stories which recount their past conditions when they were more of free lurks moving about from place to place *jhumming* the land and moving away to another tract after a short while. Their mythology is well underlined in their folk stories.*

For the stories and legends we have to refer to the fine collection of them by the Rev. O. Bodding of the Scandinavian Mission to the Santals. Rev. Dr. Campbell of Govindpur published in 1891 a collection of Santal folk tales. In the recent years there have been also some publications which are, more or less, a rehearsal of what those great masters did. It is a pity

*The Editor collected some stories that have not been published before.

that many of the stories are dying out as the trends of industrialisation and modernism have started affecting the Santals as well. Hordes of them are to be seen in the tea plantations and the industrial centres all over India. The educated Santals of the present day are, more or less, unused to hear the recital of the stories in their granny's lap. It remains a fact that in order to have a glimpse into the real Santal life, joyous and virile where sex is no inhibition and a strong matter of fact and material existence lingers in spite of economic poverty, there can be no truer index than the Santal folk tales.

The Paharias.

In order to investigate into the present condition of the aboriginals particularly the Paharias eight villages of the Santal Parganas district [four villages in the Amarpara Block, namely, Tutrapahar, Nunpara, Amirjola and Harinduba under Pakaur subdivision and four villages in the Borio Block, namely, Borio, Murgabani, Deopahar (Kustanr) and Bara Pachgarh under Rajmahal subdivision] were selected. This discussion is based on a participantiobservation of the aboriginals there.

The Paharias are considered to be the earliest inhabitants of this district. They are divided into three branches, namely, *Sauria Paharia, Mal Paharia* and *Kumarbhag Paharia* and they represent varying degrees of assimilation to the pattern of local Hindu culture.

The Sauria Paharias.

The *Sauria Paharias* are mainly found in the Rajmahal hills (northern portion) and in the hilly areas of Godda and Pakaur Subdivisions. According to the census of 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951, their population in this district was 47,066, 62,734, 55,600, 59,891 and 53,576 respectively. The figures relating to their population show a fluctuating tendency and there had been only an increase of 6,510 persons during the last fifty years (i.e., from 1901 to 1951). This small accretion may not be correct. It is doubtful if the enumerator would always visit the hill tops where they live for enumerating them. The enumerator may not know the difference between a Paharia and a Santal or any other aboriginal. But since no other accredited figures are available we have to accept the census figures.

Their population in the different subdivisions according to the census of 1951 was as follows :—

1. Rajmahal Subdivision	..	32,048
2. Godda ..	..	10,612
3. Pakaur Subdivision	..	10,916
Total	..	53,576

Three villages, namely, Bara Pachgarh, Deopahar (Kustanr) and Murgabani were selected for the study of *Sauria Paharias*. A brief survey of each village will be helpful.

1. *Deopahar* (*Kustanr*).—The village Deopahar (Kustanr) is at a distance of about 84 miles from Dumka and 10 miles from Borio. For about eight miles there is no road from Borio to Deopahar. The path lies through undulating hills. The village is located on a hill-top. The area of the village is 385 acres with a population of 122 males and 98 females according to 1961 census as against the total population of 113 males and 90 females in 1951. The village has 51 *Sauria Paharia* families. The village is divided into five *tolas*—Manjhi *tola* consisting of 12 families, Kotogodda *tola* consisting of 12 families, Sal *tola* consisting of 7 families, Ukjore *tola* and Sarak *tola* having 9 and 11 families respectively.

2. *Murgabani*.—This village is at a distance of about 4 miles from Borio and 78 miles from Dumka. The village has three parts—two parts inhabited by the Santals and one part populated by the *Sauria Paharias*. According to the census of 1961 the area of the village is 409 acres with a population of 220 persons (107 males and 113 females) as against the total population of 125 persons (62 males and 63 females) in 1951. The high increase in the total population from 125 to 220 during ten years is primarily due to the settlement of thirty *Sauria Paharia* families in the *Sauria Paharia* colony of Murgabani in 1959 out of whom fourteen families consisting of 55 persons were recorded in the 1961 census. These Paharias were brought from different hills for being settled here. At present (in November, 1962) only four *Sauria Paharia* families consisting of 19 members are residing in the colony and the rest have left the colony. The plan has not been fully successful. The total number of Santals according to 1961 census is 158. There are only 33 Santal families in the village as recorded in the 1961 census but according to the investigation made there are 35 families.

3. *Bara Pachgarh*.—A village situated at a distance of about two miles from Sahibganj and 97 miles from Dumka. It is divided into two parts—the first part situated at the base of the hill is inhabited by four Santal families and the other part on the hill-top has 46 *Sauria Paharia* families. The total number of the Santals and the Paharias is 15 and 243 respectively. The area of the village is 395 acres. It was reported that due to some raid by robbers about four or five years back, the Paharias living on the hill-top of Bara Pachgarh shifted to Ladauni hills which is considered to be a safe place and is only a few furlongs away from Bara Pachgarh.

In January, 1962, twenty families of *Sauria Paharias* were brought for being settled in the Paharia colony at Bara Pachgarh. From the investigation made it was found that most of the families do not reside regularly in the colony and often go back to their old habitat on the hill-top where they still carry on cultivation and have relatives and friends. At the time of the investigation in November, 1962, only thirteen families were found residing in the colony.

Economic Organisation of the Sauria Paharias.

The economic organisation "consists of the ordering and organisation of human relations and human effort to procure as many of the necessities of day-to-day life as possible with the expenditure of minimum effort. It is the attempt to secure the maximum satisfaction possible through adopting limited means to unlimited ends (needs) in an organised manner. This definition holds good for any prehistoric, primitive or modern society. Only the conception of what is regarded as necessary for life, and what a luxury differs*". Various classifications of economic organisation such as hunters, pastoralists, agriculturists, handicrafts and industrial pursuits have been given.

The economic organisation of the *Sauria Paharias* of Bara Pachgarh, Deopahar and Murgabani is based on agriculture. The *Sauria Paharias* are settled cultivators but they do not get sufficient food crops for the whole year. The reasons are the following :—

(1) The land is not sufficient and about 80 per cent of the *Sauria Paharias* of the three villages have less than five acres of land. The average family of a *Sauria Paharia* consists of a husband, a wife and two or three children and the produce of the inhospitable land is not sufficient for the whole year.

(2) The land is often leased out to the *Mahajans* for a petty sum. Out of 80 per cent of the *Sauria Paharia* families, about 30 per cent families have leased out a portion of their land (measuring 1 *bigha* to 3 *bighas*) to the *Mahajans*.

(3) The method of ploughing is unsatisfactory. They do not plough the land properly, and sometimes the land is not ploughed at all; they till the soil with the help of spade or plough, often with cows. The *Sauria Paharias* are lazy by nature and want to produce without much efforts. They hardly use improved seeds or manure. It was gathered that very little assistance

*Madan and Majumdar, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, page 188.

had been received from the Block Office. It may be that these aboriginals did not have the money to buy the seeds or manure. Most of the land is on the sloping side of the hill and water cannot be stored for irrigational purposes. The villages need a storage for irrigation. The rotation of crop is also not observed.

About 20 per cent of the *Sauria Paharia* families of the three villages can get food from the land for the whole year and the remaining families have to compensate the deficit by other means. There are not many chances for other sources of livelihood.

The *Sauria Paharias* of Deopahar (Kustanr) work in the fields of the neighbouring Santals at the time of harvesting season for which they are paid at the rate of one rupee per day for a male and 10 to 12 annas per day for a female worker. The *Sauria Paharias* of Bara Pachgarh and Murgabani do some fishing in the nearby rivulets. The important secondary means of occupation is the cutting of firewood in the neighbouring jungle and selling them in the local market. The *Sauria Paharias* of these villages are not generally found working as daily labourers. Most of the *Sauria Paharias* of Bara Pachgarh own *Sabai* grass lands. About 20 per cent of them have small parcels of land the largest being 40 *bighas*. A few Paharias have more than hundred *bighas* of land. *Sabai* grass is used in manufacturing paper. At present (1962) the income from *Sabai* grass land is very poor as the production has considerably decreased because the *Sauria Paharias* owning the land did not care to nourish it in the past and weeding, etc., was not done properly.

The financial condition of the *Sauria Paharias* of these three villages is very poor. No welfare economy has been attained. For want of food-stuff they have to live on *Kondra Sag* (a kind of vegetable found in abundance on the hills) and seasonal fruits for a good many days. The usual daily diet is very poor. It may be surprising to know that the majority of the people in the three villages were found to spend about four annas on mustard oil and two annas on spices in one fortnight. They mostly consume maize, *ghanghra* and paddy. Milk or pulse finds no place in their diet. They are definitely at the lowest ladder of economic structure and are half starved, ill-clad and lead a most unenviable life. There is a complete economic stagnation.

Education among the Sauria Paharias.

The participant observation has shown that the *Sauria Paharias* may be realising the benefits of education but the children being their helping hands in agricultural operations they would not be spared easily.

The Welfare Department has opened Upper Primary schools (known as Welfare Centres) at Deopahar and Murgabani where all

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the Paharia students up to the maximum of 50 students are provided with a mid-day meal along with reading and writing materials. There is also a night centre at Bara Pachgarh for adult education. All the three institutions were visited during the course of the investigation. The findings thereof are as follows :—

The Upper Primary school (Welfare Centre) at Deopahar (Kustanr) is running since 1954. The school register was looked into and it was noted that in 1954 and in January, 1961, there were 30 and 23 students respectively. The census of 1961 records 15 males and one female literate persons, while the field investigation shows that there are only three literate persons in the village. Some ten students were reported to be reading in the school out of whom only one could read up to sixth class and the remaining boys had left the school. It suggests the possibility of fictitious names being entered in the register to swell up the number of students so that the services of the teachers may continue. It is also possibly done with a profiteering motive. In the Upper Primary school (Welfare Centre) one mid-day meal is given to all Paharia students as pointed out earlier. Hence, the teacher may profit by showing a greater number of students on the register. In Murgabani too there is an Upper Primary school (Welfare Centre) functioning since 1959. As per school register, there were 40, 45, 42 and 35 Paharia students in 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1962 respectively. But according to the census of 1961 there are only 18 literate persons (including both the Paharias and the Santals) in the village. The spot study by the investigator shows that at present (November, 1962) only two Paharia boys of the Murgabani colony attend the school off and on and the main purpose is for getting the mid-day meal.

There is a night centre at Bara Pachgarh run by the Welfare Department for the adult education of the Paharias. The Centre was visited in the night and only one girl and three boys were found reading. Two adults were also found learning Hindi.

The Upper Primary school (Welfare Centre) has made little progress and the Welfare Centres have benefited the Santals and members of other castes more than the Paharias for whom they are primarily meant. It is to note that the mid-day meal is to be provided only to the Paharia students but it was found both at Murgabani and Deopahar, the Santal and the other students of Backward Classes were also being given the mid-day meal.

(*b*) The Mal Paharias.

The *Mal Paharias* are mostly found in the south of the Rajmahal hills and also in the hilly and wooded country in the south

and west of the district. Their population according to the census of 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951 is 41,048, 38,553, 39,972, 37,437 and 39,950 respectively. The population figures show that the population has somewhat decreased (by 1,098 persons) in 1951 in comparison to the population in 1901. It cannot be said that the census figures are very correct.

The population of the *Mal Paharias* in the different subdivisions according to the census of 1951 is as follows :-

Name of the subdivision.		Population
1. Dumka Subdivision	..	27,291
2. Pakaur Subdivision	..	4,906
3. Rajmahal Subdivision	..	3,358
4. Jamtara Subdivision	..	1,670
5. Godda Subdivision	..	1,501
6. Deoghar Subdivision	..	1,224
Total	..	39,950

Three villages, namely, Amirjola, Tutrapahar and Harinduba were selected for studying the *Mal Paharias*. A short description about each of the villages would not be out of place.

1. *Amirjola.*—A village consisting of 35 families of *Mal Paharias* with unclustered houses lying in the hilly tracts is situated at a distance of about 34 miles from Dumka and 2 miles from Amrapara. According to the census of 1951 the total area of the village was 607 acres and the total population consisted of 184 persons (101 males and 83 females).

2. *Harinduba.*—A small village on a hill-top consisting of 14 houses of *Mal Paharias* is situated at a distance of 3 miles from Amrapara and 35 miles from Dumka. According to the census of 1951 there were 19 houses but as reported by the villagers due to the outbreak of cholera, about five years ago, a good number of persons became victim to it and so the nineteen families were reduced to the present fourteen families. All the fourteen houses are close to each other. The area of the village was 334 acres and its total population was 334 persons in 1951.

3. *Tutrapahar.*—It is situated at a distance of about 8 miles from Amrapara and 40 miles from Dumka. The pathway is winding and runs through undulating hill. According to the census of 1951, there were 56 families of the Paharias with a population of 233 souls (109 males and 124 females). The area

of the village was 612 acres. The village is divided into two parts, one part at a low level and the other at a very high altitude.

The *Mal Paharias* are a more Hinduised section of the tribe. They are a tribe in transition and there has been more of acculturisation. Contact with the Hindu population had led them adopt customs as child marriage, polygamy, etc. But now child marriage is disappearing along with its disappearance from the Hindus. The *Mal Paharias* of Amirjola and Harinduba appear to have adopted the language of the local Hindu neighbours and speak a sort of corrupt form of Bengali. They have borrowed a good number of words from Hindi as well; such as *Pani* for water, *Khat* for bed, *Ghar* for house, *Jata* for grind-stone. The *Kumarbagh Paharias* also follow the *Mal Paharias* in language with some modifications. They do not seem to have borrowed words from Hindi as much and they use the word *Ambu* for water, *Oka* for bed and *Ore* for house.

The *Mal Paharias* differ in many respects from the *Sauria Paharias*. The *Mal Paharias* have the same slender build, but are darker and also dirtier in habits. In Deopahar (Kustanr) it was found that some of the *Sauria Paharias* have fair complexion. The *Chaukidar* of the village who is aged about sixty years is a *Sauria Paharia* and has got fair complexion. The investigator noticed several comely girls with a fair complexion. In Bara Pachgarh also, it was observed that a few Paharias were of fair complexion.

In Amirjola and Harinduba it was observed that the *Mal Paharias* cut their hair short. But at Deopahar the *Sauria Paharias* have comparatively long hair. As to health, the *Sauria Paharias* of Deopahar and Bara Pachgarh appear to be poor in comparison with the health of the *Mal Paharias* of Amirjola and Harinduba. The reasons may be that the *Mal Paharias* milk the cow and take milk, eat eggs and meat of the cattle of their own stock occasionally, whereas at Deopahar and other places the *Sauria Paharias* do not generally milk the cow. Moreover, the *Mal Paharias* of Harinduba, Amirjola and Tutrapahar go outside this district, earn a lot and economically they are better off than the *Sauria Paharias* of Deopahar who are more static in their village.

Economic Organisation of the Mal Paharias.

The *Mal Paharias* of Tutrapahar, Harinduba and Amirjola are settled cultivators and cultivation is their main occupation. But from cultivation they get a marginal subsistence only. About 90 per cent of them have to look for other occupation for food.

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The *Mal Paharias* of the abovementioned villages supplement their income from the sale of the firewood, milk, cattle, poultry, fishing in the neighbouring rivulets, etc. The surplus male and female population of the *Mal Paharias* of Amirjola and Harinduba go to Burdwan District during the harvesting season where they are provided with free lodging and boarding (1½ seers of rice per head per day is given in addition to other things such as spices, vegetables, etc.) and are paid one rupee and twenty-five naye paise per head per day. The *Sauria Paharias* of Deopahar, Murgabani and Bara Pachgarh do not go out for such jobs. The *Mal Paharias* in this way earn a lot and come back with some rice and money. Due to all these facts the *Mal Paharias* are economically better placed than the *Sauria Paharias* of Deopahar, Murgabani and Bara Pachgarh.

Education.—There is no school in the vicinity of the three villages. The students of Amirjola and Harinduba have to go about three miles on foot to attend the school at Kuschir. Out of about 30 boys of school-going age from the villages Harinduba and Amirjola only two boys are found reading in the school. The boys of Tutrapahar have to walk about two miles to attend the school at Dumarchi. Out of about 25 boys of school-going age only three or four boys are attending the school.

This shows that in spite of the difficulty of not having a school for boys in the locality, the *Mal Paharias* have realised the need of education and have begun to send their children to the school. But the response is poor partly due to the fact that the boys are helpful to the parents in agricultural organisation or in gathering jungle produce, etc. If the *Mal Paharias* of the three villages are provided with the facility of having an Upper Primary School (Welfare Centre) between Harinduba and Amirjola and one at Tutrapahar as the *Sauria Paharias* of Bara Pachgarh and Murgabani have, more response is indicated. The *Sauria Paharias* lag behind the *Mal Paharias* in incidence of education.

(c) The Kumarbhag Paharias.

The *Kumarbhag Paharias* are mostly found in between the areas inhabited by the *Sauria* and *Mal Paharias*. The population of the *Kumarbhag Paharias* in the district according to the census of 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1951 is 88,114, 1,01,287, 95,572, 97,328, and 7,568 respectively. Their population in the different subdivisions according to 1951 census was as follows :—

1. Godda Subdivision	..	4,895
2. Pakaur Subdivision	..	1,862
3. Dumka Subdivision	..	725
4. Deoghar Subdivision	..	86
Total	..	7,568

According to the population figures as given above it appears that the *Kumarbhag Paharias* have decreased about 11 times in 1951 in comparison with the population of 1901.

For the study of the *Kumarbhag Paharias*, Nunpara village and Pararkola Paharia Colony were selected. A short description of the village and the colony is given.

Nunpara. —A tribal village on a hill-top consisting of 32 families is situated at a distance of 42 and 10 miles from Dumka and Amrapara respectively. The total area of the village according to 1951 census was 367 acres. The population consisted of 187 persons (105 males and 82 females).

Pararkola Paharia Colony.

In 1954 under the Rehabilitation Scheme of the Paharias under the Welfare Department of the Government (State) ten families of *Kumarbhag Paharias*—seven Kumarbhag families from Kumarga about six miles from Pararkola, two Kumarbhag families of Baramasia and one Kumarbhag family from Bohra—were brought to settle in the colony established by the Welfare Department, at Pararkola. The settlers were given houses to live in, oxen to plough and land to cultivate. Here the rehabilitation scheme is more successful; all the families are still living in the colony.

Economic Organisation.

Both the *Kumarbhag Paharias* of Nunpara village and of Pararkola Paharia Colony are settled cultivators. Regarding the condition of the cultivation, nothing new has to be added here and what is true of the *Mal Paharias* and *Sauria Paharias* is also applicable to the *Kumarbhagh Paharias.* Out of 32 *Kumarbhagh Paharia* families in Nunpara only 16 families can have marginal subsistence from cultivation and the other population depends entirely on other means of subsidiary occupation. Here it is to be noted that the *Kumarbhagh Paharias* of Nunpara have not got the facility of cutting firewood as the neighbouring forest was cleaned and all trees were cut down a few years back. In absence of this facility, the *Paharias* earn their livelihood by getting an employment in the neighbouring quarries and by also rearing *Tasar.* If *Tasar* cultivation is properly expanded, it will be of great help.

But the general economic condition of the *Kumarbhagh Paharias* of the colony is pitiable. Some of them have lost their oxen as a result of theft or otherwise as reported and they are in difficulty for cultivation. The major portion of the land is also devoid of

irrigational facilities for which the *Kumarbhagh Paharias* of the colony are making efforts in vain. So the yield from the field is poor and does not give them sufficient food. The *Kumarbhagh Paharias* of Nunpara do not have food for the whole year and about two to three months, more than half of the population have to depend on *kondra sag* (a kind of vegetable) and other seasonal fruits. The total calory value of this food is very poor.

As to education it appears that the *Kumarbhagh Paharias of* Nunpara have very little response. Only the attraction of a mid-day meal in the school makes the parents send their children to the school. If the meal is stopped, they withdraw their children from the school. It was reported that about 10 boys were reading in Karma school who left the school as soon as the meal was stopped. The children also supplement the family income by various side occupations as far as possible. The investigation shows that so far as education is concerned the *Mal Paharias* have somewhat responded, the *Sauria Paharias* are now beginning to respond and the *Kumarbhag Paharias* have not yet shown any response. Poverty is the main impediment and unless they are assured of even a marginal subsistence with creature comforts, it will be pretty useless to expect them to become literate or educated.

Acculturisation.—The process of acculturisation is at work in the tribal village. At Deopahar (Kustanr) it was observed that the houses of the Paharias are on the model of the houses of the Santals, i. e., the Paharias have followed the pattern of the house of the Santals to a large extent. Not only this, it was also found that the Paharias of Deopahar have learnt to keep their house neat and clean as the Santals do. The female folks wear *Panchi* and *Lungi*, the dress of the Santals which they have adopted. Their original dress which is worn even now by some old women is quite different from the Santals. In language they have borrowed words from Hindi and now they try to understand them. They are acculturing from the Santals and the Hindus.

They still believe in evil spirits and witchcraft. For the treatment of diseases in most cases the *Gyan Guru* or *Ojha Guru* is approached. The Paharias of Amirjola and Harinduba firmly believe in evil spirits and in the authority of the *Ojha Guru*. They claim their *Ojhas* to be competent to make diagnosis of illness and also prescribe herbal medicines and appropriate *Mantras* if the disease is due to some evil spirit. Due to the impact of Community Development projects the Paharias of Tutrapahar, Deopahar and Nunpara have come in contact with the dispensary or health sub-centre. Now they also go to the dispensary or health sub-centre in serious cases and do not depend entirely on the *Ojhas* or *Gyan Guru* and they also realise the need for

medical treatment of the disease but due to poverty they do not go for medical treatment. They have clear idea of conception of a child but they laugh at the idea of family planning. They just cannot follow it even when they are unable to feed properly their children. They are sexually colder than the Santals.

The Failure of Rehabilitation Schemes.*

The three Paharia Colonies located at Bara Pachgarh, Murgabani and Pararkola were visited. At Bara Pachgarh 20 families of *Sauria Paharias* were brought from Nirapada and Ladauni hills to settle in the colony at Bara Pachgarh in January, 1962. From the investigation it appears that these Paharias have land for cultivation on the hill-top from where they have been brought down. They still carry on cultivation there and do not live in the colony regularly. Out of 20 families only 13 families were found living in the colony at the time of investigation. At Pararkola 15 *Kumarbhag Paharia* families from Kumarga, Baramasia and Bhora were brought to settle in the colony in 1954. They are continuing to live there. At Murgabani, 30 families of *Sauria Paharias* were brought from Bora Padan and Kankar hills to settle in the colony in 1959 out of whom only four families are living in the colony and the rest have left the colony.

The Paharias are emotionally, religiously, economically and socially attached to the home on the hill-tops. Most of the Paharias own their land on the hills and carry on cultivation there. They have also the privilege of getting free firewood and other jungle fruits and leaves, etc., which they eat. Economically it does not suit them to leave the hill-top. Moreover, the Paharias have their own well-organised society at the hill-tops and when they are brought to the plains to settle in the colony they get bewildered and feel lost in a sort of mental psychosis. The Paharias also think that their gods live on the hill-tops and if they desert their original hearth and home the gods may become angry and some disaster may fall upon them. These are the emotional and psychological factors which are responsible for their not settling in the colonies.

At Pararkola, the scheme of rehabilitation of the Paharias seems to be successful as none of the families have left the colony till now. The factors underlying the success are :—

(1) Only very poor families who have no land or very inadequate land were brought to settle in the colony and they were provided with lands, oxen and seeds and were given subsistence

*Also see L.P. Vidyarthi's *The Maler*—Bookland Private, Ltd., Calcutta, 1963.

allowance at the rate of rupee one per family for the first six months. With this help, having no after alternative except to be semi-starved if they lived on the hill-top, they began cultivation in the plains and settled in the colonies. Moreover at Pararkola they have the privilege of *Tasar*-rearing which is a source of income. They are also employed in stone-breaking at Pararkola. So the two other subsidiary means of livelihood, *Tasar*-rearing and stone-breaking, helped them economically and so they settled in the colony.

At Bara Pachgarh and Murgabani colonies they have no other subsidiary occupation and the Paharias who were brought to settle in the colonies are not so poor as that of Pararkola. So they preferred to live on the hill-top.

It would be much better if there is a slow process in trying to civilise them and to settle them in the colonies with the help of men and women who speak their languages and who will live with them for some time at least.

The experiment of rushing for a day in a jeep, give talk, cut a few jokes with them, give a lecture on health or birth-control and rush back is worse than useless. The Welfare Department and the Block Organisation have probably no man who comes from that area and who can talk with them in their own language and be fully sympathetic with them.

It is also not understood as to why there should not be any attempt to improve their conditions in their present habitat. The hill-top places could be developed, some *chuars* and water reservoirs made and a health sub-centre opened. Difficulty of communication stands in the way. Want of properly trained zealous workers has been a handicap. It is a gigantic human problem which requires an integrated, well-planned and phased programme. Steps have been taken to start tackling the problem by opening some primary schools, sinking of some wells, etc., on the top of the hills. Some pathways have also been opened from the foot of the hills to the top.

APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER ON THE TRIBALS.

Sauria Paharias of Santal Parganas—

Mr. B. B. Verma and Mr. H. Mohan of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute had studied the Sauria Paharias and their papers were published in the Bulletin of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959.

The study was made in the villages of Nirapara, Bhatbhanga, Jokmari, Kulbanga and Banchappa. The family among the Sauria Paharias of this area is a biological one with father and mother and unmarried children forming the family unit. Married sons and daughters form separate households after their marriage and are given a different and distinct social position in the Sauria society.

In Sauria life, the passage of one stage into another, is viewed with great concern. It is thought that any important stages like pregnancy, birth, marriage and death are very susceptible to evil influences of spirits. The recent studies of Verma and H. Mohan have shown that since R.B. Bainbridge had published his papers on the Saurias of Raj Mahal Hills (Memoirs of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, No. 4, 1907) there have been a lot of socio-economic changes. Bainbridge had noted that there were no ceremonies of any kind associated with pregnancy but pregnant women refrained from drinking country liquor. But recent researches show that there were no such taboos or rules and the only precaution she was to take was to avoid being alone in the jungle or at the source of water.

Birth—

It is interesting to observe that the husband observes along with his wife a period of avoidance for about five days after the delivery of the child and in this period he lives rigorously exclusive life. Bainbridge mentioned that the period of avoidance was a month.

The name giving ceremony is an important ritual. The boy and the girl usually inherit the name of their grandfather and grandmother respectively. A number of names are repeated and that very name is considered auspicious on the repetition of which the child begins crying. But usually Saurias are found to have two names. The second name is given as a protection and is usually a very despicable one. It is supposed that a name of this type would not attract the attention of the spirits.

Marraige—

Marriage is looked upon as a necessity to keep the family line going. Agents known as "Sithus" are also employed to find a bride,

Bride-price is paid both in cash and in kind. The amount of '*Pon*' (a bride-price) now varies from Rs. 18 to Rs. 50 or more. In days gone by the usual custom was Rs. 2 to Rs. 3. Besides *Pon*, bride-price in kind, i.e. '*Bandi*' consists of rice, cloth, etc. Preparation of marriage takes a week and sometimes a fortnight at both the houses. Feasts, music and drinking are common features. The bridegroom is usually led by a *Kali* (aunt). The actual marriage ceremony is marked by putting vermilion mark on the forehead of the bride five times and on the conclusion of this ritual the newly wed couple share a common meal. The ceremony of feeding each other is performed. Both feed each other five times the boiled rice and the pig's meat.

There are four kinds of marriage prevalent among the Sauria Paharias :—

(1) Marriage by bride-price or marriage by purchase ;
(2) Marriage by exchange ;
(3) Marriage by service ; and
(4) Marriage by adoption.

Marriage by bride-price dealt with before is the regular and most prevalent type of marriage. Marriage by exchange is not of very common type and occurs where both the parties are unable to pay the required bride-price and have sisters to exchange for their brides. Marriage by service is found in cases where the men have no means to pay the bride-price for securing bride for themselves. A Sauria under such condition arranges to work in the house of his would-be bride for a limited period till he is in a position to pay off the bride-price while working in the house of the girl of his choice. The procedure for this kind of marriage is the same as for the first kind of marriage by bride-price. Marriage by adoption is also prevalent in Sauria Paharias. This type of marriage is called *Ghar-Jawai* system. Here instead of taking, bride-price is paid. This payment is made as a compensatory allowance to the bridegroom for his severance from his clan and for staying on in the house of his bride. The amount of bridegroom's price varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 and a cloth for the bridegroom and food and drink for his parents and the party. A *Ghar-Jawai* also inherits the property and maintains himself on the same. If he leaves his wife or marries another wife, he cannot claim any share of his father-in-law's property.

Besides the above kinds of marriages two other types of marriage *Levirate* and *Sororate* are also seen. The former takes place between a woman and her husband's younger brother after her husband's death. The issues from her previous husband are inherited by the younger brother and they form his responsibility. In this marriage the younger brother does not pay

any price as she is supposed to have already been purchased by his elder brother. The *Sororate* type occurs between a man and his wife's younger sister or sisters. It is not permissible to marry one's wife's elder sister. Usually the bride-price for his marriage with his wife's younger sister is comparatively much less.

Divorce—

Divorce is weighted more for the husband and is available for (1) incompatibility of temperament, (2) barrenness, (3) infidelity on the part of the wife and (4) laziness on the part of the woman.

The present procedure is that when it is decided between the couple to leave each other they appear before the congregation of their kindred (*Gotia*) for the execution of the divorce. Before the segregation if the husband is the mover he will tear a *sal* leaf and express that from such and such day there will exist no relationship between them. He also pays some coin even anna one to the woman as token of separation and pours a pot of water on her head. The wife leaves his house and returns to her village. On the other hand if the wife is the mover she follows the same procedure of divorce but she has to refund the amount of bride-price to the divorced husband. In case there is a child of the present union the wife is not usually obliged to return the bride-price as the child is supposed to be a compensation.

Re-marriage is common. The women have no right to the property. They have the right to the maintenance from the family property till the time they stay in the particular family. If a woman once leaves the family either by a divorce or widowhood she ceases to have even the right to maintenance. But the status of a wife is quite high and important in a Sauria family for the agricultural pursuits or managing the household.

Death—

The dead body is laid to rest in the burial ground set apart in each Sauria village. Along with the body the belongings of the dead man including his bed, plates, etc., are all put in the grave along with him. Over the grave big boulders of stone are put and his cot is put over the same in a broken condition. To appease the spirit of the dead a chicken is also sacrificed over the grave. The period of pollution is observed for five days and on the termination of which a cow is sacrificed and feast is given to the village brotherhood. Only after this feast the period of pollution is lifted. There will be a feast (*bhoj*) after one year.

Inheritance—

Right to property is vested in the father who distributes the property among his sons. The distribution of land comes into effect after the death of the father. During his life-time married

sons maintaining separate households of their own, only get share in the land for maintenance of their families. The law of primogeniture governs the system of inheritance. The eldest son gets a little more than half of the share, being the head of the family after his father. The family house is inherited by the eldest brother, as he is considered the custodian of the family according to the usages of the Sauria social system. This is done as he has to maintain the family and look after the maintenance of unmarried sisters. The other brothers get equal shares. After marriage, the other brothers too maintain separate houses of their own.

Females do not inherit. Normally daughters have no right to property. They have only the right to their maintenance from the family property till their marriage. Similarly widows are provided for from the family property for their maintenance for life-time or till they stay in that particular family.

In absence of any male member in the family line, the family property goes to another man in the line. But in case there being no male heir to the family property, either in the family line or close kin or agnate, the family property reverts to the consolidated village property. The custodian of such village property is the '*Sardar*' (chief) or the '*Manjhi*' (Headman) of the village who amalgamates such property in his property and pays rent or revenue for the same to the Government. Portions out of such amalgamated property, he settles with or transfers to, persons of his village or sometimes to the Saurias from other village who want to settle in that particular village.

This law of inheritance was found in vogue among the Christian Saurias as well.

Political Organisation—

The unit of the political organisation of the Sauria Paharias is the village. The important officials of the village organisation are the '*Sardar*', '*Manjhi*', and the '*Gorait*'. The present picture is somewhat different from what Bainbridge had noticed. The present post of '*Sardar*' has become hereditary and is inherited from father to son. The traditional offices of the '*Sardar*' and '*Manjhi*' have been taken over by the Government for the sucessful running of administration and collection of revenue. In the present set-up of administration collection of revenues has been taken up by the Government. The persons already selected as inheriting the offices according to the Sauria social system, are only given a formal approval and seal by the Government. The '*Sardar*' and '*Manjhi*' get stipends from the Government for their duties as forming a link between the Government and their people. The *Sardars* get Rs. 10 per month and the *Manjhi* gets Rs. 2 to Rs. 3. per month.

The headman of the village is known as the '*Manjhi*' who is assisted by a '*Gorait*'. The *Gorait* does not get any stipend from the Government. He gets from the *Manjhi* a commission of one anna and six pies to a rupee as his remuneration.

New comer to a village—

The Bihar Act XIV of 1949 enjoins that no vacant holding and no waste land in a Paharia village within the *Damin-i-koh* Government Estate shall be settled with a person who is not a Paharia. Accordingly there is no restriction for the settlement in a Paharia village of any section of the Paharia tribe. But the customary system holds good even now and in a Sauria Paharia village, members of other sections of the Paharias, viz., Mal and Kumarbhag do not usually settle. The settlement of a new comer, a Sauria of course, is to take place under the supervision and direction of the village officials. The *Manjhi* directs the *Gorait* for selecting land for the new comer and the *Manjhi* fixes the rent. The new comer is to give a feast and to make sacrifice of a chicken to the presiding deity of the *village*, the *Kando Gosain*. After this ritual the new comer becomes a part of the village.

Village Council—

The *Manjhi* presides over the Council of elders. The *Gorait* summons the Council Meeting and is to put the case before the *Manjhi* and the members. For crimes like adultery the Council Panchayat levies fines on the accused varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 and above. For offence of minor nature the amount may be lower. Out of the fines thus realised the *Manjhi* gets Re. 1 or 2, other members get Rs. 2 and the sufferer gets Rs. 2 to Rs. 4. Of the amount of the fines thus realised a sum of Rs. 2 or so realised on behalf of the members of the Council is left reserve with the *Manjhi* and usually spent on some ceremony or *Puja* on behalf of the entire village. Cases beyond the control and power of the Village Council may be sent for decision of the entire Village Panchayat presided over by the *Sirdar*. Occasionally they are also referred to the courts of Government. The hold of the Council is on the wane and there are cases when their decisions are flouted. According to the study by the Bihar Tribal Institute scholars, the Government sponsored Panchayts have not made much headway among the Sauria Paharias. The Sauria Paharias show their indifference to this kind of Panchayat as it is usually composed of members not belonging to Sauria tribe.

Bainbridge had reported that the dormitory system prevailed among the Saurias but now such dormitories have become rare.

Religion—

As common with other tribals of this area ancestor worship is an important part of the life of the Saurias. They cannot be forgotten on any important occasions. Rituals and ceremonies are essentially meant to satisfy them and to avoid their displeasure.

Buchanan Hamilton had mentioned that the Sauria Paharias have two deities, *Rakisi* and *Chaldai*. Both are called *Gosain*. Dalton had noted that the Paharias had firm belief in the transmigration of souls. Dalton's information was based on an article by Lt. T. Shaw in Asiatic Researches, Vol. IV, 1795. Risley held that the religion of the Male's was animism and the *Sun* and *Dharmes Gosain* stood at the head of their system and represented by a roughly hewn post worshipped with offerings of fowls, goats, etc. at the commencement of the harvest season and at other times when any misfortune befell the family. Bainbridge, however, had noted the names of the deities as *Beru Gosain*, *Bilp Gosain*, *Laihu Gosain*, *Darmare Gosain*, etc. and that the gods were not represented by the idols. No special form of worship was fixed nor was there any special day fixed for their worship. Bainbridge had noted that there were no priests. But representation of the gods and deities have become common. The ritualistic observances to the gods and deities were made season-wise and crop-wise.

During the later part of *Bhado* (August-September) on getting *Bhadai* maize (Tekalo) from the field the villagers observe *Puja* first in the *Jaherthan* (village grove) and then individually in their houses. The whole village contributes for a he-goat or one or two chickens. Maize-cobs are suspended to the *Jaherthan* attached to the *sal* tree and goats and chickens are sacrificed by the *Kotwar* after burning incense and daubing the goat and chickens on their heads with vermilion. It is only after this ritualistic observance is performed that they would eat the foodgrain got from the fields. In a simlar manner when beans (*ghanghras*) are obtained in *Kartik* (October-November) *ghanghra puja* is done. Ancestors are propitiated by the sacrifice of a chicken in the households. A notable feature of this *ghanghra puja* is the performance of a snake dance. A live snake is brought and the mouth of the snake is stiched. The dancer go on dancing in a circular way and constantly pro l the snake which is ultimately killed.

In *Paus* month (December-January) millet (*bajra*) is harvested followed by similar rituals. A he-goat is sacrificed for the whole village. In all these cases collective rituals are followed by individual rituals at the households to propitiate the ancestors.

Ritualistic Officials—

The important ritualistic officials are (1) *Kando-Manjhi*, (2) *Kotwar* and (3) *Chalwe*. The *Kando-Manjhi* controls the ritualistic

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life of the Saurias of the area. The villagers assemble at the central place of the village or in front of the house of the *Manjhi* while the *Kotwar* invokes the help of supernatural forces to select the *Kando-Manjhi*. The invocation arouses the intervention of *Gosain* (ancestor) and the would-be *Kando-Manjhi* comes out of the congregation and starts putting *'dhumna'* (incense) on the fire. If everything goes well it is believed that the *Gosain* has accepted him as the head priest. If anything goes wrong the invocation continues till the right man is selected who is acceptable to the *Gosain*.

The *Kotwar* performs the actual worship including sacrifices to the deity. Below the *Kando-Manjhi* is the post of *Kotwar*. On the death of the *Kotwar* a new *Kotwar* is selected as in the case of *Kando-Manjhi*. A *Chalwe* is also selected in a simliar manner to assist the *Kotwar* in his duties. His post is also not hereditary. His duties are of a peon to circulate news to the villagers regarding any ceremony or festival, which he takes from the *Kando-Manjhi*. He helps the *Kotwar* in dressing the skin of the sacrificed animals and does sundry works.

Annual Worship (Saliani Puja)—

In *Magh* (January-February) *saliani puja* is performed in some villages. But in other villages this is performed in the month of *Chait*. Women are debarred from the ritualistic observances. There is a recent tendency of adopting some gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon.

Houses—

They usually build their *Adda* (house) on the hill slopes or on the hill tops. The materials for the construction of the houses are those which are easily available in the jungle such as bamboo, *sal* wood, thatch grass, *semul* wood, *sabai* rope and mud. Their houses are arranged in rows which are more or less parallel to each other and are erected north and south. Their houses are of rectangular shape. The four sides of the houses are made of bamboo and twig of trees for which *'Ban Tulsi'* is largely used. Plastering is done with cow-dung and mud. Every house has a portico of semi-circular shape used for seating the visitors. Before a house is used, a sacrifice of chickens is made and a feast is held to please the *Gosain*.

Dress and Ornament—

There is no spinning or weaving among the Paharias. They have become sophisticated now and use shirts and dhotis available in the markets. A loin-cloth is hardly seen now. They are more particular about their dress when going down to the plains to attend the weekly markets. Coloured ready-made shirts are very

much appreciated. The Christians are better dressed. Half-pants and *Lungis* have also been adopted. During winter they generally use '*Basarpo*' (cotton wrapper) obtained from the market. This wrapper is used by both the sexes. The female dress consists of blouse, another piece of cloth and sari. Coloured ready-made blouses of red colour available in the market are popular. The other piece of cloth known as '*Topwaro*' usually the two ends of that cloth are tied of the left shoulder. One corner of it is passed through the right hand in such a fashion which enables them to cover their breasts. They wear '*Topwaro*' in the village without any blouse but when they go down to the plain they wear '*Topwaro*' inside the blouse (*choli*). The Christian Sauria females do not use *Topwaro.* The Christian females use underwears obtainable from the market. Coloured silk sari of cheap quality is also preferred particularly of red colour. Children of either sex generally do not wear cloth till the 3rd or 4th year.

A variety of cheap ornaments are now worn by the Paharias. The females have five or six holes in the ear while the nose contains one or two holes. A few males have also got their ears pierced. Ear-rings and nose-rings of brass are very commonly used by both the sexes. Comb and hairpins are commonly used. *Sukki* (garland of old coins) is prized and worn by the females on the neck. Garlands of beads easily available in the market are also common. *Hansuli* (necklet), wristlet made of silver or aluminium and glass bangles are commonly used.

Tattooing—

Females are more fond of tattooing. A jungle flower, an arrow, a spear, the stars are the usual models. Arrow mark is commonly found on the forehead of the females. Tattooing is done by themselves with jungle thorn and black ash of the lantern mixed with milk. Human milk is also used for this purpose.

Personal hygiene—

The Paharias take bath once or twice in a week at the springs. Dirty clothes are occasionally cleaned. They are very regular in cleaning their teeth. Their houses are always kept neat and clean.

Household and agricultural materials—

The very essential articles required in the daily life are owned by them. *Kando* (rough wooden furniture) made by themselves out of Simal or Sal wood is used for sitting. One or two '*Machli*' made of wood and *sabai* rope or any other rope prepared from the fibres of tree, and some *charpoys* made of wood and *sabai* rope complete their set of furniture. Their cooking utensils usually consist of some earthen and brass pots.

Their agricultural implements consist of sickle, basket, *Sikia* (a rope container), etc. Their hunting implements consist of bow and arrow which are of their own manufacture. *Baghdhannu* (Tiger trap) is another kind of hunting implement of the Sauria Paharia. The trap consists of a big bow (*Ertu*) made of bamboo shaft and *Gonge creeper*, *charu* (arrow with iron head) and the other accessories are a long rope and two or three wooden sticks. The bow (*Ertu*) loaded with the *charu* (arrow) is placed horizontally on a wooden stand. Another wooden stand two feet high is erected at a distance of ten or twelve feet. A long rope is tied to the bow and the other end to the wooden stand. No one is required to operate it. The tiger passes that way and the moment its body touches the long rope, the arrow shoots and strikes the tiger. On the following morning, the owner of the *Baghdhannu* comes there to check it. When he finds the arrow missing, a search is made for the dead animal which usually is found dead somewhere in the jungle. Tiger-hunting by this contraption brings great credit to the man and his village. The tiger is taken round. Cash presents are received and the tiger is sold.

For livelihood they depend on agriculture and various forest produce. Shifting cultivation known as *Kurwa Bari* is practised by most of them. *Jot Bari* or *Bargi* is the other type of land found near the village on which they do plough cultivation. It was noticed by the investigators that about 85 per cent of the plough fields remained uncultivated for non-availability of plough and draught cattle, dearth of man and non-availability of seeds. *Sabai* grass industry is a great source of occupation. This matter has been covered elsewhere.

Weekly Market (*Hatia*)—

Attending the weekly markets (*hatia*) is a great feature in the Paharia's life. It is a source of entertainment and livelihood. They sell jungle produce to the people of the plains.

Cleveland's policy was to start a series of *hatias* below the hills where the Paharias could come down, sell their jungle produce and meet other people—a policy calculated to give them a stability and to change them from banditry. There are *hatias* at Mahadeoganj, Kulbanga, Sahebganj, Bagaiya, Mirzachouki, etc., which are attended by the Paharias.

Bamboos, fuel, various species of fruits, tubers, medicinal herbs, black earth, *sabai* grass, other kinds of reeds, pork, etc., are brought down by the Paharias and sold either for cash or for exchange. Barter system is still prevalent. The Paharias will bring from the *hatias* articles like rice, tobacco leaves, mustard oil, cloth, sweets, trinkets, fish, etc. In winter a Paharia will seldom miss a *hatia*. In summer he may miss some owing to the heat of the plains.

Mahajan—

The Mahajans play a vital role in the economy of the Paharias, who are more or less in the habit of taking loan from them. They take loan at the time of cutting jungle, sowing, harvesting, marriage, death and during religious ceremonies. The Paharias themselves admit that once they take loan from the Mahajan, it is difficult to free themselves from their debt because the interest goes on multiplying every year. Fifty per cent interest is taken on cash loan while hundred per cent is charged for the loan given in kind.

During the months of November—February which are harvesting time in the Paharia country, a man on horseback going towards the hills is a common sight. They are no other than the Mahajans. After collection, they return from the village with bags full of maize, millet, mustard, etc. They take these grains at the current market price weighing them from a wooden measure called '*Paila*' (half seer measure). The price of the grain thus calculated is deducted from the amount of loan given to the Paharias. While returning from the village, they usually inform the Paharias that a certain amount of money still remained to be paid. It is impossible for a Paharia to understand the accounting. In spite of all this the Mahajans are popular because they give loans quickly.

Loan from the Government and Grain Golas—

The Paharias are still scared to give thumb impressions on the loan-bonds. As grain-*golas* deal in paddy only, not many of the Paharias can profit by them.

The main crops produced by the Paharias are millet, maize, Rahar, Surgujia, bean and mustard. Many families owning paddy fields give the fields to the Santals in *Bataiya*. Paddy loan is taken by the Santals, and the grain-*golas* are very useful to them. The grain-*golas* may have been very useful institutions to the Paharias if other crops like maize, millet, bean, Rahar, Surgujia and mustard were also stocked there in addition to the paddy.

Livestock—

Cows, oxen, goats, fowls and pigs are the livestock of the Paharias. The cows are yoked to the plough and a few of them are also milked. Eggs are usually not sold but used for hatching or offering to the *Gosain*.

The pigs form part of the bride-price, sacrificed to the *Gosain* and its meat is eaten by them or sold in the market. The number of pigs owned determines the status of the Paharia family.

APPENDIX I.

Extract from Gantzer's Settlement Report (paragraph 46, pages 22-23)

Santal Tribal Law of Inheritance.— According to Santal tribal law only males can inherit land. Sons jointly succeed their father. If brothers are co-sharer in a holding and one brother dies without issue, the surviving brothers and the sons of predeceased brothers inherit his share *per stirpes*. The Hindu or Muhammadan laws of succession do not apply to Santals. Santal tribal law is quite definite in not allowing females to inheritance but this law is gradually undergoing a change and the situation created by this change is discussed in a separate paragraph below. According to tribal custom it is permissible for a man with daughters and no sons to take a son-in-law into his house as a *ghar-jamai* and to give him thereby all the rights of a son. The adoption of a *ghar-jamai* is a formal proceeding leaving no room for doubt as to the father-in-law's intention and resulting in the *ghar-jamai* cutting off all connections with his own family as far as his rights to property are concerned and becoming to all intents and purposes the son of his father-in-law. When such adoption has been formally made, the *ghar-jamai* can succeed as a son and oust other male relatives. It is of importance to note that a *ghar-jamai* can be adopted only by a deliberate public act in the presence of the village community at the time of the marriage, and that according to tribal law a father-in-law cannot at a later stage convert an ordinary son-in-law into a *ghar-jamai*. A widow cannot in any circumstances create a *ghar-jamai*. There is a distinction between a *ghar-jamai* and a *ghardi-jamai*. In both cases the bridal party goes from the bride's house to fetch the prospective husband and no dowry (*pon*) is given, but whereas the *ghar-jamai* is adopted permanently as a son, a *ghardi jamai* merely lives and labours in his wife's home for a previously stipulated period which may extend up to five years. He thereby works off the debt due on account of the non-payment of *pon*. A *ghardi-jamai* is not entitled to get anything from his wife's family, but the woman herself is usually given a small present (*arpa*) annually at the harvest season and this is utilized for setting up her new home. At the expiry of the stipulated period, the *ghardi-jamai* is free and may return to his own home with his wife.

When a *ghar-jamai* has succeeded to his father-in-law's estate the holding has usually been recorded in his sole name. In some

cases, at the request of the parties, the wife has been jointly recorded with her husband.

The rules against female succession among Santals whether Christians or non-Christians are changing owing to the force of public opinion, and the rules which have been previously accepted, cannot be treated as hard and fast and binding for all time. The change which is occurring is in the direction of ameliorating the condition of women and giving them a more assured footing in the family. During the course of the revision of settlement operations the daughters of a deceased Santal have sometimes been recorded as his heirs not only without opposition from the agnates but at their request. In other cases it appears from title suit decisions, that arbitrators in Santal cases have found in favour of daughters. This is particularly so in the case of girls who suffer from any physical defects. In dealing with cases of this nature the custom adopted in a particular locality must be carefully considered. It would be unwise to force upon an unwilling litigant a decision in advance of custom. If a change in custom has been well established and generally accepted it will, of course, be treated as the customary law of the locality in mitigation of the harshness of the ancient tribal law.

As a rule we have tried as far as we could legally do so, to record daughters in all cases where not to do so would have involved real hardship, e.g., where the male relations not only want to claim the land but refuse to maintain the girl. Where close male relations, who obviously have a clear right under the law, have been suspected to be likely to desert the girl, we have recorded them, but have also endeavoured to record the girl in the remarks column of the *khatian* as *khorposhdar* until death or marriage.

As regards widows, the entries have had perforce to be even less uniform. There have been not a few cases in which no objection has been raised to the recording of the widow in her own right, and in such cases she has been described as wife of so and so. As in the case of Hindu widows, this entry is intended to indicate that she has inherited the property from her late husband, and that when she dies it will revert to those male relations who would ordinarily have inherited it at once under Santal law. In other cases the widow has like the daughter been recorded only in the remarks column as a *khorposhdar* for certain plots sufficient to maintain her, until her death.

To sum up it may be said that where a Santal woman has been recorded as wife of so and so, she holds a widow's right as

if she were a Hindu widow. Where a Santal woman has been recorded as daughter of so and so, she may be taken to have full rights of inheritance somewhat in the manner of a woman inheriting *stridhan* property under the Hindu law. The question of succession in such cases is still somewhat in doubt as the system is so new, but there seems little doubt that if she dies issueless, Santal sentiment would prefer that the property should revert to her nearest male relatives.

APPENDIX II

Antiquarian Remains in Santal Parganas

The antiquarian remains in Santal Parganas have not, so far, attracted much attention except in some better known places like Deoghar or Rajmahal. Some of these places have local importance and some are suggestive of closer investigation which might throw more light on this district. Some of these places are Bimligarh in Manihari *Tappa* of the district is the village Bikramkila once the seat of the local chiefs in 15th-16th century A.D. The fortress near the village is known as Bimligarh after Bimala, the wife of Birendra Singh, one of the chiefs who was a contemporary of Raja Man Singh. There are two rock cut images close by which probably represent Buddha. People passing by the figures throw stones at them to ward off evils.

Ganggaprasad

A small village about 10 miles from Paingti has a tomb of one Syed Shah Julal mentioned by Buchanan. It is said that Shah Julal was killed in a battle and his head fell there while his body was carried by the horse to a place near Rajmahal where it was buried. The head is only buried in the tomb.

Haripur

A village situated about 23 miles south-west of Maheshpur which has ruins of large tanks and Saiva temples. Haripur is said to have been the seat of a local Raja, Hari Singh.

Harlajhuri

Dr. D. R. Patil mentions :—"The village is situated a few miles north-east of Deoghar, q.v. The local belief is that Ravana made over the *linga* at this spot to Vishnu who later played the trick which eventually made Deoghar a centre of great sanctity. The pilgrims to Deoghar are also supposed to visit Harlajhuri as part of their pilgrimage. Beglar visited the place in 1872-73 and referred to a number of temples built mostly some 50 years before him by one Chintaman Das. He, however, noticed some fragments of sculptures, two of which had inscriptions on them containing, as he says, a *jogi's* name ; but no further details are furnished by him on these inscriptions. Beglar further adds that he also found a late medieval inscription in proto-Bengali characters of which he had published an eye copy in his report. It was not read fully by him nor is its transcript found published later. It is not included in Bhandarkar's List. Beglar says that it refers to *krimila-desa* which was perhaps the name of this region, since it is also so mentioned, in the Monghyr plate inscription

(cf. Monghyr, q.v., below). From these inscriptions there would appear to be an ancient site of Saiva temples nearby the village which, therefore, deserves to be explored further."*

Kasba

A village in *Tappa* Manihari where there are some ancient remains but the area has not been explored. Dr. D. R. Patil observes :—"It is obvious the place once contained some ancient temples, the sites of which may perhaps be traced if the area is explored further."**

Lakragadh

A village in Godda Subdivision which contains a fort visited by Buchanan. Buchanan mentions that Duriyar Singha resided here and governed the mountaineers of the area. He was driven away by the Khetauri Rajputs who then held the country till the time of Buchanan.†

Mahuagadhi

"The hill of this name is situated in the south of Rajmahal hills and the ancient ruins on it are referred to by the District Gazetteer only. They include a ruined tank or *pokhar*, with stone embankments, from which the small village on the summit of the hill is known as Pokharia. There are also remains of a stone-built fort said to have been erected by a Rajput chief named Khushal Singh, who was killed in battle against the Rajas of Handwe at a spot beneath the hill, named as Rajamara, i.e., 'killed by the king', to commemorate his death."‡

Mangadh

A place near Kasba where there is an old fort said to have been built by Raja Man Singh, Akbar's famous general. It is said that while on his campaign to conquer Bengal, Raja Man Singh encamped at Manihari, as the nearby village Kasba was then known and built a fort which came to be known as Mangadh after him. The fort is datable to 16th century A.D.$

Mangalpur

"The place is situated about 35 miles south-east of Rajmahal and is also known as Mangal-Hat or Hat-Mangalpur. It was visited by Buchanan in about 1812, who locates it in the then

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The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar by Dr. D. R. Patil (Patna), 1963, p. 161.
**The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by Dr. D. R. Patil (Patna) 1963, p. 195.
†*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by Dr. D. R. Patil (Patna) 1963, p. 229
‡*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by Dr. D. R. Patil (Patna), 1963, pp. 247-248.
$*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by Dr. D. R. Patil (Patna), 1963, p. 268

Thanah Aurangabad on the western bank of a branch of the Ganges. But Beglar places it about two miles west of Dubrajpur a village, which in Buchanan's map is shown about 15 miles, north-west of Mangalpur. Buchanan refers to 'some ruins, apparently those of a small town, which is generally admitted to have been the residence of a son-in-law of Lakshman Sen, king of Bengal. Some of the Zamindars.....claim a descent from this person. Among the small tanks and heaps of rubbish is a small piece of water called Jivitkunda. Formerly, it is said, any dead body might have been resorted to life by being thrown into this pond; but since the country has been subject to infidels, the water, it is certain, has lost its virtue.' Buchanan was further told that 'a throne of stone (Merh)' is inside the tank, under water, of which nothing is heard afterwards. Beglar seems to have been quite unaware of the information known to Buchanan; for he refers to only one tank at Mangalpur, with the name of Dantiwara, so called after the teeth of Parvati of which one fell here, according to the well-known legend, already quoted in connection with the famous temple at Deoghar, q.v. In view of the above discrepancies the place deserves to be explored further."*

Sibpur

A village situated two miles north-west of Maheshpur where there are some ruins of some Saiva temples close to which is a sulphuric spring. The age of the ruins has not been ascertained. They, however, indicate the hold of Saivism on the district which is now typified by the temples at Deoghar and Basukinath.

Tapoban

"There is a solitary hill called Tapoban situated about 6 miles south-east of Deoghar. The hill seems to have been visited for its ancient ruins only by Beglar in 1872-73. Beglar refers to the existence of a natural cavern in the hill with a *linga* enshrined in it as an object of worship. It is said to have been the residence of a *'Tapasa'* (i.e., presumably a sage) of ancient times; there is also a *kund* (i.e., tank) known as Suraj Kund, in which many pilgrims bathe. On a rock near the cavern are two inscriptions; one is in a single line, and reads Sri Deva Ramapala; the other, in two lines, is quite 'illegible'. These inscriptions do not seem to have been ever examined afterwards and the information on them and on the cave is apparently incomplete. Beglar does not say anything about the probable date of the inscriptions and about the characters in which they were engraved. Further exploration is therefore necessary." †

**The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by Dr. D.R. Patil (Patna). 1963, p. 268.
†*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by Dr. D.R. Patil (Patna), 1963, p. 561.

APPENDIX III

The Pre-historic Tools of Santal Parganas.*

Our knowledge, about the life led by men, who lived in that tangled skein of hill ranges, rocks and wilds with their fine wavy valleys of blood red earth, now called Santal Parganas, in pre-historic times, is chiefly based upon random collections or to be more correct *Cabinets de Curiosite*. The tidal bores of human history leave many of the remains of material culture hidden in the bosom of the earth which rivers, wind erosion and digging by *homo-sapiens* accidentally bring to the knowledge of human society, proving that such objects exist. These are called surface collections. Curiosity of men persuade them to convey these articles to their homes, to be ingloriously thrown away again, by an ignorant descendant as worthless rubbish or to find an ultimate refuge on the dusty shelves of our museums.

Human history or the annals of origin, growth, development and decay of human civilizations, is broadly divisible into two periods. The pre-literate period is known as pre-history ; while the time from which literary records exist is called history. Naturally, therefore, there can be no hard and fast rules or time limits for all the regions or countries of the world. Pre-history again, according to western pre-historians is divisible into three periods : Palaeolithic (divided again into Early and Late), Mesolithic age and Neolithic or New Stone Age. The fourth is the early metal age, Bronze or Chalcolithic or Proto-historic period. It was, however, realised, in the latter part of the first half of this century, that these terms suitable for pre-history of countries of western Europe, are not applicable to the pre-historic periods of Africa and Asian continents. Because, in these two countries, the systematic and co-ordinated studies that defined the periods in France, Belgium, Germany, Spain and United Kingdom were absent.

The first venture was to denominate them as Series I for Palaeolithic, Series II for Mesolithic age and Series III for Micro-liths. But in the International Congress of Asian Archaeology, held at New Delhi, in 1961, it was decided that these terms were neither apt nor adequate. The last plenary session decided to adopt Old Stone Age (for Palaeolithic), Early Old Stone Age (for Series I), Middle Stone Age (for Series II) and Microliths or Late Stone Age (for Series III). Neolithic for New Stone Age was not disturbed. It has become necessary to explain these changes in

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*Contributed by Shri A. Banerjee of the Directorate of Archaeology, India, Ramakrishnapuram, New Delhi.

terminology to save the unwary and the beginners, particularly the Administrative Officers of various categories. It is now necessary to define the characteristic contents of the various periods and then to proceed to specific sites and tools in Santal Parganas.

The early Old Stone Age (i.e., Lower Palaeolithic) within the bounds of Pleistocene is the age of man, slightly developed from pure anthropoid stage to be labelled as 'Pithecanthropus' and the age of hunters and fruit eaters. In the history of humanity, the Old Stone Age is the very basal rock. It was at this age, that man developed all those mental qualities and physical faculties, which enabled him to dominate all sentient beings, nature as well as geography, and urged him along that path of progress to which there is no end even now—the age when man successfully left his terrestrial home to conquer space. Old Stone Age was not a brief period, but long and arduous. Throughout these long centuries, man was a hunter and hunted. His life was a series of long struggles, without any amenities, and consisted of fights, damaged limbs and torn flesh. Community life or family ties were unknown. He was afraid of the elements of nature, the great unknown which was the *terra firma*, climate, flora and fauna. It is his quickness of perception, agility in action, developing skilled physical prowess and other qualities that enabled him to survive. Today, enjoying the benefits of the cumulative experience of theirs and those of the succeeding ages, we fail to imagine the tragedy and hardships for survival, undergone by the Old Stone Age man and their ancestors. For hundreds of millenniums man fought the wilderness for food, sexual life and security. He won mastery over the jungle and its laws ; and evolved dim conceptions of a better way of life, where his daily wants would be less. In his art he left his impressions of his environments and records of his exploits, tools and ornaments. The early Old Stone Age tools have been found by Dr. R. C. P. Singh at Mohantada, etc., on quartzite. They* were all flake tools.

The Middle Stone Age is the period which includes all the industries used by hunters between Old Stone Age and commencement of Neolithic Age which dawned with the use of Microliths. The tools were known as Series II. Formerly Microliths used to be ascribed to the Mesolithic Age as has been done by Dr. H. D. Sankalia. But in agreement with V. D. Krishnaswamy, it is felt that they properly speaking belong to the Neolithic. Many proto-historic cultures have a Microlithic facie. Middle Stone Age tools were collected by Dr. R. C. P. Singh from the bed of Sankhogara near Parerkola, foot of the Chhoti Suraj Bera Hill in Dumka subdivision. †The materials used were chert and quartzite, etc.

**Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, pp. 5-6.
†*Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, p. 6.

Neolithic age dawned not due merely to development of mental faculties of man and his creative impulses, but due to the appearance of the present surface of the earth ; the evolution of primitive ancestors of modern races of man and their cultures based upon well developed technique of production and settled ways of life. We may also add accumulation of glacial drifts, erosion of valleys, rise in the levels of sea-coasts and variation of solar heat. The Neolithic culture pertaining to the Stone Age, however, consists of deliberate food production, as opposed to mere food gathering as means of subsistence. That is invention of agriculture and animal husbandry. The other distinguishing factors were use of pottery and smoothed stone tools. Unfortunately the spade of the archaeologist has been an unknown tool in evaluation of pre-history of Santal Parganas.

A large number of Neolithic tools (2,620 pieces) were collected by late Rev. P. O. Bodding, while he was attached to the Norwegian Santal Mission at Mahulapahari, from 1901 to 1934. They now remain with the University Ethnographic Museum, Oslo. Bodding published two short accounts of his finds.* With the exception of these, no notice of the huge collection, rich in whole Eastern India, was available in print, till Prof. A. R. Allchin gave his contribution. This note as far as Bodding's collection of Neolithic tools of Santal Parganas are concerned is based on this very valuable contribution.† What is more he has established the merit of 'inferred function' of tools in absence of other criteria, decried by Prof. A. H. Dani of Peshawar University.** Before him, however a Norwegian scholar, Herr Arne Bang Andersen, is reported to have made a study of the whole collection and submitted a thesis to the Oslo University in 1938. He also delivered a lecture on the subject to the Congress International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, at Copenhagen (1938). Bodding though a great enthusiast, was very unsystematic in keeping a record of his very valuable collection. He was content in collecting from loyal Santals, converted to christianity, and having realised the value of the material presented them to Oslo University. But he never left any information about the provenance of his objects.

Prof. Allchin with his scientific approach, handicapped for lack of information has made a valiant effort to overcome the handicaps. "In the absence of any precise information of provenance our first task is thus to establish the extent of that area. It may be

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXX, Pt. III (1901), pp. 17—22; *Ibid*, Vol. LXXIII, Pt. III (1904), pp. 27—31.

†The Neolithic Stone Industry of Santal Parganas—*Bulletins of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XXV, Pt. 2(1962), pp. 306ff.

**A. H. Dani—*Pre-history and Proto-history of Eastern India* (1960).

expected to coincide with the Norwegian Mission field in the Santal Parganas, that is to say the country around Dumka. Bodding in one of his early papers states that the finds there mentioned were made in the Dumka subdivision. He gave other information of the same kind in letters accompanying his gifts to the museum. Thus in one letter he refers to sending our workers to the country around the little town of Mohulapahari, where he mainly resided, and the collection of about 500 pieces. In a letter of 1902 he refers to people enquiring for stone tools for about 50 km. around Mohulapahari. As this area does indeed coincide with that of the Santal Mission, and in default of any more precise evidence of provenance, we conclude that this is the region in which most, if not all, of the finds were made.

"We may notice at this time the method in which the collections were acquired. There is no clear evidence of excavation, and as far as can be said all was casual surface collection, probably made by villagers and handed over to the missionaries. There can be little doubt, that some groups of tools come from single localities, often probably from factory sites ; at least this is the impression to be gained from closely related groups of tools made of distinctive raw materials, etc., but of all this we now have absolutely no information. We must also remark that the mission failed, and thus the area from which the tools derive, is the homeland of the great Santal tribe. Although this coincidence is accounted for by the method of collection, it may also have a much more profound and interesting significance. This, however, is a matter which can only be studied by further field-work."*

It is undeniable that the Bodding collection shows evidence of a prolific New Stone Age culture, with the evidence of evolution of metal tool types and finally of iron. The lithic implements betray homogeneity. The material utilised includes a very wide range of rocks such as coarse grained genisses,† dolerites and basalts, while at the other end is fine grained rocks, quartzites, shales and varieties of siliceous rocks, cherts, creamy white stones marbled with black, greenish and brownish tinges, capable of taking high polish reminiscent of jadeite, dark reddish brown siliceous stones, etc.** The coarser grained rocks are reserved for largest type of tools. The methods of manufacturing being pecking or battering and

*Allchin—*op. cit.* p. 307.

†The same is the case with Gupta and Post-Gupta sculptures now kept in the Railway School and Sahebganj College. The stones are of two kinds. They were all found at Sakrogarh, on which the S. D. O.'s Bungalow has been built and which gave the name to Sakrigali (or the Pass of Sakra).

**Allchin—p. 309.

grinding ; while 'concoidal fracture flaking' was resorted in making tools from finer grained stones. Grinding was of three kinds ; edge grinding, partial grinding, or complete grinding. Traces of sawing off (with the help of wire saws and suitable abrasives) are met with on some tools with square shoulders. Evidence of patination was also available. The types of tools available were—

(1) Axes, celts, adzes and their derivatives.
(2) Rubbers and hammers,
(3) Unclassifiable, waste and miscellaneous.

LATE STONE AGE TOOLS—TOOLS AND BY-PRODUCTS.

Axes alone consisted of 720 specimens. Of these Type I has a triangular form, with butt which is rounded almost approaching a point. This has led to it being called 'Pointed butt axe'. The cross sections of the bodies are various. They vary in length from 4.5 cm. to 23 cm. This type of tools was first met with in Bellary and Raichur districts. Grinding to provide the edge was bifacial giving medial edge. Flaking is evident. Prof. Allchin observed three sub-varieties.

Type I A—The Indian axe hammers which were carefully grounded and blunt along the edge. Similar tools have been found in Bellary.* Some of them bear hafting gloss. Allchin suggests that they might have been used for 'some sort of thrashing, perhaps the manufacture of bark cloth or for heavier work or metallurgical crushing'. 233 tools belong to this class.

Type II small celts.—There are 900 tools of this class, with a number of varieties. The length varies from 2 cm. to 6.05 cm. They were so small that they could not have been used as axes. Therefore, the present writer of the note feels that in agreement with Seminar we may take them to be adzes†. It has five varieties —

Type II A	..	Small celt hammers.
Type III	..	Chisels and rectangular celts.
Type III A	..	Rectangular celt hammers.
Type IV	..	Shouldered celts, with two varieties.
Type V	..	Rubbers or rubbing stones.
Type VI	..	Hammers.

*BSOAS, Vol. XIX (1957) No. 2 fig. 1, no. 6 ; fig. 3 nos. 23—26.

†Seminov—*Pre-historic Technology*, 1957.

Do these tools establish any all-India industrial traditions or contacts with any other States in India or outside ? They do. Type I are analogous with Bellary axes. The technological differences may be left to the future analysits. The type II—small celts seem to be a new contribution of Santal Parganas to typology of Indian tools. As Allchin has shown the Santal axes are definitely smaller than their Bellary prototypes. In type III—Chisels and rectangular celts, the former has superficial similarities with those found in Bellary but rectangular celts have no parallels there. A similar conclusion emerges in Type IV. They show a marked affinity with Naga variety. The wide diffusion of second variety of rectangular shouldered celts is well established. They have been met with throughout Eastern India and S. E. Asia. Single specimens have been found at Kausambi in the Doab and even in Chitorgarh district in Rajasthan. Three were found at 'Sisupalgarh'. They bear the marks of wire-saw around their shoulders.*

Santal Parganas have recently yielded evidences of Late Stone Age that is Microliths. At Paharpur, on the southern bank of the Gomai river near Barhait and at Mohantada, Bandarkola and Amjani Microliths have been found. They were both geometrical and non-geometrical of quartzite and chert. From the beds of Gumra near Kathikunda, Bansloi near Amrapara and Mayurakshi near Masanjore, Dr. R. C. P. Singh found Microliths†. In 1961-62, Shri Sitaram Ray found Microliths in the valley of Harhar 17 km. from the Deoghar-Chakia road, the area around Phuljhari hill, the locality near Lidapisa hill, Bajor *nala* in Godda subdivision and Amuar on Chir river in the same subdivision. They were blades, burins, points, scrapers, etc., In the Bodding collection a small percentage of Late Stone Age tools were present.

To sum up, according to Prof. Allchin three distinct industrial traditions are noticed in the Neolithic tools of Santal Parganas. The first tradition is met with (Type I) in first and second varieties of Axes, Indian axe-hammers (Type IA). third variety of small celts (Type II) and the first variety of Type III—rectangular celt hammers. It seems to be a Pan-Indian tradition, lacking extension in Pakistan but occurring in Burzahm in Kashmir. The second industrial tradition is met with in small celts or (Type II) adzes, the third and fourth varieties of the so-called axes (Type I) and type IIA that is small celt hammers. Many specimens betray side grinding while diminutive size of many led even Allchin to suspect their use as adzes in staves. This tradition though met with in

*Up to this is a summary of Prof· Allchin's paper.

†*Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, pp. 5-6.

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some examples in Yunan have not been met with in other parts of India. It is felt that it might have been indigenous to Santal Parganas. The third industrial tradition is represented by the rectangular celt hammers (second variety) and shouldered celts. These tools, rectangular celts, square shouldered celts, etc., have all a very wide distribution in the East and S. E. Asia. Possibly they were brought by the Santals when they migrated from their original settlements in these areas.

Of Late Stone Age any conclusions would be futile, in view of the meagre data now available. But the writer feels tempted to point out that semi-precious stones like, agate, jasper, onyn, etc., have not been utilised in Santal Parganas like Rajasthan. Pottery was known, though they lack context yielded by spade. One base of dull grey ware with concentric impressed circles, recalled to Allchin similar pottery from Sisupalgarh, etc.

Metal age was known to the dwellers of Santal Parganas. The Bodding collection contained one copper axe with carved blade similar to those found in the copper hoards of Ganges valley.

Possibly an excavation of a selected site and particularly the grave site near Mohulapahari referred to by Bodding will yield more results.

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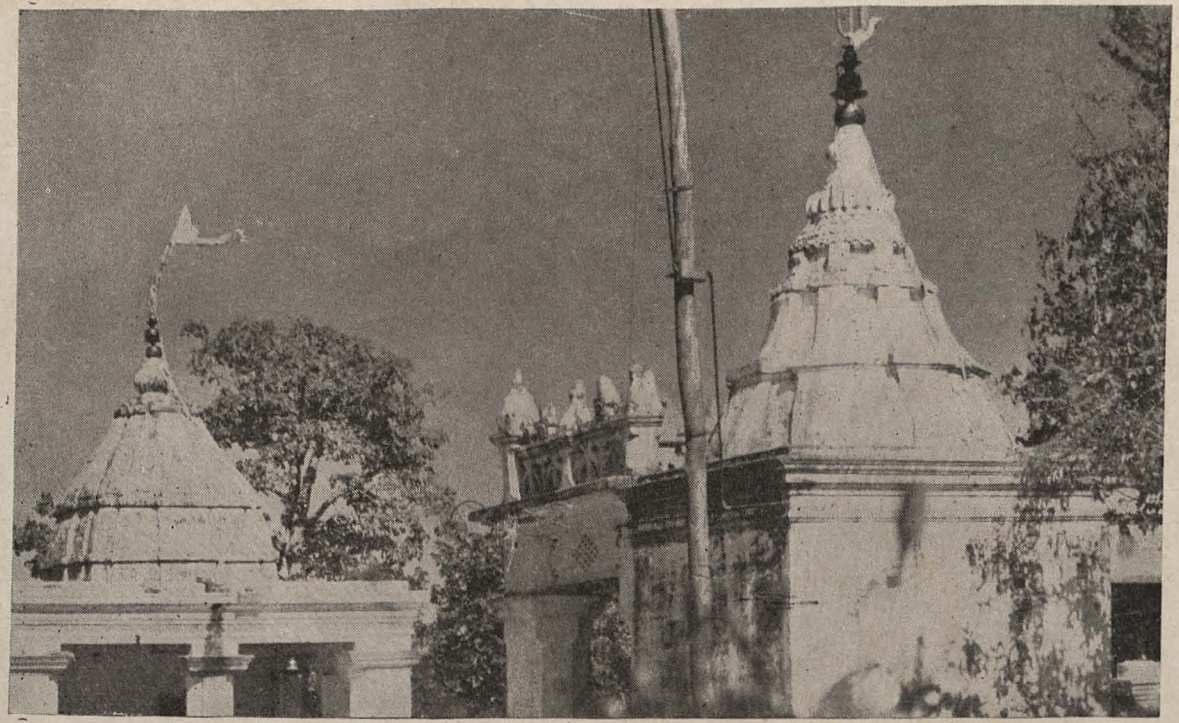
PLATES

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Deoghar temple.

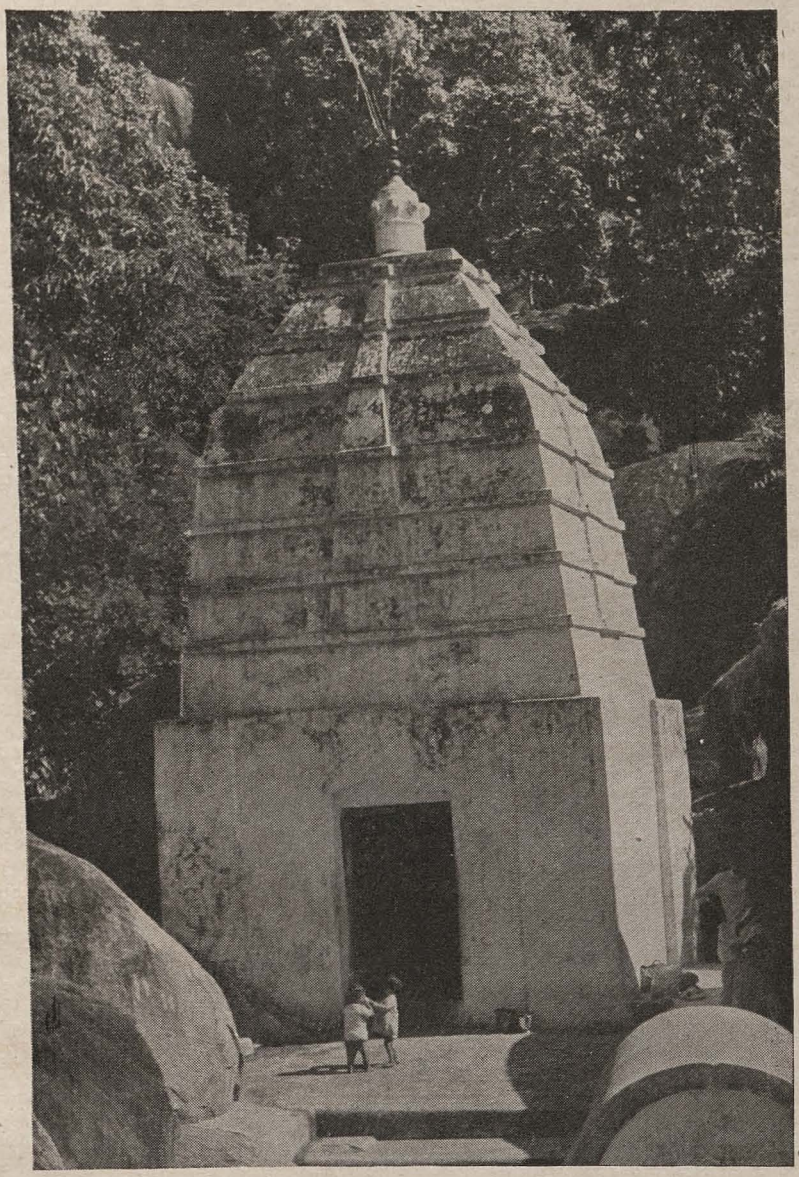
राज्य केन्द्रीय अभिलेख कार्यालय, बिहार
ऐतिहासिक शाखा
पटना



Shiva temple on the Shiva hill at Dumka.

5191

1016



Shiva temple on the Trikut hill, Deoghar.



Nandan Pahar, Deoghar.

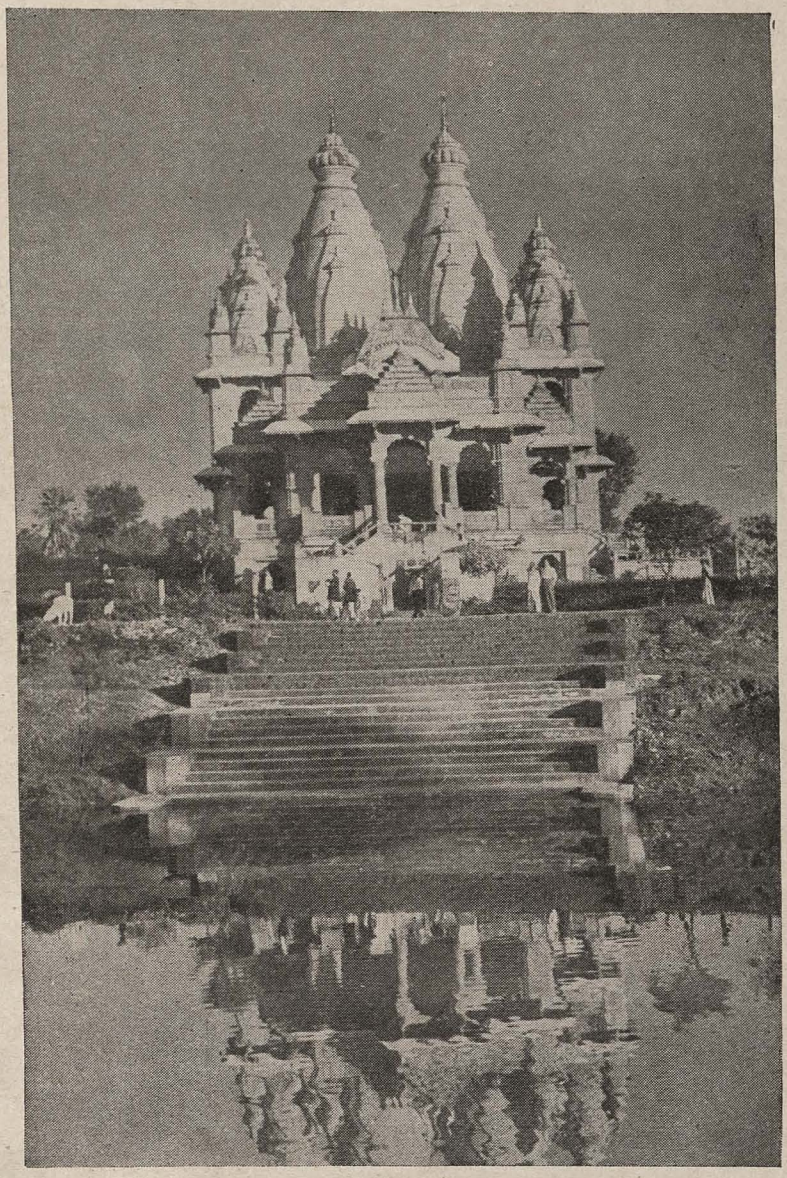
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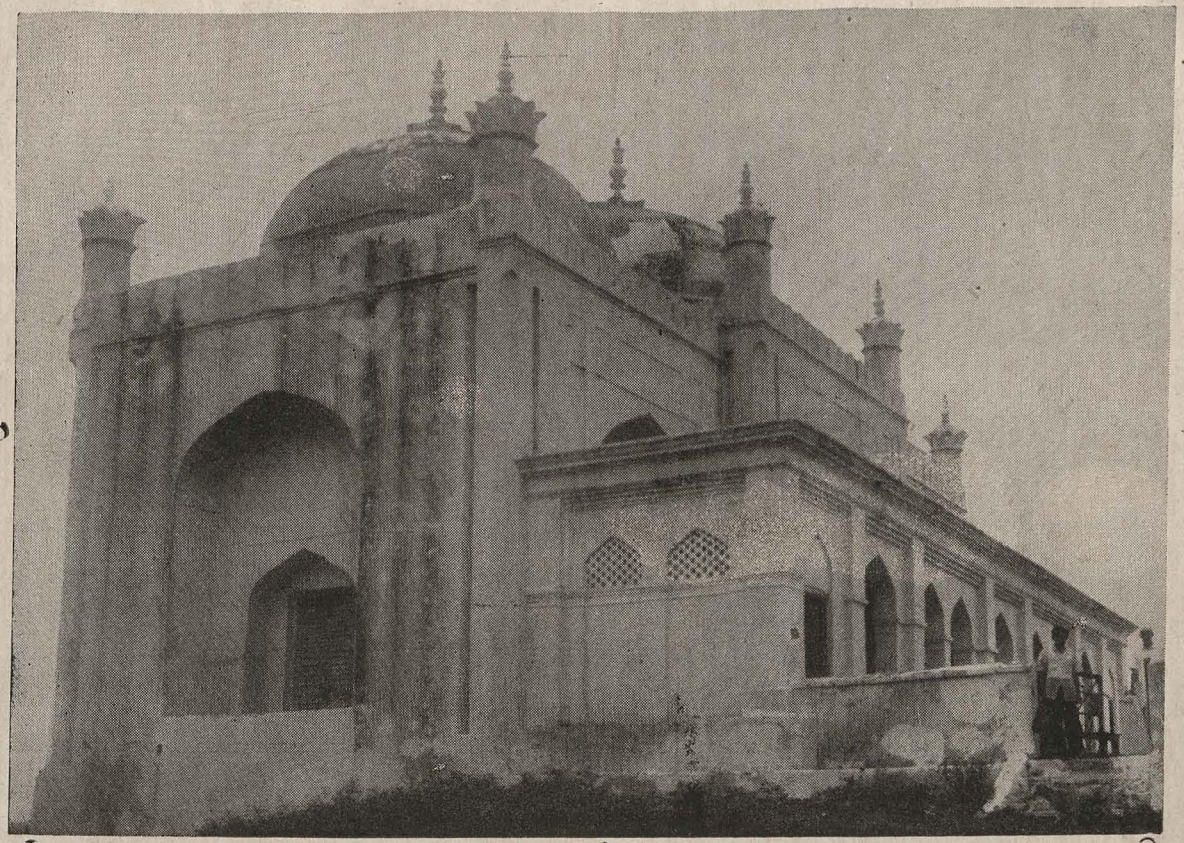
Vasukinath temple.

1918

1019



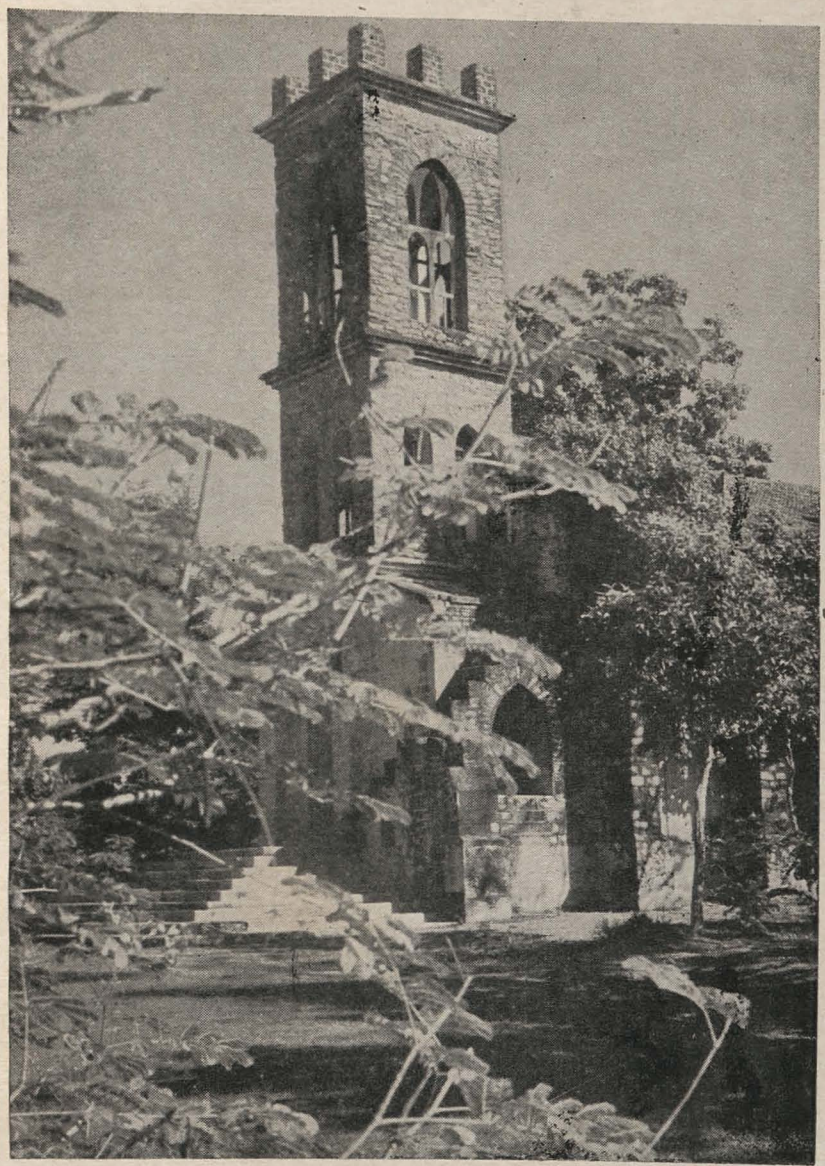
Yugal Mandir at Karnibagh, Deoghar.



Bari Masjid at Rajmahal.

1020

1021

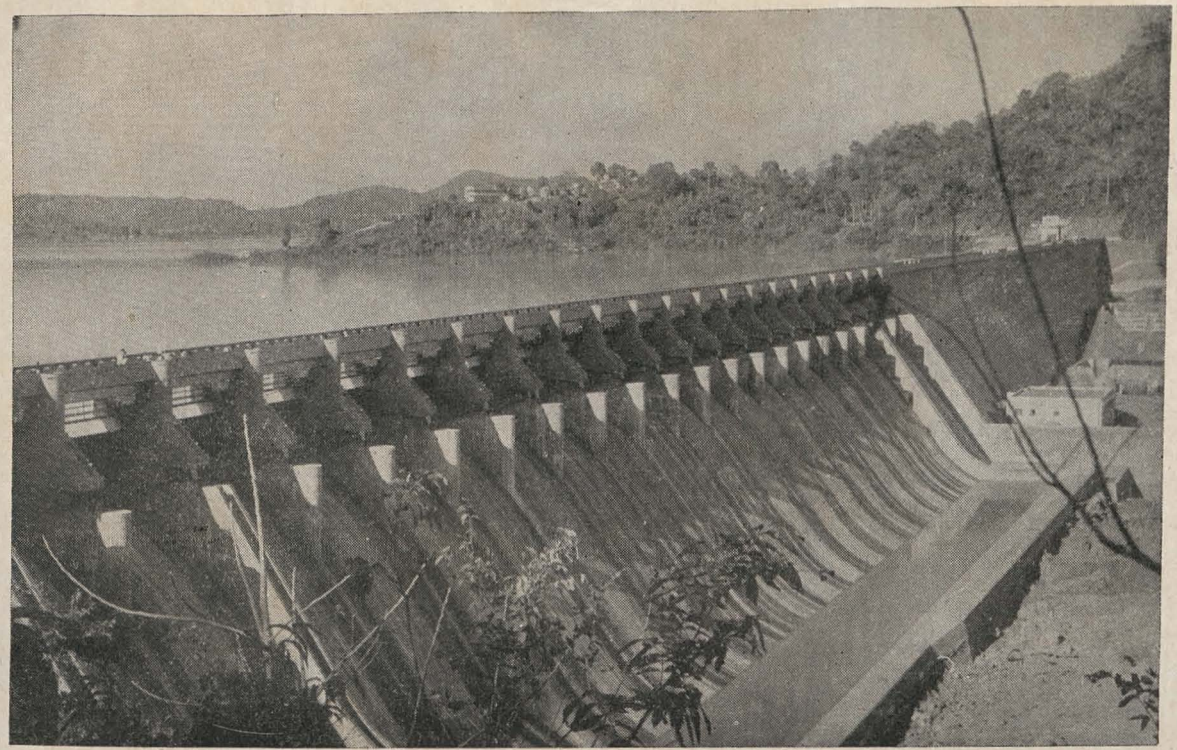


Church at Dumka.



Shiva Ganga, Deoghar.

1022



Mayurakshi Dam, Santal Parganas.

1023



The Court of Raja Mansingh at Rajmahal.

1024

1025

SKELETON MAP
OF
DISTRICT SANTAL PARGANAS

BIHAR

3rd Revised Edition

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- Landing Ground
- Place of worship
- Beauty spots

PURNEA

KATIHAR

MALDA

SHAMSHERGANJ

SUTI

MURARAI

GANGES R.

Kankhar 10 m.

N.E. Ry.

Manihari RS

Manihari Ghat R.S

Bhagalpur Jn 29 m.

Eastern Ry

Rajmahal (Sahibganj) PTO

P.W.D

Sakrigali Ghat RS

Sakrigali Ja.

Mirza Chauki R.S

Karambi

Maharajpur R.S

UNSURVEYED

Amjora Firozganj

Mehrma

Kaurikhutahari PO

Bhagaye

Pratappur

Kabi Chak

Mandro I.B

Basta

Changipur

Banjhi

Taljhari I.B PO RS

Mangalhat

Dighi Honwaria

Biswaskhani

Boarijor (Bara)

Boric Bazar I.B PO

Kundo

Rajmahal PTO

Mahagama PO

Kadhara Mal PO

Simra (Bara)

Brindaban

Tinpahar R PO

Amarpur

Basantrai

CHANDBASI PAHAR △ 857

Udhua

Telo (Bara)

△ 1210

Shampur

Pathargama PO

Rajabhita I.B

Bakudi RS

Beldiha 2 m.

Amarpur

Singhji Mal

Kairo with Bazar

Panchpatia

Raksi PO

Berhait Santali P.W.D I.B

Ranga I.B

Radhanagar

Chir N.

Kalhia N.

Bhagalpur 33 m.

Dumaria

Chilauna

Chhotapatma

Pathna

Barharwa PTO

Karmatanr I.B

Kusma

Ranga (Bara)

Godda PTO

Dhamni (Bara)

Jordiha

Dharampur I.B

Durgapur (Chhota)

Amra Kanali

Pathra PO

Jiajori

Simlong I.B

Naudiha

Sundarpahari I.B

Gadi Surma

Kotalpukur PO RS

Manikpara

Danre Sakri N.

Bhagalpur 40 m.

Pareya Hat PO

Ghagrabandh I.B

Chandna (with Bazar)

Kunjbona I.B

Litipara I.B

Hiranpur Bazar PO I.B

Surujbera

Pakaur RS PTO

Kasba

Hansdiha PO

Gadi Jhopa Pararia

Banjhi

Pararkola I.B

Dumarchir I.B

Bokrabandh I.B

Silthia

Sareya Bazar

Ramgarh I.B

Kakni

Kendua

Bhalsumar

Amrapahari

Susni

Alubera I.B

Amrapara PO

Pathargbata

Tangidaha

Piparjoria

Kiul Jn 54 m.

Simaltala 10 m.

Chandan 4 m.

Jaipur 2 m.

Rikhia

Siria

Chakai 12 m.

Garjora

Jasidih Jn.

Jasidih PTO

Mohanpur P.W.D

Deoghar LBS

Landing Ground

Baniasari

Punasi

Chakai 7 m.

Rohini PO

Bansdiha I.B

Ghormara

Nagdah

Kamardiha (Gadi)

Nonihat PO I.B

Beldaha

Amdiha

Sukhjora

Mahubona

Danro

Kolha

Silingi (Heth) I.B

Kuskira

Bansloi N.

Maheshpur PTO

Murarai 3 m.

Kewalpur

Eastern Ry

Mathurapur

Marwa

Taljhari

Dumria Hat

Hariharpur PO

Sahara

Amarpur

Karbindha I.B

Gopikandar I.B

Debinagar

Patpahari

Radipur

Barawan PO

Mahara

Jarmundi PO

Baskinath

Bara

Narganj Bara I.B

Chaparia

Jamua

Sonabarthari

Jama

Jagannjora

Katikund (Bara) PO

Karudih I.B

Chatra 4 m.

Burhai

Pathro N.

Titichapar

Manigari

Jartai

Lakrapahari

Guhiajori

Saidaha I.B

Pakuria PO

Jagdishpur RS

Sapaijor

Haripur PO

Dudhani

Dumka Mufassal

Dighi

Jhilimili I.B

Khaksa

Jamsoi

Madhupur Jn. PTO

Pathrol

Charkata

Landing Ground

Gando

Dhaka I.B

Jagatpur PO

Masania

Nalhati 6 m.

Brahmani R.

Giridih 14 m.

Sarath PO

Ghiyamo

Bichknora

NAYA DUMKA

Mahulpahari Pathari

Sikaripara P.W.D Road

Rampur Hat 8 m.

Ghagarjuri

Palojori

Choto (Gadi)

Baramasia I.B

Haripur

Rampur Hat 6 m.

Jainty Collieries

Eastern Ry

Singro (Gadi)

Lakhanpur

Kumrabad

Rajbandh

Benagaria PTO

Chila N.

Maletti PO

Gande 3 m.

Banskupi

Bara Lusio

Dumaria

Gumro

Masalia

Ranga

Dighalpahari

Dhanbhasa

Canal with Road

Banspahari

Fatehpur 6 m.

Phukbandi

Saharjuri

Chitra

Sarsa

Kairsbani

Masanjor

Asanbani

Karmatanr RS PTO

Karon PO

Fatehpur

Sapchala

Asna (Chhota) I.B

Dhasania I.B

Dalahi

Kendghata

Bina Canal

Banskuli

Kumirdaha

Raghunathpur

Marro

Pindari

Kalajharia

Majhladih

Jalain

Gormala

Raneswar PO

Mahishkhala

Narainpur

Dakhinbahal

Singatani

Bharchandi

Ranchapar

Amjora PO

Chihutia

Pabia

Bindapathar

Tilaki

Jamtara PTO

Dhadkia or Dhadka

Karaya Chak

Baghmara

Kundahit

Gaichband

Dhobna

Mejhia

Geria (Nij)

Nala PO I.B

Khajuri

Rajnagar 2 m.

Suri 8 m.

Lodhna

Amba

Bagdahari

Pokharia 2 m.

Mirza 6 m.

Mihijam PO RS

AJAY R.

Bankhet

Palasthali RS

Gourangdi RS 6 m

Azaipur

Raswan RS

Raswan 4 m.

SALANPUR | BARABANI | JAMURIA

KHAYRASOL

RAJNAGAR

SURI

MOHAMMAD BAZAR

RAMPUR HAT

HAZARIBAGH

GIRIDIH

DHANBAD

BARAKAR R.

TUNDI

NIRSA

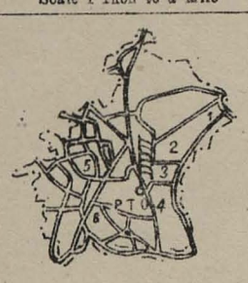
BARABAD

BURDWAN

WEST BENGAL

Portion belongs to District Birbhum in Bengal

DUMKA TOWN
Scale 1 Inch to a Mile



REFERENCES TO DUMKA TOWN

1 Veterinary Hospital
2 Hospital
3 Jail
4 Circuit House
5 Sarai
6 Dy. Commissioner's Office

Corrected up to 1961.

Boundary:— District or State
do Subdivision, Damin
do Police Station
Railways:— Broad Gauge, double, single, with station
do Metre or Narrow Gauge, with station

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Miles 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 Miles

Area 5489.29 sqr. Miles

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Main road:— Metalled, Unmetalled
Bungalows:—Dak Inspection
Head Quarters:— Subdivision, Police Station
Post Office, Post & Telegraph Office PO PTO
Trigonometrical Station with height CHANDBASI PAHAR △ 857